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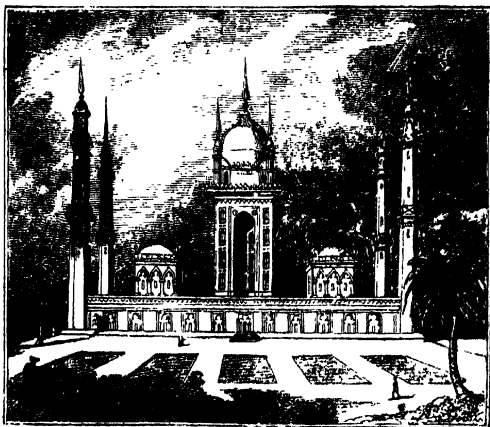
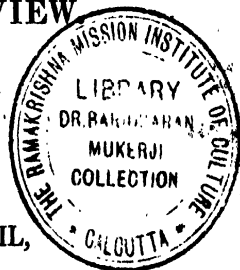
AND

COLONIAL REVIEW

VOL. I.

JANUARY TO APRIL,

1824.



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THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 1.—JANUARY 1824.—VOL. 1.

“ Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to mislead her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew her put to the worse in a free and open encounter ? ” —MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA.

SINCE these memorable words were penned, by one whose judgment in political truth was not less accurate and profound, than his genius in poetical conception was daring and sublime, the world has witnessed rapid advances in all the natural sciences, as well as in the ornamental and the useful arts of life. It has not been thus, however, with politics and morals, notwithstanding the superior importance of these to the happiness and welfare of man. Philosophers have made immense strides in almost every department of physical knowledge, even since the time of Newton : but what have they contributed to morals and politics since the days of Bacon, Milton, and Locke ? In the earliest ages of the world, when even the first principles of many of the sciences now fully developed were unknown, the advantage of publicity in bestowing praise and censure, the one to incite to good, and the other to restrain from bad actions, was well understood. Yet, while every other indication of advancing knowledge has been abundantly apparent, so slow has been the spread of this early discovery, that only among a few of the modern nations of the earth is it sufficiently understood or valued, to be thought worthy of any sacrifice to maintain ; and even in these favoured nations there are still thousands who either do not comprehend, or who will not admit, that the interests of Truth and Justice are best promoted by the fullest publicity, and the constant and frequent trials of the strength or weakness of conflicting opinions, by bringing them to “ grapple in free and open encounter.”

The issue of a long-contested struggle in defence of this important doctrine, has given birth to the present Publication ; and although the immediate consequences of that issue may continue for some time to be severely felt by the individual who is not ashamed to suffer in so proud a cause ; yet, if the remote advantages of it be seen through the good which these pages may sooner or later be the favoured medium of promoting among his countrymen at home, and the millions who look up to them for protection and instruction abroad, he will be amply rewarded for all that he has endured. In explanation of what is here alluded to, it may be sufficient to state briefly in these introductory sheets, that the Proprietor and Editor of this Work, after having personally visited most of the principal countries in the eastern and western world, was engaged during the last five years of his residence in India in encouraging, through the medium of the Press, such inquiries and discussions as appeared to him best calculated to improve the condition of the natives of the East ; and to advance the best interests of the British nation in that extensive portion of their empire. The last temporary Governor General of that country was among the number of those who did not understand the worth, or could not comprehend the universal application, of Milton's beautiful and expressive maxim ; unless he were hostile to the victory of Truth, and therefore forbade her open encounter with her enemy. Be this as it may, he was determined both to "license" and "prohibit." He accordingly banished from the country the chief promoter of views opposed to his own ; and put the press under such restraints, that Falschood has now the whole field to herself : for while "every wind of doctrine" is there "let loose to play upon the earth," Truth is no longer permitted to be in the field to oppose them. For this reason it is important that a new scene should be opened to her efforts ; and though this be a remote one, her power is fortunately great, and her influence capable not only of bounding over time and space, but of breaking through even the stronger barriers of prejudice and hate combined. May her omnipresence be felt, and her omnipotence acknowledged, through regions hitherto a stranger to her reign !

The duty of nations to enlighten and improve the condition of the people they subjugate, can scarcely require to be enforced by argument : the advantage to the rulers and the ruled, of increasing the common stock of information regarding the several interests of each, cannot be disputed. To facilitate the accomplishment of these important ends, will be one of the principal objects always kept in view in the conduct of this Publication ; and to such labours the aid of all who deem them worthy of their attention is particularly invited. Extending its views both to the Oriental and Occidental world, it will consider the improvement of these, the leading purpose for which it is established ; and

every thing that is connected with the interests of our Indian empire in the East, and our Colonial possessions in the West, as well as the numerous smaller settlements subject to the British rule, and studding the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Mediterranean Seas, will find in its pages a welcome reception. It should be added, however, that though these will be the *principal*, they will not be the *exclusive* objects of attention. The principle of *UTILITY* will be the standard by which all claims on its space will be determined. But when these claims are satisfied, the less important ones, which have merely talent in their execution, and pleasure for their object, will not be neglected.

It remains to state briefly the general order and arrangement which will be observed in the Work, as far as it may be practicable to maintain these with uniformity. The *first* portion of each Number will be devoted to Original prose Articles, Reviews of new Books, occasional Poems, and short Essays on such subjects as may be deemed best suited to the peculiar objects of the Publication, and most likely to inform and gratify all classes of its readers. The *second* portion will be given to the Letters of such persons as may adopt this channel of laying before their countrymen, at home or abroad, the peculiar sentiments they may entertain on any subject coming within the range of public discussion: and in this department of the Work, the utmost liberty will be given to men entertaining the most opposite sentiments, to state them freely and fully. The opinions of the Editor will necessarily stamp a certain character on the general shape and tendency of his Publication, which he trusts will be found to be friendly to the best and dearest interests of the human race: but others will be as free to express their opinions as himself, however widely they may differ from him, provided only that they confine themselves to the public conduct of public men, without descending to an invasion of domestic life, and the slander of private character, which will never be encouraged. The *third* portion will contain faithful Reports of Debates in the India House, and British Parliament, on Indian and Colonial questions; so as to preserve much of what is now lost to the world, from not being deemed of sufficient *general* interest to be included in the reports of the London papers. When no such debates occur, occasion will be taken to review the political events of the intervening period, as affecting the interests of our eastern or western dependencies. An accurate and carefully digested account of the progressive Discoveries and Improvements in Science and Art, for the gratification of those to whom the expensive books, through which they are scattered, are not always accessible, will complete this department of Home Intelligence, compiled principally for the information of readers who are dispersed over the eastern and western world. The *fourth* portion will be more peculiarly gratifying to those at home, who feel a deep and continual concern in the events of every description that mark

the progressive history of our distant settlements. In this will be given a general summary of the Latest Intelligence that has reached England from every quarter of India and the Colonies up to the period of publication. This will be succeeded by occasional Selections from the Journals of each country, to exhibit, as nearly as possible, a faithful picture of the several communities of which they may be considered as the respective organs.

It has been deemed proper to enumerate these intended arrangements at this early period, that the Reader's attention may not be again intruded on by a recurrence to them: and that he may enter on the Work also with an assurance, that though the great Questions of Policy are likely to occupy the largest portion of its pages, the minor articles of intelligence will not be forgotten: it being the wish of its Conductor to unite in it, as far as it may be found practicable, the several advantages of a Journal, a Magazine, and a Review. The distinguishing feature which it will be most ambitious to attain, will, however, be that of using the privilege of a Briton, proud of the distinction which such a privilege confers, to discuss freely and fearlessly the public measures now pursuing, or in future intended to be pursued, towards our numerous dependencies abroad. It is this that the press in India dares not do. It is this that the press in England is too much occupied with matters nearer home to afford time or space to do. It is this vacant niche in the Temple of Public Opinion that this Publication may therefore hope to fill with honour to itself, and advantage to those whose cause it may advocate: and from which, when it ceases to discharge its duties faithfully, it will deserve to be removed.

On examining the several articles prepared for this Number, and the respective extent of each, some apology seems to be necessary for the apparently undue portion given to the subject of the INDIAN PRESS, which has grown under the hands of the writer to an extent that he did not contemplate when he commenced it. The importance of the subject, to India at least, may be easily imagined, when it is stated that the legislative measures arising out of it, occupied so closely and entirely the attention of the Indian Government and Court for several months, that no other public transactions of any note or interest, are recorded during that period of time; and as if this were insufficient, the Governor General himself found it necessary to write a laboured and voluminous Statement, forming a thick quarto pamphlet, in palliation of the decrees, which he conceived the interests of the country required him to issue and to execute. If it were deemed so important in India, it ought not to be considered less so here, where whatever legislative enactments may be necessary to remove the evil must originate; and where it is, for that reason, of the utmost importance that the question in all its bearings should be fully understood. It is hoped, therefore, that the length of the

Article in which the Governor General's Pamphlet is examined and exposed, will not be such as to deter the Reader from its perusal : for correct opinions as to the Freedom of the Indian Press may truly be called the "corner-stone" of whatever system may be erected for the good government of that distant and extensive country ; and it is necessary, before this can be seen in its proper light, to clear away the rubbish of misrepresentation which the enemies of improvement in India have purposely heaped around it, in the hope of being able to bury the solid foundations on which it rests beneath pretended evils, which have no existence but in their imagination or their fears.

Anticipating the desire of those for whom this Work is intended in India, to possess a Report of the most interesting particulars relative to Eastern Literature and Discovery that have transpired from the commencement of the past year, since which Indian Editors have been no longer at liberty to republish, even from the English papers, any thing the Indian Government chose to prohibit,—such a Report has been prepared. The same date will be taken, as marking the close of Lord Hastings's administration in India, for the period of commencement in arranging the intelligence from that country ; as well as from other parts of our colonial possessions, which will give a uniformity to the whole. These several claims, incidental to the First Number of a Publication commenced under such peculiar circumstances as the present, have occupied space that in future Numbers will not be required for such a purpose. Not to push this beyond its proper limit, however, the Official Correspondence on the Press of India, so essential to the correct appreciation of its danger or utility, is given in an APPENDIX at the end of the Number, and printed at the entire expense of the Editor, who willingly makes this additional sacrifice, in order that nothing may be left undone to place the British Public in full possession of every fact relating to that important question. From a wish to meet *all* the expense incurred by the introduction of so much matter relative to his own case in the present instance, which will not occur again, the Editor has added several sheets more than the proper quantity to this Number, to include articles that would otherwise have been omitted for want of room.

It is hoped that these few preliminary observations will help to establish a right understanding between all parties, so that each may be willing to yield up something of his own peculiar claims to the gratification of others : and having said thus much by way of parley, let the combatants proceed to the "encounter."

APPEAL OF A GOVERNOR GENERAL TO PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA.

“ The grand remedy for the defects of government is to let in upon them publicity and censure.”—MILL'S HIST. OF BRITISH INDIA.

WHEN the Prospectus of “THE ORIENTAL HERALD” was first issued to the world, we had not the most distant expectation of being called to meet, in its very First Number, the challenge of the Mighty Ruler of the East himself. Yet, such is our enviable destiny: and it is with no ordinary degree of satisfaction at this auspicious commencement of our labours, that we enter the lists against him. Seated on the pinnacle of authority—though but for a brief and transient period—and clothed, as he believed himself to be, with power unlimited and irresponsible; carrying with him too, as he pretended, the whole current of general approbation in his favour; we naturally concluded that he would have shrouded himself in this temporary dignity, and disdained to stoop so low as to court that very “Public” which he affected to condemn—or endeavour to win over to his cause that “Opinion” which he made it his boast to despise. Such, however, is the gratifying result: such the triumph of steady principle over wavering and temporizing policy: such the ultimate victory of Truth and Justice over the miserable sophisms of Expediency.

Mr. JOHN ADAM, the late temporary Governor General of India, who, from mere accident, became the depositary of power in the short interval between the resignation of Lord Hastings and the arrival of Lord Amherst, his successor—flushed with the sudden and unexpected elevation—seemed bent on distinguishing his “brief authority” by a few of those “fantastic tricks,” which, played before the eye of Heaven, are emphatically said to “make the angels weep.” It is at length discovered, however, that though ‘tis well to have a giant’s strength, ‘tis tyrannous to use it like a giant: and one of the most powerful of all the various Rulers of the “Despotic East”—whose *will* became a law—descends from the giddy height, from which he could no longer look steadily below, to palliate and apologize for the exercise of his transient power—by pleading his cause before the very Tribunal whose authority and influence it is the chief aim and end of all his labours to beat down and destroy!

“Public Opinion” must have been felt to be strongly and justly against any governor general in India, before he could be driven to the humiliating necessity of pleading his apology to the

very servants over whom he rules. Yet such is the striking and illustrative fact, which furnishes even in itself the most expressive commentary that could be desired—Mr. Adam, the ephemeral Governor before alluded to, within a few weeks only after banishing Mr. Buckingham without a trial, from his property, connexions, and lawful pursuits in India, found it necessary to attempt at least to calm the public indignation, which had been excited by this act, by issuing to all the principal functionaries of the public service abroad, and to the Directors of the East India Company, and principal supporters of that powerful body in Parliament at home, a large quarto pamphlet, of which a copy has accidentally come into our possession.

The production to which we have thus drawn the Reader's attention, is entitled "Statement of Facts connected with the Removal from India of Mr. Buckingham, late Editor of the Calcutta Journal." Had it confined itself strictly to *facts*, giving them with fairness and impartiality, stating "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," it would have been a valuable record; and have assisted to dissipate errors on a subject which has been greatly misconceived, because the events connected with its progressive development are but imperfectly known. But it is *not* a "Statement of Facts"—it is a studied misrepresentation of the plainest matters; a compound of forced and perverted constructions; a garbled and distorted mixture of half-told and concealed transactions, with a running commentary made up of inferences wholly unwarranted even by the premises from which they are pretended to be drawn. It may appear to the English reader, as extremely improbable that so exalted a personage as a Governor of India—though he ruled even but for a day—would venture to commit himself so deeply as to put forth in that country a statement to which this character could be justly applied. But his wonder will cease when he is informed that this was not attempted to be done, while the individual to whom it relates was on the spot, and the press sufficiently free to point out a few of its most glaring misstatements. No! this cautious Governor *commenced* his operations by first banishing the person most deeply interested in exposing the errors of his pamphlet; then fettering the press with such restrictions, as to render it impossible for any one else to attempt the task: and thus—sheltered from all chance of a refutation on the spot—with the magnanimity of a man, whose limbs are in perfect freedom, assailing and trampling on a victim bound hand and foot—issues a statement to which no one dare reply, but at his peril! It is, however, a symptom of some deference to public opinion, when the very person who denies its right to any influence in India, is seen making his appeal to it on his own behalf. It is true that he prints his Statement at the Government press (and no doubt at the public expense), in direct violation of his own law,

which forbids the discussion of all topics bearing in any manner on the conduct of those in authority: and it is equally true that the misrepresentations contained in its pages, cannot be pointed out by any one individual of that public to which it is sent forth as an appeal, without subjecting the person who should venture to question either its facts or its opinions, to instant removal from the country, and the destruction of all his prospects in life. Thus intrenched around with securities against comment or reply, the Governor of so *uncritical* a community, might safely venture to send out his protected volume, and claim for it the homage and admiration of the smiling circle which graces his levees and his dinners. But, even at the hazard of his "severe displeasure," we shall venture to break the spell in which he would fain bind it, and expose, to the English world at least, its nakedness and deformity.

The Statement in question contains eighty quarto pages, which are filled with such parts only of the official correspondence that passed in Bengal on the subject of the press, as are calculated to serve the Governor's particular purpose: and these disjointed fragments are linked together by such laboured misrepresentations of facts, and misconstruction of motives, as are best calculated to assist the delusion so continually and uniformly aimed at throughout the whole work. As a more faithful record of this correspondence, than the garbled fragments of the Indian compiler, the Reader will find at the end of the present Number the letters referred to, in their complete state, without addition or omission; including the arguments of the Indian Government, as well as the reasonings offered to rebut them, at full length: from which he will be able to form his own opinion as to the respective merits of each. And as the best means of putting him in possession of the facts out of which the official correspondence originated, and on which it was continued, up to the period of the acting Governor of India terminating it by banishing his opponent from the country, and stopping the mouths of all the friends he left behind him, by placing new fetters on the Indian press, the following narrative may be here introduced.

A brief History of the Banishment of Mr. Buckingham from India.

IN the year 1813 I left England on a commercial voyage to Malta, where I had intended to remain for some time. The plague then existing at that island, obliged me to go to Smyrna. From thence circumstances led me to visit Egypt; and while in that country, I was prompted by strong but laudable motives to prosecute a voyage to India by way of the Red Sea. While at Bombay, in the year 1815, I was appointed to the command of a large ship in the China trade, but before I could enter on the voyage, I was ordered by the Governor to give immediate security for my proceeding to England in such ship and at such time as might be appointed by him, as I had not the East India Company's licence to remain in India. After a

long correspondence with the Government of Bombay, in which I explained the cause of my being unprovided with such licence, and prayed only for time to ascertain the result of an application for it in England, all my remonstrances and petitions were of no avail; and to the great injury of my prospects, without any crime or fault being alleged against me, but on the contrary, with my character and pursuits spoken favourably of by the Governor himself, I was compelled to quit India, and return suddenly to Egypt, from whence I had come.

During my second stay in Egypt, I took occasion to address the Court of Directors in England, stating the injury I had sustained, from the measure pursued against me by their government of Bombay, and soliciting from them a licence to reside in India, there to pursue my lawful occupations. In the confidence that this would be granted, I repaired a second time to India, charged with a mission or treaty of a commercial nature from the Viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Ali Pasha, to the merchants of Bombay, for the encouragement of a trade between those countries; and soon after my arrival in Bombay a second time, I received from the government of that presidency a communication that my licence to remain in India was granted by the court in England, and would soon be furnished to me.

In consequence of being thus assured of legal authority to continue in India, I accepted the command of the same ship from which I had been originally displaced, and after making a voyage in her to the Persian Gulf, went from thence to Calcutta, where I resigned the command, as she was about to be employed in a voyage of slave trade, in which I would not engage, such an odious traffic being contrary both to law and to humanity.

Having given up the command of the ship in question, and all prospects of emolument in the sea-service being at that period very unpromising, I yielded to the solicitation and advice of many intelligent friends, and purchased the stock and materials of two Calcutta newspapers, from the united resources of which I established a new one, entitled *THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL*. The first outlay for the purchase of this concern, was 30,000 rupees, or about 3,000*l.* sterling; but in process of time, and by repeated subsequent additions of capital, as well as by an increase of its productive powers, it became of the value of four lacks of rupees, or 40,000*l.* sterling, and had begun to yield me a net profit of about from 6,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* sterling per annum.

It is worthy of remark, that there being few among the natives of India who can afford to purchase, and still fewer who can read a newspaper published in the English language, the subscribers to the *Calcutta Journal* were almost wholly composed of the civil and military servants of the East India Company, the officers of his Majesty's army, and the respectable English merchants settled in India. And as these, to the number of nearly a thousand, gradually swelled my subscription list, and continued at the end of the five years which I conducted it, in greater number and respectability than at any former period, it is fair to infer, that the general tone and spirit of my writings could not have been hostile to the true interests of the government or the country; since I derived nearly my whole support from the officers of the government itself, and from the higher orders of the English community, who could not be supposed to continue and increase their support to that which was really dangerous and improper, all these classes being as deeply interested in the security and safety of India as the Company or the Crown.

During the period of five years that elapsed from its first establishment in 1818, up to 1823, the Government of India repeatedly acknowledged the lawfulness of my residence in that country, as well as the lawfulness of the pursuit in which I was then engaged as proprietor and editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, by entering into a contract with me in that capacity, by which I was bound to pay them about 4,000*l.* sterling per annum for the postage of my office, and by repeated official letters addressed to me by name, as Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, and replied to under the same designation.

During this period, a great deal of uncertainty existed, as to the extent of freedom which the Indian Press could be said really to enjoy. At the date of my establishing the Calcutta Journal, there was no actual censorship on the press, Lord Hastings having removed that restriction on the freedom of publication, a few months before; the press was almost universally considered, therefore, to be as free in India as it is in England, namely, subject only to the courts of law and the verdict of a jury.

By a subsequent communication from the Indian government, I was given to understand, that though the censorship was removed from the press, yet its place was supplied by a code of restrictions infinitely more fettering; for, during the censorship, such discussions on public matters as did not actually displease the Censor, might be published, all being left to *his* discretion; while, according to the new regulations substituted in its stead, *nothing* could be published without a great risk of infringing one or other of the rules laid down for prohibiting various topics. These sweeping restrictions on the press existed, however, *only* in a private "Circular" of the then Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. John Adam (the original Censor of the press), and were never embodied into a *rule, regulation, or law*, by being passed through the Supreme Court of Judicature, or entered among the statutes enacted for the government of India.

Soon after this, an address was presented by the inhabitants of Madras to Lord Hastings, as Governor General, in which great praise was given to him for emancipating the Indian press. In his reply, Lord Hastings admitted that "he *had* removed the restrictions from the press, and granted to Englishmen in India that freedom of publication which he regarded as the natural right of all his fellow-subjects." Here then was a *later* authority in point of date, and a *higher* one in point of rank, for believing that the private "Circular" of the Chief Secretary, which had never been passed into a law, was a dead letter; and that the Governor General's own uncontradicted declaration in the presence of his Councillors and the assembled officers of his government, was decisive of the freedom of the Indian press.

In the month of January, 1821, the Advocate General in the Supreme Court of Calcutta was instructed to proceed against me, as Editor of the Calcutta Journal, for an alleged libel, in a letter signed "EMULUS;" and, expensive as such a proceeding was likely to be to me, all the friends of the press in India were so far pleased with this step, as to hail it as an indication of an intention to make the tribunal of law the only judge of offences arising from publication. This proceeding was subsequently withdrawn, in consequence of a letter written by me to Lord Hastings, disavowing any participation, as Editor, in the sentiments of the writer of the alleged libel. The very fact of instituting a proceeding at law went, however, to confirm the previous belief that the press was to be subject only to the law and a jury, instead of the arbitrary judgment of the Governor General alone.

In the month of November, 1821, another letter, published in the Calcutta Journal, under the signature of "SAM SOBERSIDES," was made the subject of legal proceedings; and a bill of indictment was found by the Grand Jury, for a prosecution at the suit of the Six principal Secretaries to Government. On this occasion, as on the former one, the friends of the press rejoiced to see the arbitrary doctrine of banishment without trial abandoned; and recourse had to the only proper remedy, a trial by jury.

After the bill of indictment for this alleged libel had been found, but before any petit jury had been empanelled to try the case, various letters appeared in the Indian newspapers, and some in my own, discussing the merits of the paragraph charged as libel, and endeavouring to show that nothing of a libellous nature could be made out in it. In consequence of these discussions, Mr. Spankie, the Advocate General, thought fit to move *ex officio* for a criminal information to be filed against me, on the alleged

ground of my having endeavoured to pervert the course of justice, and intimidate the jury (not yet chosen or assembled) who were to try the question. After much argument at the bar, in which my counsel contended against the information, as not within the jurisdiction of the court to grant, and in which they were supported by Sir Francis Macnaghten, one of the judges on the bench; the opinions of the other two judges, Sir Edward Hyde East and Sir Anthony Buller, were in favour of the power of the court to grant informations, and this was accordingly filed against me in the month of December, 1821.

In the following month, January 1822, the question of libel against the Six Secretaries of the Indian Government was tried in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and I received a most complete and triumphant acquittal; there being circumstances connected with that trial which rendered the acquittal more than usually honourable.

After my acquittal on this charge, the Advocate General pressed the trial of the criminal information, though it might be considered that the original paragraph being declared innocent, any discussion of the merits of such paragraph would not of itself furnish ground for further proceeding. Fortunately for myself, the two judges who had consented to the filing of this criminal information, had, before this period, left Calcutta (Sir Edward East coming to England, and Sir Anthony Buller going to Bombay), so that the only remaining judge on the bench was Sir Francis Macnaghten; and when he was addressed on the subject of this trial, he said, that he had already declared his opinion, that the filing this criminal information against me was cruel, oppressive, and illegal, and that he never would try it.

Several months passed away without any other persons arriving from England to fill the vacancies on the Calcutta bench, Sir Francis Macnaghten remaining there as the sole Judge. I then instructed my attorney to ask Mr. Advocate General, professionally, whether any intention existed of bringing the criminal information to trial, or whether I might consider all such intention abandoned, and pay my legal charges. The reply was, that, as Advocate General, he had no idea that it would ever be revived, and, individually, he felt quite confident that it would be heard of no more.

After the lapse of about a year from the first filing of this criminal information, the late Sir Henry Blossett arrived in India as Chief Justice; and although no legal proceeding against me had taken place in that interval, or since my acquittal from the charge of libel in January, 1822, one of the first motions of the Advocate General before the new Chief Justice, was for the *revival* of that very information which had lain dormant for a year, because the only judge sitting on the bench had declared it cruel, illegal, and oppressive, and as such had refused to try it while he presided in the court. Sir Henry Blossett is understood to have said, that not being one of the judges on the bench at the time the information was filed, he was in no degree responsible for that measure; but finding such information before the court on his arrival in India, though not aware of the merits of the case, he should not object to try it. Efforts were then made to get a Special Jury, composed wholly of the servants of that very government which formed the prosecuting party; and the nomination was to depend on the Clerk of the Crown, who was one of the proprietors of *THE JOHN BULL* newspaper, (the others being all functionaries of the Indian Government itself,) a paper established in India for the avowed and express purpose of bringing my person and writings into infamy, and its proprietors therefore deeply interested in obtaining my conviction and ruin. At the hands of *such* a jury, composed wholly of persons in the highest offices of government, I could expect nothing but conviction, and I had accordingly made up my mind to the prospect of twelve months' imprisonment in an Indian jail. At this particular juncture, however, Sir Henry Blossett suddenly died; and Sir Francis Macnaghten being again left as the sole judge on the bench,

repeated again his former opinion, that the whole proceeding against me by information was cruel, oppressive, and illegal, and that he never would try it.

The Marquis of Hastings resigned the Government of India, and embarked from Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1823; the criminal information against me, as Editor of the Calcutta Journal, was revived on the 25th of the same month, and consequently under the new or temporary Government of Mr. Adam, who, as Senior Member of Council, succeeded to the Governor-Generalship till the new governor should arrive from England. The death of Sir Henry Blossett happened on the 1st of February following, and again occasioned the information to be suspended, as the remaining judge refused to try it.

These dates are worthy of particular remark, for the purpose of more distinctly proving the following facts.—1st. That up to the period of Lord Hastings's departure from India (January 1, 1823), I had committed no offence which, in his opinion, ought to be punished by my banishment from the country; and that he considered the freedom of the press to be so little fraught with danger, that he had not thought it necessary to make any new enactments for restraining its exercise.—2dly. That even his successor, Mr. Adam, thought the courts of law the proper tribunal for judging of offences through the press; which might be safely inferred from the revival of the criminal information under his new government (on the 25th of January), and from his having taken no steps whatever to indicate any change in the policy or practice of government, respecting the press in India, which, up to the lamented death of the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Blossett, on the 1st of February, was under legal bonds and legal prosecution.

Notwithstanding this, on the 12th of February, 1823, within a few days only after the criminal information was rendered inefficient for the time, by the sudden death of the presiding Judge, I received an order from the Supreme Government of India, declaring that, in the *judgment* of the Governor General, I had forfeited my claim to his countenance and protection, and that *therefore*, my licence to reside in India, granted by the Court of Directors at home, was to be declared null and void, within two months from the date of the order in question; after which, if found residing in India, I should be seized, and sent forthwith to the United Kingdom!

At this particular period of my being summarily banished from India, without a trial, without a hearing, or a defence, I was actually before the Supreme Court of Judicature as a defendant in the criminal information, which had not been finally or officially withdrawn; and also before it as a plaintiff in a civil action for damages; so that my arbitrary transportation from the country, without any legal crime being even alleged against me, not only deprived me of the opportunity of clearing my reputation, by defending it in open court against the charges urged in the information, but also went to prejudice the case in which I stood before the court as a plaintiff, for damages against those who had long been permitted to asperse my character by the most slanderous imputations. By this despotic act, therefore, the Supreme Government of India, in banishing me from the country without trial, obstructed the even course of justice, and not only withdrew from me *their* protection, but denied me the common privilege of the protection of the laws. As long as they entertained a hope that these laws would inflict on me the punishments of fine and imprisonment, the latter of which, in such a climate as India, often leads to premature death; so long they used this powerful engine to convict me of crime, and enforce its consequent penalties; but when they found that the laws were justly administered—that an impartial jury had acquitted me of the charge of libel on the indictment of the Six Secretaries—that the Judge of the Supreme Court had refused to try the information, as cruel, oppressive and illegal—and that, in my civil action against those who had endeavoured to ruin my reputation by the most unfounded slanders, I was likely to vindicate my character, and come out of

court in triumph, my enemies having already abandoned all attempts to justify their libels, by declining to produce proof of their being true,—at this particular juncture, when the tribunal of justice was about to protect and secure me from violence and wrong, the Indian Government forced me from the country, and from the protection of those very laws, which, as long as they could use them as an engine of terror and punishment to me, they constantly appealed to; but when likely to render me justice, they trampled on and set at naught!

It remains to speak of the particular offence, alleged by the Government of India as the cause of their arbitrary and unjust mandate; and in order to explain more fully the circumstances which led to this offence, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly the local history of events, out of which it may be said progressively to have arisen.

In the year 1818, when the Calcutta Journal was first established, there were six other newspapers then published in the same city; and one of these was under the editorship of the Rev. James Bryce, a Doctor of Divinity, moderator of the Scotch Kirk, head of the presbyterian religion in India, and only minister of that persuasion in Bengal. It had long been a subject of complaint with the members of the Scotch Kirk in Calcutta, that their pastor, whom they wished to see employed more as became the representative of their religion in the east, should edit a newspaper, and mix himself up, with no ordinary degree of violence, in all the questions of general and local politics which then agitated the society of India. His paper, entitled *THE ASIATIC MIRROR*, originally advocated liberal doctrines, and he was among the first to feel and complain of the hardship of being compelled to shape his opinions to the taste of a censor. With the Censor himself (Mr. Adam, then Chief Secretary,) he had some violent altercations; and after the censorship was removed, in June 1818, he was engaged in hot disputes with some of the most respectable persons in Calcutta, then at the head of society there, in which his conduct incurred the disapprobation of a great part of the community, as well as of his church. These circumstances, coupled with the increasing popularity of the Calcutta Journal, occasioned his paper, the *Asiatic Mirror*, to decline so rapidly in circulation, that it was transferred to other hands embarrassed with debts, and soon sunk to rise no more.

Soon after this, Dr. Bryce quitted India, and returned to Scotland. He had not been long there, however, before his acrimonious disposition was displayed by raking up some old disputes in the General Assembly of Scotland, where he was severely taught that the revival of old animosities was unbefitting the character of a minister of the Gospel. Certain other circumstances tending to embroil him in as violent controversies in Scotland, as those in which he had before indulged in India, he at length left his native country for Bengal, where he arrived in the month of September, 1822.

Not many months before this period, the *John Bull* newspaper had been established in Calcutta, for the avowed purpose of putting down the Calcutta Journal. The principal promoters and supporters of this paper were a few of the civil and military servants of the East India Company, secretaries included, who aided it after the manner in which the *Beacon* and *Sentinel* were assisted in Scotland; and among these were some of the chief officers of the Indian Government. Had its plan and object been to discuss public matters only, and to oppose mind to mind, opinion to opinion, no objection would ever have been raised to such a coalition of as much money or talent as could be brought together for such a purpose: but its great object was to slander the private character of those who were known to hold opinions differing from its own in politics, or who dared to assert that the object of *all* good government, whether in England or in India, ought to be the good of the many, rather than the aggrandizement of the few. I had been selected by these writers as the first and the principal victim to be broken on their wheel of torture; next, the female members of my family; and, lastly, all who were known

to be my friends or associates, whether in public sentiment, or in the intercourse of private life. Functionaries of the Indian Government were tacitly admitted to be among the principal writers in this paper; and its successive editors were promoted to places of emolument and trust, after endeavouring to bring the friends of a free press into disrepute, and to stamp the advocates of legal and constitutional doctrines with odium.

The return of the Rev. Dr. Bryce to India at this particular juncture of affairs, was remarked, by those who knew his disposition, and who remembered how much the success of the Calcutta Journal had contributed to his being driven from the editorial field, as likely to strengthen the ranks of the opposing party. Those who desired to think well of this Scotch clergyman, hoped that more than three years of absence would have calmed down his angry feelings, and that he would have relanded on the shores of India in peace with all mankind. The fact was, however, that soon after this period, the *John Bull* of Calcutta contained a series of anonymous calumnies on my private character, which outdid in atrocity all that had ever appeared, even in that slanderous Print. I had hitherto contented myself with open refutation of whatever falsehoods might have been circulated respecting me; and in this course I had been so triumphant, that I should perhaps always have followed it, if my enemies had also continued this mode of giving their accusations to the light. But having been invariably defeated whenever they ventured to put their aspersions in a tangible shape, a new mode of attack was begun, which was to threaten disclosures, and to assure the Indian public that "a scene of falsehood and iniquity would be disclosed, which should disgust every man of honourable feeling." Knowing well that this was a mere stratagem, and that the writer of this threat really possessed no information of which I had any reason to dread the disclosure, I addressed an article to the public, daring him to avow himself, and inviting him to produce his proofs. No such avowal being made, and no proofs being even offered, though the threats were still continued, it appeared to me and to my friends, that the writer should be compelled, either to substantiate his assertions, or be convicted as a calumniator. I accordingly addressed a private letter to the Editor of the *John Bull*, demanding the name of the writer in question; adding, that I asked it for no vindictive purpose, but merely to give him an opportunity of meeting me face to face, and producing his threatened disclosures to the world. The name of the writer was refused to be made known to me. My only remedy therefore was to institute legal proceedings against the Proprietors and Editor of the Paper. In all the proceedings at law had against me by the Government of India, they had chosen the *criminal* mode, which prevented my pleading the truth in justification. In the only instance, however, of my bringing *another* into court in India, I chose the *civil* mode, and commenced an action of damages, in order that the party slandering me might have the fullest opportunity of proving the truth of his assertions, or by failing so to do, admitting their falsehood; my only object being to show to the Indian public that I dreaded no disclosures, and that there was no man living whom I was afraid to encounter in open day.

Proceedings being instituted, the Proprietors and Editor of the *John Bull* applied to Mr. Spankie, the Advocate General, to defend their cause; but though these individuals were men high in rank, wealth, and favour, and though Mr. Spankie, as Advocate General, had always led the legal prosecutions of the Indian Government against me, this mass of slanders in the *John Bull* was such as he could not undertake to defend, and accordingly he refused their retainer. A new barrister, who had just arrived in the country, named Longueville Clark, who had yet had no opportunity of getting a brief in India, at last took up the desperate case. The day came, however, when it was necessary for the defendants to plead the truth in justification of the several libels selected as the subject of the prosecution. Al-

though the plaint had been filed twenty days, while four is the usual time allowed in England to plead, the defendants' counsel prayed for further time, in the hope of being able to protract the cause till another sessions. The ground set up for this demand of further time was, that as the several accusations against my private character had their scene laid in very distant countries, namely, England, Bombay, and Egypt, it was necessary to have time granted for procuring from these several countries witnesses and proofs of the accusations made. It was replied, however, by my advocates, and by the Judge on the bench, that men who attempt to asperse the characters of others, should have the proofs of their assertions in their hands; and not first slander, and then ask for time to traverse the globe, in search of such proofs as they might chance to collect in their journey. It ended in the motion being withdrawn, and the defendants' counsel pleading the general issue; thus avowing their inability to substantiate any portion of their slanderous and infamous aspersions on my character.*

With this I was satisfied, my only object being to show the Indian public, by whose support I lived, that the anonymous individuals who had threatened disclosures of crime and iniquity respecting myself, were unable to redeem their pledge. This issue was unfavourable enough to deject all those who were concerned in the propagation of the libels, whether as authors, publishers, or abettors; and it was generally believed to be as a consolation for this signal defeat, that the new government of India, under its temporary Governor General, Mr. Adam, bestowed on the Rev. Dr. Bryce, in return for his zealous but unsuccessful labours to bring the free press of India into disrepute, the appointment to an office called *Clerk of the Committee of Stationary*, formerly held by the Secretary to the Medical Board, but never before held by a clergyman. The salary attached to this appointment was five hundred rupees per month, or about 600*l.* sterling per annum. Its duties required the holder of it to examine, approve, or reject the various commodities supplied to the government of India under that head, including *all* the articles usually sold by stationers, which would require a competent knowledge of all the several kinds of supplies enumerated, as well as an entire freedom from every other occupation.

The Rev. Dr. Bryce, however, besides his probable incompetency to fill such an inspecting clerkship with advantage to the public service, or to his honourable employers, was already fully engaged as the head of the presbyterian church, and *only* minister of the Scotch Kirk in that part of India; as the editor of a new oriental magazine, in which he had already laboured hard to bring the free press of India into disesteem; and as secretary to a committee for collecting subscriptions to procure a painting and statue of Lord Hastings; besides being one of the contributors to the *John Bull* newspaper; having at the same time given up the secretariship to the Bible Society in Calcutta, on the plea, as has been asserted, and not denied, of wanting time and health for the discharge of its *unpaid* duties!

An official announcement of this appointment of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, to the clerkship of the Committee of Stationary, having been made, accompanied by a printed Appendix to the Government Gazette, inviting tenders for a supply of stationary by contract, and bearing his signature at full length, I was induced to republish this printed paper in my Journal of the following day, accompanied with remarks, the great object of which was to show the

* Subsequent advices from India bring intelligence of a verdict having been obtained against the Proprietors and Editor of the *John Bull*, for one thousand rupees damages, and costs. The judgment of the Court, which stamped the character of these libellers as deservedly infamous, and contained observations highly favourable to the defendant, will be given in a subsequent page.

incongruity of two such offices as the head of the presbyterian church in India, and an inspecting clerk of stationary.*

Being well aware of Mr. Adam's determined hostility to me, and convinced that no good opportunity of banishing me would be passed over by him, I had used especial caution, from the moment that Lord Hastings quitted India, and was often taunted by my enemies for this exercise of prudence. They had before quoted Shakspeare, to recommend the most summary process for my destruction—"Off with his head—so much for Buckingham;" and they now quoted the same author to say, "High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect." My prudence was however of little avail; for though the masked slanderers, who filled the pages of the *John Bull* from day to day with the most infamous and unfounded calumnies on my private character, and who exercised every art to excite dissensions in a society, whom they called upon to shun, abandon, and execrate me, were permitted to do all this without even a remonstrance from Government; yet my doom was so far sealed, that even without an infringement of any *positive* prohibition, it was determined to condemn me on *constructive* grounds.

The publication of the article before alluded to, was not, in truth, a breach of any of the restrictions originally laid on the press, absurd and illegal as these were; but my remarks having had the effect of making justly ridiculous the man whom the Governor General designed to honour, it might probably have mortified his vanity to find that his infallibility was not acknowledged, and that the press did not eulogize his wisdom in the choice. Accordingly, I received an official order, announcing to me that my publication of this particular article (indicating the page, so that I could not mistake it), coupled with *former* intimations from the Government (though this was the *first* I had ever received during the short reign of Mr. Adam), had occasioned me to forfeit all claim to the Governor General's *countenance* (which I never needed), and his *protection* (which I never asked), and that, being no longer worthy of *his* especial favour, I was to be deprived of all right of seeking protection from the law!—for such is the true intent and meaning of banishment without trial, by which the Governor first deprives a man of his licence, and then sentences him to transportation for not having in his possession what he himself has forcibly taken away!!

Independently of the extreme injustice of forcibly banishing me from the country at this particular period, when I stood before the court of judicature there, as a defendant in a criminal suit instituted against me by the Government, and as a plaintiff seeking an opportunity to establish, in a court of justice, my innocence of various accusations put forth with a view to ruin my reputation, there was this *additional* injury—the probable destruction of all that property which it had taken me five years of incessant labour and risk to accumulate, and bring into its present productive state. It must be evident that the value of any periodical publication depends on the continued superintendence of it; and in a country like India, where successors are so difficult to be procured, my sudden banishment from the superintendence of my business, at a time when its lawful exercise had begun to yield me a profit of from six to eight thousand pounds sterling per annum, was a measure the most ruinous to my honest prospects of fortune, a punishment altogether beyond the law, and in violation of every principle of justice.

Deeming it impossible that such a manifest abuse of power could be sanctioned by the laws of my country at home, I took immediate steps to hasten

* The paper itself, with the correspondence to which it gave rise, will be found at length, in the APPENDIX, to which the Reader is referred, as containing the *whole* of the Official Correspondence with the Indian Government, from its commencement in 1819 to its close in 1823.

my return to England; and as I was determined to bring the whole affair before the Courts, the Parliament, and the Public of Great Britain, I entered into the usual preliminary proceedings in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, for the purpose of obtaining the evidence and documents necessary to maintain a prosecution in the Court of King's Bench, against Mr. Adam, the acting Governor General of India; and when these arrive, the cause will be tried in England. Its issue will determine this great public question, whether the power granted to governors general, by the act 53d George III. c. 155, s. 36, to annul licences to reside in India, at their *discretion*, can be exercised for any purpose they see fit, without subsequent responsibility to a court of law, for injuries sustained through their abuse of such a power. It is true that by the 35th section of the same act, as well as by the terms of the licence itself, persons going to India are enjoined to observe all the legal *rules and regulations* then or thereafter in force, and to do nothing *contrary to law*. These conditions I have strictly observed, having offended no law of England, or regulation of the Indian government, so that my banishment cannot be justified, even on the grounds of an alleged breach of them; for which, however, in cases of such breach, the courts of justice would always furnish a remedy in the country itself, without having recourse to the arbitrary punishment of transportation without trial. It may be inferred, from section 123 of the same act, that the legislature contemplated possible abuses of this discretionary power vested in Indian governors, and accordingly provided the mode in which redress for such unlawful banishments should be sought. It remains, therefore, to be seen whether mine is a case of that description, and whether I have any reasonable hope of obtaining such redress through the legal tribunals of my country.

It is scarcely known to the people of England generally, that this odious power of transportation without trial, which was originally granted to the East India Company to enable them to send home from that country, persons visiting it without authority, and interfering with their commercial monopoly, may, by the vague manner in which it is expressed in the Company's Charter, be exercised on *any* Englishman, for *any* purpose that the reigning governor general may think fit!—and though freedom of religion, and freedom of trade, are both professedly permitted to Englishmen in India, yet that a man may be banished from the country for professing to doubt the doctrine of the Church of England (as a dissenting divine was very recently on the point of being), or for calling in question the legality or justice of some new tax or regulation, calculated to impede the just operations of commerce (as a well-known merchant formerly was). The native inhabitants of the country may profess any system of idolatry, and perform any horrid rites they please, even to the sacrifice of human life, without hindrance;—the foreigner, whether French, Dutch, American, or Chinese, may hold any opinions in politics, or on matters of trade, and express them as freely as he wishes, without being subject to any other restraint than the law, or any other tribunal than that of an open court, and an impartial jury:—it is reserved for *Englishmen alone* to be degraded below the lowest of all the castes of Hindostan, in being subject to a despotism which cannot reach the native Indian or the foreigner, who must be tried by the laws of the land before they can be punished; while the Englishman can be instantly sentenced to banishment and ruin, at the mere will and pleasure of the ruler for the time being, without even the nature of his offence being stated, and without a hearing or opportunity of defence!

In bringing this important question before the courts, the parliament, and the public of England, I am therefore looking far beyond the mere personal interest that I have individually in its issue. My desire is to see so odious a power as this taken from the hands of those who can never need it for any *good* purpose; but who, if they find they can do so with impunity, will constantly be tempted to use it for *bad* and *corrupt* ends. While such a power

is suffered to continue, there can be neither freedom of person, freedom of property, nor freedom of opinion, whether in religious matters or in the common concerns of life, at least for *Englishmen*, in India: and as it must be desirable to all my fellow-countrymen to inquire into the necessity of a law, by which they, though paying largely to support the East India Company's monopoly of trade, are debased below foreigners of every nation, and even below the native Indians themselves, the moment they set their feet on the enslaving soil of that very Company's territory in the east; I may with great truth and justice say, in the words of one whose name alone would rouse a nation on such a theme, "This is not the cause of party—or the cause of faction—but the cause of every man in Britain."

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

After this narrative of *facts*, it will be well to examine some of the *opinions* expressed in the Governor's apologetic Statement, as tending in his belief to justify the measure to which he resorted.

The Statement opens with an assertion, as unfounded in truth as the greater part of its subsequent averments. It states that Mr. Buckingham's writings were from the very commencement distinguished by "virulence and wanton personality;" yet it offers not a single instance in proof of so bold an assertion: at the same time overlooking the remarkable fact that these writings never once drew their author into a conviction for libel, though all the influence of the Government and the Court was employed against him: while the Indian *John Bull*, the paper to which he was opposed, and which was set on foot and maintained by the functionaries of this same Government, contained a series of personal slanders, which the Judge on the bench declared "he could not think of without horror!" This is an early specimen of an Indian governor's obliquity of vision, which enabled him to see "virulence and personality" in writings from which even an opposing advocate could only select as objectionable the phrase "subservient," applied to an editor's public character: * while he remains silent on that which a British Judge on the same occasion

* After Mr. Longueville Clarke had read to the Court what he considered the worst parts of a long series of the Calcutta Journal, in order to show that its character would at least palliate the libels of his clients on the Editor,—the following was the reply made by the Counsel on the other side:—"As to the extracts selected by Mr. Clarke from the twenty-six Numbers of the Calcutta Journal, and which have been read, I am satisfied that if my learned Friend could have discovered any *more libellous* matter, he would have produced it to the Court. As he has *not* done so, it may be safely taken for granted that it did not exist. Now, he had not been able to produce *one* libel on private character: there was not a single word of calumny on *any* private individual. In fact, upon my learned Friend's own showing, THERE COULD NOT BE A PURER PAPER IN EXISTENCE. If it come to libels between Editors, the most objectionable expression that could be found (in the Calcutta Journal) is that which accused a former Editor of the John Bull of being 'subservient;' and even that is applicable to *public* conduct. And is it for this that Mr. Clarke thinks it justifiable for a few powerful men, if they be so, to combine together to hunt down Mr. Buckingham from society, and proscribe all who should countenance him?—than which nothing is more repugnant to English law, or more abhorrent to the spirit of Englishmen."—*Report of the Trial in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, April 7, 1823.*

considers as malicious, false, and abominable—and sentences to the just punishment of the law.

For the several alleged offences which were made the subject of correspondence between the Government of India and the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, the Letters in the APPENDIX must be consulted : and the reader will there see that in almost every instance the reasons offered to the Chief Secretary, through whom the letters were received, were sufficient to induce Lord Hastings, the Governor General at that period, to admit their force. This alone might be received as evidence of Mr. Buckingham standing acquitted, in the opinion of Lord Hastings, up to the period of his resigning the government of India into the hands of his successor Mr. John Adam ; and this, therefore, would confine the question under discussion to this single point—"Whether the conduct and writings of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, during Mr. Adam's brief occupation of power, were of themselves sufficient to justify his sentencing that person to removal from the country." It is contrary to every principle of equity, that a number of former offences (admitting for the sake of argument that any such existed) should be arrayed together to make up a weight sufficient to turn the scale : when all these offences had been pardoned, or admitted to be atoned for, before the present possessor of power came into office. Yet, aware of the total inadequacy of the only offence he could allege to have taken place since his accession to power, to justify so harsh a decision,—this temporary Governor, of a month's date, has filled his Statement with an enumeration of all the several acts done when he was but a subordinate servant of the Government, and was acting under a superior who had successively examined into the evidence of each separate case, and absolved or acquitted the accused of all and every charge up to the period of his resigning his administration ! It is, as if an heir apparent should succeed to the English throne, and distinguish the first few days of his reign by inflicting summary punishment on all those who had written any thing not approved by himself during the life of his predecessor, notwithstanding that they might have been tried, heard, and acquitted of all and every act done under the previous reign ! Let any one picture to himself the horror and consternation which such a proceeding would create in England, and he will form a correct notion of the deep dissatisfaction and disgust which an exactly similar line of conduct has created in India. It is exactly this which Mr. John Adam has done—as if pre-determined to punish his victim, he seized the first flimsy pretext that offered, issued his immediate mandate of perpetual exile from the country over which he had ruled but a few days—and could not be expected to rule for many more—and, when he had banished his opponent, and stopped the tongues of every other person from complaining, by

the enactment of laws that would punish such complaint with the same severity, he sits down to rake up every part of this banished individual's writings for a period of five years preceding, so as to add to the light pretext he has chosen, the accumulated weight of former charges over which he could have no just jurisdiction; he thus fancies that out of several smaller indiscretions deserving only admonition already given by a former Judge, he has formed one great crime deserving torture and exile,—which *he* takes it upon him to inflict, without a trial, or even a hearing of what the accused had to offer in self-defence!

What these indiscretions were, the reader will see on a reference to the APPENDIX, where they are all stated in the strongest light in which the offended parties could place them. It will be sufficient to say that they were regarded by all others *except* the parties to which they referred, as fair and honourable efforts towards establishing the exercise of that "scrutiny" on the public acts of the Indian government, which Lord Hastings had himself invited, while his Councillors who stood by, and heard his Lordship applauded for this invitation, never once indicated by any step their disapprobation of this public invitation. But that the parties whose acts are scrutinized should pass a favourable, or even an impartial judgment on the merits of such strictures is not of course to be expected; human nature is under the influence of the same prejudices and passions in India as in England or elsewhere: disqualifying, in each case, any man from being a judge in his own cause. It may be well, however, to recapitulate the several offences, as they stand in Mr. Adam's own list, with all the additional aggravations that he has found it necessary to give them in order to justify, if possible, the punishment awarded to the last of the series, under the pretence of that *one* event belonging to a great whole.—

1. The *first* offence given by the Calcutta Journal to the Supreme Government of India, was the stating, on the authority of letters from Madras, that the fact of Mr. Elliott's being confirmed in the government of that presidency was regarded as a public calamity; adding also that under his administration the censorship of the press was so unjustly exercised, that while every thing tending to criminate the late Queen was permitted to appear, the evidence and speeches in her defence were suppressed; and even the celebrated letter of the late lamented Princess Charlotte to her mother, written just before the Princess's death, **struck out from the columns of a Madras paper by the pen of the censor there, conformably to the system of suffering nothing to transpire that could give a complexion to the case, differing from the one entertained by the censor himself.** Had the representation of this state of things at Madras been without good foundation in truth,

it would have been easy to have punished the writer, as he would have deserved, in a court of law. But Mr. Adam, in speaking of this publication, says :—

“ When it was referred to the Advocate General of India for his opinion whether it was a libel, and if so whether it was advisable to institute any and what proceedings against the author ; he discouraged a prosecution in the Supreme Court, not from any doubt of the libellous nature of the passage, but chiefly from considerations of expediency arising out of the uncertainty of the issue, in the agitated feeling which prevailed with regard to the topic principally alluded to. The idea of a prosecution was therefore relinquished,” p. 8.

These are the Governor General's own words : so that even in this early stage of the offences of the press, it was the opinion of the Indian Government, that a Court of Law was the proper tribunal before which to arraign and try the offender ; but finding that their Advocate General knew well enough how a British Jury would treat the question of an odious Censorship on the Press, if it came before them,—they gave up the idea. A magnanimous and an upright government, that acknowledged the dominion of the law to be superior to arbitrary power, would have stopped here ; and payed that deference to its legal tribunals which every government owes,—by leaving judicial punishments to their province alone. But the Indian Government, having “ two strings to its bow,” first tries the law,—and when it finds that it has no punishment to inflict upon those who are unconvicted of crime, it takes the office of Accuser—Witness—Judge—Jury—and Executioner into its own hands ; and without the tedious delay of trial, evidence, or defence, puts whatever construction it chooses on the actions or opinions of its victim ; and with a great show of mercy, pretends forgiveness of what it has no power to punish legally ; but threatens instant destruction of all the writer's future prospects, if he ventures to offend their “ High Mightinesses” again ! It is to be observed, however, that this particular offence was committed by the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, under an entire ignorance of there being any other restrictions on the press of Calcutta,—except the common restraint of a responsibility to a court and jury *after* publication—and this will sufficiently account for the nature and tone of his Reply to the Government of Bengal (given in the APPENDIX) after these restrictions were first brought to his notice.

2. The *second* offence enumerated in Mr. Adam's printed Statement—(though not made a subject of animadversion by the Indian government at the time, and consequently not included in the official correspondence at the end)—is that of Mr. Buckingham having, at a period *anterior* to the *first* complaint (before he could possibly have known that it would give offence), expressed too freely his sentiments on another suppression by the censor at Madras. The occasion was the following : After the return of

the Marquis of Hastings from his Pindarrie campaign in 1818, he called the British public of India together in the government-house at Calcutta, and explained to them his acts and motives during the recent war; this acknowledgment of the existence of a public in British India, and this appeal to public opinion, inviting judgment on his conduct, made so favourable an impression on the British inhabitants of India generally, that Meetings were held, and Addresses penned in all quarters, to present to his Lordship on this occasion. Of all others, the meeting at Madras was the most remarkable, for the rank, number, and intelligence of those who attended it.—Among other topics of eulogy there introduced, was that of the Freedom of the Press, which Lord Hastings was understood to have *restored* in India (for it existed in full vigour before Lord Wellesley's time), by abolishing the Censorship, which still existed at Madras. The proceedings of this meeting, which were countenanced by the highest officers of the civil, military, and law establishments at Madras, were nevertheless particularly obnoxious to the Governor of that presidency, because they eulogized a free press as the greatest blessing that could be given to India, and denounced a censorship as the greatest curse that could afflict any civilized country. Accordingly the reports of the speeches at this meeting were not suffered to be published in the newspapers at Madras, but were struck out by the pen of the censor, after they had been prepared for the press. Copies were privately printed, however, and sent up to Calcutta, where they were published, much to the gratification of the British inhabitants of that part of India, and also to the most intelligent natives of the country, who were by this means made acquainted with the sentiments of the leading Englishmen in the country, as to the wish generally entertained for the improvement of India, and the conviction that a free press, unshackled by censors or restrictions, and subject only to a court and a jury, would do more to promote that improvement than any other single cause. The Madras editor, in reference to these suppressed proceedings, apologized to his readers for their not appearing in his paper as he had intended, saying "they were prepared for the press, but a cause over which we have no control prevents their publication." They were published, however, at Calcutta; and on that occasion Mr. Buckingham made the following remarks:—

"The cause over which they (the Madras editors) had no control, we need not name to our readers. It has been in full vigour in Spain for ages, and the Inquisition owes to it its very existence. Fortunately, however, as there are no effectual means of utterly subduing so immortal a principle as love of liberty and truth, as it breaks asunder all the bonds and fetters with which it is shackled, to rebound with greater vigour on its oppressors, the suppressed proceedings could not be prevented from seeing the light: so that the end of the enemies of the press is not only defeated by attempting to shackle it, but their shame as well as their discomfiture is complete." p. 10. 11.

It need hardly be observed that this opinion on the subject of a censorship as compared with a free press, differed in nothing but the mere manner of expressing it, from the sentiments of Lord Hastings himself, then the highest authority in the country, nor from those of the Chief Justice of the King's Court at Madras, and most of the eminent men then in India. Yet Mr. Adam, in his pamphlet, expresses his opinion of these sentiments, of which no Englishman ought to be ashamed, in the following terms :—

“ These malicious observations, with others of a similar nature that appeared about the same period in the Calcutta Journal, evidently showed a *deliberate design*, on the part of Mr. Buckingham, to *calumniate* the Government of Madras, for not tolerating what he, Mr. Buckingham, was *pleased to call* a Free Press.” p. 11.

The “malice” here averred, consisted only in preferring rational liberty of thought and expression to the enslaving influence of fetters on the pen and tongue : the “*deliberate design to calumniate*” was a determination to express on all fit occasions an abhorrence of a censorship, as repugnant to law as it is subversive of justice ; and what was “*called*” a Free Press, which it was desirable to see established at Madras and in every other part of the British Empire, was a press subject to legal responsibility before a court and jury, instead of an arbitrary power of suppression or punishment to be inflicted at pleasure by one man, subject to all the influence of caprice, prejudice, and passion, and naturally hostile, from the very nature of his office, to the dissemination of truth. If *these* were crimes deserving punishment in India, the person accused of them may well be proud of the distinction he enjoys, in having had honesty enough to stem the general torrent of corruption, and maintain, even in opposition to authority, wishes and sentiments like these.

3. The *third* offence enumerated in the Governor General's printed Statement, is that of Mr. Buckingham's having complained of the measures taken by the Madras Government to impede the circulation of his Journal through their territories. The reader will find the whole correspondence on this subject in the APPENDIX, and may form his own opinion on this case, after perusal. It will be sufficient here to remark that the government of Bengal *insisted* in this instance on an immediate apology, to be drawn up and sent to the Chief Secretary's office for his inspection ; and that Mr. Buckingham refused to make such an apology, contending, and proving even to the satisfaction of those who asked it, that they ought to withdraw their demand, which they did accordingly. A just government would have endeavoured to make some reparation to the feelings of an individual from whom they had insisted on an apology, on pain of banishment—if they had afterwards found their ground so weak as to be obliged to withdraw it. But though

Lord Hastings was high-minded enough to receive the refusal to apologize as a proof of conscious right, and to abstain from further measures—Mr. Adam has no such exalted views of resistance to an unjust demand; which he characterizes by the following language in his Statement:—

“ Mr. Buckingham’s reply to this communication from Government (demanding an immediate apology) is well deserving of the most serious consideration, as illustrative of the true spirit and progress of his opposition and disobedience. Instead of transmitting the draft of the acknowledgment and apology to the Chief Secretary as directed, he enters into an explanation and justification of his conduct.” “ To the clear and positive injunctions of the Supreme Government of the country, Mr. Buckingham, a licensed free mariner, thinks proper to oppose his own pretended dignity, as if the *unfounded* insinuations thrown out by him against the public conduct of the Madras Government were nothing—and his dignity every thing.” “ Instead, therefore, of an apology to Government, as demanded of him, he sends a long letter of justification; and it was not until he was called upon a second time that he sent in a draft of a letter for the purpose of being forwarded to Madras, which draft contained no apology whatever, but another attempt at justification.” p. 12, 13, 14.

Here, then, we see, in its brightest colours, the sort of slavery in which this temporary Governor General would soon have held all his countrymen in India, if his brief reign had been prolonged! To refuse to submit to the degradation of making an apology when demanded, is characterized by him as “opposition” and “disobedience”—and that too from a “*free mariner*” (what a prostitution of the term!) who is not in the service either of the Governor or his honourable masters. To oppose to the *clear* and *positive* injunctions of an arbitrary power, a respectful statement of the grounds on which these injunctions cannot be obeyed, is considered as little short of treason to the state: and to maintain the “dignity” of an honest man, by refusing to stoop to prevarication and falsehood, or to retract opinions still entertained, is thought by Mr. Adam to be a crime “worthy of serious consideration.” That the insinuations against the Madras Government were *not* “unfounded” may be gathered from the fact, that Lord Hastings admitted the force of most of the reasons offered to prove them founded in truth, and by the Government withdrawing their claim to the apology originally demanded—which those who know any thing of governments generally, but particularly of Asiatic ones, must be convinced that no despotic body like that which rules over India would retract, without the strongest and most unequivocal proofs of their being wrong. A reference to the Letters contained in the APPENDIX will set this in the clearest light: but we must content ourselves here with touching only on the leading features of each case.

4. The *fourth* charge on the acting Governor’s printed list, is that Mr. Buckingham published in the Calcutta Journal a Letter

from a correspondent at Hyderabad, complaining of great losses sustained by the officers and men of the Nizam's troops, in consequence of their pay being made to them in a currency which they could not remit without a great sacrifice: and "insolently recommending to Government" that some steps should be taken to remedy this, as an open deduction from their pay would be more agreeable than a loss of this description. The writer of this letter publicly stated that he had left his address with the editor, and was prepared to *prove* the facts stated. Government asked his name, and it was given: the result was that an inquiry was made into the affair, and the evil was remedied. This calling the attention of the ruling power to the existence of abuses in the subordinate departments of its government, is characterized by Mr. Adam as "audaciously arraigning the acts of Government"—and "wantonly traducing their servants in the discharge of their public duty." Writers who offer their names, and proofs of their assertions, are by him called "anonymous calumniators"—and an editor suggesting to Government the propriety of inquiring into certain defects of any particular system, is said to be "insolently recommending" improvement! This is the exact phraseology of a Governor intoxicated with his sudden elevation, and may give the English reader some idea of the political and public character which is formed on so choice a model. It is notorious, throughout all India, that the government of the Nizam, at Hyderabad, is a sink of abomination and infamy: and so well aware were even the members of the Supreme Government of this, that neither the writer of the letter, nor its publisher, was ever put to the test of proving what might have been abundantly established; the evil was undeniable: but apprehensions were felt that more disclosures would take place; and this calling for the Author was a mere attempt to intimidate others from making similar communications: while the Editor was passed over, without even an injunction to be more careful for the future.

5. The *fifth* charge in the ephemeral Governor's Statement is that of Mr. Buckingham's giving insertion to a Letter, signed "EMULUS," asserting that in India the claims of merit were constantly set aside to make room for those of interest; and that men of independent minds, who would not fawn on their superiors, were condemned to obscurity and indigence. Although this is but too faithful a picture of governments generally—more particularly of those like India, remote from the mother country, and without either the control of a local public, representatives, or a free press to check its abuses: yet it was perhaps less true as applied to India at *that* period than it has been ever since. At the time of its publication, however, the Editor stated that his principal object in giving it insertion was to offer both proofs and arguments in refutation of the writer's position: and to show, that though some

instances might be cited in support of his opinion; yet, in the great majority of cases, and particularly in the military service, (to which his remarks were meant chiefly to apply,) merit had its due share of reward. The publication was, however, submitted to the Advocate General, and it was resolved that it should be made the subject of a prosecution. But, as if in this case also there was a dread of what might be said in illustration of this subject in a court of justice—the prosecution never took place, it being withdrawn in consequence of a private letter written by Mr. Buckingham to Lord Hastings (at his Lordship's own suggestion and request), disavowing any participation in the sentiments of the writer, and regretting its appearance—which at the time was frankly expressed, because sincerely felt—and afterwards embodying these sentiments in an Official Letter to the Council.

6. The *sixth* charge in Mr. Adam's Statement is the publication of a Letter, written by an officer, to expose a system of monopoly among the older officers at certain stations in the interior, of building and selling bungalows, or houses, in a manner better suited to traders and dealers than to gentlemen in a military service:—which induced the Government to inquire the name of the writer. When this was furnished to them (with the author's consent), it led to an investigation, which lessened the evil complained of; and a letter of admonition was written by Lord Hastings to the officer in question, expressed in the mildest terms—while, according to Mr. Adam's own account, "Mr. Buckingham's conduct in giving it publicity, passed without animadversion,"—which (it may be added) it was not likely to do, if there had been any thing in his conduct that could have deserved that animadversion, even in the slightest degree.

7. The *seventh* article of charge is the having stated that the "Infamous Prospectus" of the JOHN BULL Newspaper, established in India by the Functionaries of that Government, was circulated Post Free by authority, at the same time that the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, which it was set up to oppose, was subject to a heavy postage. This assertion was perfectly true: and the Government never ventured even to deny the fact. That Prospectus contained the most atrocious slanders on the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, and charges of blasphemy, sedition, and insolent audacity on all who supported its conductor in what was termed his "guilty profit and guiltier popularity;" though the editor had, up to that period, never once been convicted of the publication of any thing contrary to law—and his writings were supported by nine-tenths of the English gentlemen residing in India. These slanders were circulated throughout every part of the country, Post Free—and by the permission of Government too: while the Defence put forth by Mr. Buckingham was subjected to the

usual charge of postage, so heavy as to amount in many instances to one rupee, or half-a-crown per cover. This also, like former accusations, was so true, that when the Advocate General was referred to on the subject, with a view to prosecute Mr. Buckingham for a libel, he wisely recommended them not to venture on the proceeding—a fact that we learn from Mr. Adam's own confession (p. 21.), and which speaks volumes in Mr. Buckingham's favour. When the origin of the Indian John Bull is considered,—its Proprietors being functionaries of the Bengal Government and Bengal Court; its several Editors being servants of that Government, who were successively promoted to places of emolument and trust; and its principal contributors being the very Secretaries to Government themselves: which was publicly laid to their charge by Mr. Buckingham in one of his last letters to the Council, as printed in the APPENDIX,—and which they did not dare to dispute or deny—no one can wonder that such especial favour was on all occasions shown to it. But the reader will judge what must have been the character of the Government of India at that period, when, after in vain trying law and argument to beat down inquiry into their acts, and then countenancing and patronizing a paper like the Indian Bull, whose whole career has been one of personal slander, in direct violation of the very law made by that Government to restrain the press—which above all things prohibits the publication of “private scandal or personal remarks calculated to excite dissension in society”—it could banish from the country the Editor of one paper, who had never once been convicted of libel either on public or private character, and yet not only leave untouched or even unproved, but actually provide for and promote the successive Editors of another paper, whose virulence and malignity were so marked that, when proceeded against by Mr. Buckingham in court, where he invited them by a Civil Action, in order to give them an opportunity of *proving* their slanders—the presiding and only Judge, Sir Francis Macnaghten, notwithstanding his strong bias in favour of the Government,—and the fact of there being among the proprietors, one who was his son-in-law, Mr. John Trotter—two who were his intimate friends, Mr. John Pascal Larkins and Mr. Richard Chichely Plowden—and two who were officers of his own court, Mr. Lewin, Clerk of the Crown, and Mr. Greenlaw, (the sixth editor,) Coroner for Calcutta;—notwithstanding there was no Jury, but all was left to his own breast,—was compelled to deliver the following judgment:

“That the Plaintiff was entitled to just damages was undeniable. That he had suffered no special damage was avowed; and special damages accordingly were not claimed.* To his Lordship's mind there was no question of

* Mr. Buckingham had instructed his counsel to say, he did not come into that court to seek compensation in money: for, atrocious as these slanders were,

the malice of the writers in the *John Bull* towards Mr. Buckingham. It was true Mr. Buckingham had appealed to the public; but he did not apply to be expelled from society, and his friends to be proscribed. Really, to his Lordship's mind they were most malicious libels: he could not speak of them without horror. If he conceived Mr. Buckingham had suffered in his Newspaper, or in his mind, his Lordship would award him the most ample and exemplary damages; but as special damage was not pleaded, he did not consider heavy damages necessary. Concluded his Lordship 'Let the Plaintiff have a thousand rupees damages, and costs.'—*Report of the Trial in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, April 7, 1823.*

This is the judgment, solemnly given as to the character and writings of the *John Bull* of India, after a hearing of all that could be said by a paid advocate in a court of justice in its defence—and it was the "Infamous Prospectus" of this infamous paper that the Government of India circulated Post-free, while the Defence opposed to it was charged with heavy postage. It was this libellous paper, the editors and contributors of which were successively provided for by places of emolument and trust under the Indian Government. It was this scandalous print in which the Secretaries to Government themselves wrote *against* the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*—provoking him by anonymous attacks, to say something in defence, and then, in their official capacity, moving in the Council-board for his banishment from the country, for venturing to reply to matters urged on him by their own pens! It is these convicted libellers that still remain in India, enjoying the confidence and patronage of that very Government, which pretends to be so delicately alive to every offence committed through the press, that they were compelled, as a matter of painful necessity, to banish Mr. Buckingham from the country for several pretended crimes, not one of which has ever been established by evidence that would stand the test of an open court—while they still hug to their bosoms, and keep closely in their confidence, the convicted libellers who have been disgraced by a sentence from the Bench, that ought to make them unworthy of any thing but public scorn and contempt. It is a very marked feature of Mr. Adam's garbled and perverted Statement, that in professing to give a history of the circumstances connected with Mr. Buckingham's removal from India, he carefully conceals from those for whom his Statement is principally intended—Members of Parliament, and Directors of the East India Company—all the disgraceful parts enumerated respecting the *John Bull* of India. From his Statement it could

his character stood so high amongst those who knew him, that they had in no way affected the sale of his paper, and therefore his property remained uninjured: while, conscious of innocence, the tranquillity of his mind remained undisturbed. But he brought these libellers into court as the only effectual means left him of proving to the public of India, by whose support and approbation he lived, that even the writers of these libels were ashamed to avow themselves, and that they had not a shadow of evidence to substantiate their case. The result of the trial effected this object most completely, and with this Mr. Buckingham was satisfied.

hardly be gathered that such a paper existed: when it is well known in India—and will subsequently be shown here—that almost all the later and more important subjects of complaint urged against the Calcutta Journal, arose entirely out of the aggressions daily put forth by the functionaries of Government themselves in that infamous print—for the very purpose of provoking reply and comment in defence, and then making the matter of such defence the subject of fresh charges against the Editor of the Journal; while the Editor of the Bull remained free to go to any lengths he thought proper, without reprimand or complaint.

8. The *eighth* charge of Mr. Adam is that Mr. Buckingham published a letter containing “insinuations, so extremely disrespectful to the public character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, that his Lordship felt it due to himself and to the station which he had been called to fill, to lay it before the Governor General in Council.”—We boldly assert that the letter in question contained nothing like an insinuation disrespectful to the Bishop: and we refer the reader to the APPENDIX where he will find the letter at full length, and not a false abstract of it, in Mr. Adam’s peculiar style. It states as a fact that a chaplain in the interior of India had left his station without leave, to the great inconvenience of the community which was thus deprived of his spiritual aid: and suggested the propriety of chaplains being made, like other servants of Government, so far amenable to the local authority, as to be obliged to ask leave and show good grounds for absence, before they left their flock to take care of themselves. The fact was admitted, even by the Government, who stated in their letter to Mr. Buckingham, that the offending individual had already been reprovved for this “transgression,” (for so it was termed by their own Secretary,) and that *therefore* the public notice of it was objectionable, as implying that no steps had been taken to check the evil! If the statement itself was erroneous, there would have been room for censure: but the remarkable part of this case is, according to Mr. Adam’s own showing—that though the Bishop acknowledged both the fact and its evil tendency, by taking serious notice of the transgression, and reprovving the offending individual; yet his dignity was hurt by any other person venturing to point out a defect, or suggest an improvement, in a department which he considered peculiarly his own. The doctrines set forth in the letter of the Government on that occasion, and now repeated in Mr. Adam’s Statement, are sufficiently curious to deserve the reader’s attention when he turns to the APPENDIX to read the Correspondence through. The Bishop himself is made to say that when these “serious accusations” appeared, (namely, stating that a chaplain was wrong in doing what even the Bishop himself had reprovved him for, and what the Government characterized

in its official letter as a "transgression,") "they could not be *repelled* in any more PUBLIC method than by submitting them to Government, and recording at the same time his sentiments on them;" by which most "public method," the Bishop's opinions were made known to *five* individuals;—the Governor-General, three members of Council, and a Secretary! in addition to Mr. Buckingham himself. The remedy for all these evils, said the Government, is for the individuals aggrieved to write to the *proper department*, where redress is *sure* to be procured,—and not to the editor of a newspaper! If this were true, every press in the world might be broken up and destroyed: but it is because it is *not* true, that the press is found so troublesome, in perpetually reminding men of those neglected parts of their public duties, which, without such occasional remembrances, they would *never* perform. The same body, that but a year or two before had heard it proclaimed by their Chief, in the seat of government, that "It is salutary for Supreme Authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny;" *now* state that "they were perfectly sensible of the practical objection which attends these irregular appeals to the public." The same persons who admitted in 1819, that "while conscious of rectitude, authority could lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment—on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force," *now* state that "even if the matter stated be correct, the public could afford no relief;" and that public scrutiny exercised through the press in such a country as India, must only tend to weaken the hands of Government, and relax the attachment and obedience of the people. (p. 52.) The inference is clear,—“If our motives of action are *worthy* (said Lord Hastings) it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion.” Mr. Adam protests against these motives or any act of the Government being made subject to *any* scrutiny at all, or rendered any further intelligible than he may choose. (p. 51.) Is it then that they are unworthy? or from what *other* cause can he possibly desire to have them protected from that scrutiny which he himself exercises over the public conduct of others? The reader will easily answer this question for himself. We shall go more at large into this branch of our subject, when we come to meet the objections raised to the existence of a press in India at all—except under such fetters as the Governor, for the time being, may impose—and pass on to the narrative.

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It will be observed that up to the present period, there was such a vacillating course pursued by the Government of India;—at one time having recourse to the law, at another to threats of punishment, independently of that protecting power; at one time demanding an apology, at another retracting it; and in almost

every case being really dissuaded from the course they meant to pursue, by reasons offered by Mr. Buckingham, in justification of his several publications;—that it was impossible to gather from their proceedings what they intended should be the future standard for trying offences through the press. Accordingly, Mr. Buckingham at the close of his last letter, defending himself from the imputations cast on his motives and conduct in publishing the article which excited the anger of the Bishop, expressed a wish to have this clearly defined: and stated that “whether the laws of his country—the written restrictions of the Indian Government—or even a censorship, were to be his future guide—he should acquiesce in the common submission exacted from all, by a power, which whether legally or illegally exercised, no individual like himself could hope successfully to resist.” The answer of the Chief Secretary to this did not condescend to allude to this important and necessary distinction; but laconically informed Mr. Buckingham that “his letter had produced no change in the sentiments of Government.” Had a common submission been exacted from all, the task of Government would have been easy: as they might then have punished the first who ventured to depart from the rule they had laid down. But their difficulties arose entirely out of the crookedness of their own policy. There was not a single newspaper in Calcutta that was not tolerated in the daily breach of the very regulations which were laid down professedly as binding on all. One of the most prominent of these regulations was to prohibit the publication of “private scandal, or personal remarks tending to excite dissension in society.” Yet it is notorious that every paper in India was permitted to break through this prohibition when Mr. Buckingham was to be assailed. And was *he* to bear all these indignities in silence? In the most civilized communities, though all men are bound to obey the laws and abstain from breaches of the peace; yet if a man be assaulted with deadly weapons, is he not to wrest the murderous instrument from the assailant’s hand, and at least stay his arm from stabbing before the mortal blow is given? Yet it is no more than this that Mr. Buckingham has done, when he has appeared to depart from pledges given to observe even the regulations which fettered the press—though he always disputed their legality even to the Government itself. In almost every instance subsequent to the establishment of the John Bull, this has been the case: and we put it to the common feelings of the reader, whether any thing could possibly justify a government tolerating the most unbridled licentiousness in a print, professedly established for the purpose of crushing a rival, owned by their functionaries, written in by their Secretaries, and taken under their peculiar patronage; and not suffering the accused to enjoy the same freedom in reply, without constant threats of banishment, while the accusers were protected,

honoured and rewarded? It is easy to judge what the answer of every feeling and upright heart must be.

9. The *ninth* charge is thus stated in the Governor's *impartial Statement* :

"Notwithstanding the solemn warning again given to Mr. Buckingham, and the reiterated promises on his part to attend in future to the written and defined restrictions issued on the removal of the censorship, he continued to make his paper the channel of almost every species of writing prohibited by the resolutions of Government, and acted indeed as if he considered himself as altogether independent of its authority." p. 27.

Never was an assertion more unfounded in truth. Mr. Buckingham had, in *June* 1819, when these restrictions were first brought to his notice, promised to make them his future guide. In *July* 1819, Lord Hastings publicly asserted that he had removed the restrictions from the press, that he "regarded freedom of publication as the natural right of his fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned; and that, seeing no such cause in India, he had broken the invidious shackles in which the press had before been bound;" extolling in the highest terms "the value of that spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments." After *this* he was surely absolved from the pledge of observing restrictions, which were here solemnly declared to be removed by the head of the government himself. In the very next case of complaint, in which this subject was referred to, Mr. Buckingham again asked to have some "distinct and clear guide" for his future conduct, "in the shape of a law or regulation, binding on all, and uniform and impartial in its operation:" to which the Government gave only a vague answer, referring to the *Rules* of 1818, and speaking of the possibility of some future *revival* of the *Restrictions*, as if they were still a dead letter. In the next case came the Letter on Chaplains,—in his justification of which Mr. Buckingham again said, "whether the law, or the restrictions, or even a censorship, be restored, I shall still acquiesce in the common submission *exactd from all*." But the Government of India, too proud to condescend to such an act of justice, never once passed even the Restrictions of 1818 into a law, nor ventured to assign any rule but their own arbitrary will, as a standard for judging of offences through the press: thus leaving them at convenient liberty to pass over the writings of all Mr. Buckingham's opponents, however manifestly in violation of the spirit and even letter of their pretended rules, while *they* were free to condemn his productions, on any pretext they chose; as they were alone accuser, witness, judge, jury, and executioner; simply resolving whatever they pleased to be a crime, and assuming the power to punish it or not as they thought proper. To represent Mr. Buckingham as having made *reiterated* promises of ob-

serving the written restrictions is therefore *false*: and it is equally so to say, that, notwithstanding this, his paper was the channel of almost every species of writing prohibited by them. There can be no doubt in the mind of the reader, we should think, by this time, of the disposition of the Government to take advantage of every occasion that presented itself, to find fault with Mr. Buckingham's paper; nor of Mr. Adam having made out in his Statement the strongest possible case against the person he has banished. Yet where is the evidence on which his accusation is grounded? Not a single instance is given: not a single letter of remonstrance is referred to.—The inference is clear: no such breaches of the regulations existed. The next case which occurred after this letter respecting the chaplains, was an isolated paragraph in a series of letters, written by the late Colonel Robison, professing to treat generally of the manners of India, and of Calcutta particularly, signed, as indicative of the light tone and ironical style of the strictures, "SAM SOBERSIDES." The paragraph in this letter Mr. Adam characterizes as "containing imputations so highly injurious to the character of the Secretaries to Government, that acting under the professional advice of the Advocate General, they considered it their duty to prosecute Mr. Buckingham, as the editor and publisher, for a libel." Here was at last an appeal to the only fair and honourable mode of deciding a question of this description, by putting it to an impartial Jury to say whether the passage objected to was libellous or not. The paragraph selected for prosecution (arising, as it will be seen, out of an attempt on the part of the writer to defend himself from aspersions cast on his motives by others) is really worth quoting: first, because Mr. Adam has carefully kept it out of view in his patchwork pamphlet; and, secondly, because it will show the people in England what Six Secretaries in India could combine their purses and their influence to prosecute as libel, proceeding criminally too, to prevent the writer from justifying his positions by proving their truth; and knowing that, even if they failed, the expense would be ruinously heavy to the single person whom these six functionaries were leagued to put down. The following is the paragraph alleged to be so full of injuries:

"The motives which I have in trying to draw public attention to this and other subjects alluded to in my former letters, have been so much mistaken by Mr. Parenthesis (a writer in another paper), and other jealous admirers of "the present order of things," that I think it necessary to request you will permit me to say a few words more in explanation of what I do, and what I do not mean. Most certainly I do not mean the slightest attack (as it has been kindly insinuated I do) upon the Government or its much respected Chief. There is not a man in India more deeply penetrated than I am with a sense of his many great and good qualities; not one who will be more ready to stand forward and join in praise of them under any political

changes which can be contemplated: and this, not out of a feeling of gratitude, for he never did any thing for me; nor of expectation, for I have nothing to expect of him; nor of fear, as I have written nothing I am ashamed of, nor that I would scruple to avow to him, if he only were to judge me for it. I also declare, with the utmost sincerity, that to attack, injure, or underrate the Government, is and has been foreign to my thoughts; that I am known personally to all its members; and that I have a very great respect for them individually. But I think it no ways inconsistent with my respect for them, one and all, to call, as far as an humble individual can hope to do, the public attention to any matter of abuse, inconvenience, or subject of complaint, which it is always in the power of the public to redress or get redressed; and if I saw things going on wrong in the family of my own father, I would cry out and expose them to him. But if no wrongs are to be redressed, or suggested improvements listened to, except those which go through Secretaries and public officers to Government, none will be redressed or listened to but those whom they favour; and the influence of their favour (as that of their displeasure) extends further than the Government can be aware of; some striking examples of which will soon be brought to their notice by your fearless Correspondent, SAM SOBERSIDES."

These are the "imputations" which were considered "so highly injurious" to the pure and immaculate Secretaries in India, though they are unquestionably true of all public officers in every part of the world. If this be a libel, every passage in the *Scriptures* which teaches the prevalence of evil, and every portion of our laws, which places a check upon the exercise of authority, is equally libellous: for it is saying no more than all men admit to be true; namely, that if men in public stations were left to their own guidance, without any check from public opinion in some shape or another, their favour or displeasure would determine most of the questions that came before them. The case was brought to trial; and, after all the eloquence that could be exercised to aggravate this pretended libel, the Jury, after a few minutes deliberation, pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty. Yet, though the solemn tribunal of the law accounted this no crime, Mr. Adam enumerates it in *his* list, still ranking it, in opposition to their verdict, as an unpardonable offence; and speaking of certain comments made on this event as "displaying a deliberate design to obstruct the due course of justice!" a course which the Government had themselves obstructed in every instance but this, whenever they so far insulted its authority as to take its powers into their own hands, and threaten punishment without trial, in a city which contained a British court, established for the express purpose of securing to every British inhabitant the due protection of the laws. The "due course of justice" was all that Mr. Buckingham ever demanded; and, except in this instance, when it afforded him the protection of a British Jury against a combination of powerful opponents, it was *never* granted to him. Even in the criminal information which was filed against him, on the plea of his wishing "to overawe and disturb the administration of justice in its ordinary channels," he was kept with

this threat hanging over his head for more than a year, though the judge declared it cruel, oppressive, and illegal, and as such refused to try it; and it was at last "finally dropped," according to Mr. Adam's own account," on Mr. Buckingham's being ordered to leave the country." Was not *this* "obstructing the due course of justice," to banish an innocent man from the country in which he stood before a court in the two relations of plaintiff and defendant; in the first of which cases he was sure of victory (since obtained), and in the other of which he was certain of the eventual abandonment of the charges against him—a result which has also actually taken place? It is *thus* that false accusations recoil on the heads of the unjust. If any party "obstructed the due course of justice" in India, it was the governors of that country themselves, and *not* Mr. Buckingham, whose constant and reiterated prayer has been, that the authority of the law should be considered as superior to that of mere will; and that every offence should be tried in "due course of justice," instead of being punished at the mere pleasure of those who take upon themselves to act as independently of all law as if there were no tribunals for its administration in existence.

10. The *tenth* charge in Mr. Adam's list (p. 26), is the having re-published, from a Glasgow paper, the following paragraph and comment:

"*Freedom of the Indian Press.*—Glasgow, May 18, 1821.—The attentions of an obliging Correspondent at Calcutta have placed before us papers from that Capital to the middle of December. They announce no important news. Popularity continued to distinguish the fortunate administration of the Marquis of Hastings; of whose honours it is far from the least that he was the first to establish the liberty of the press in India. In that well-conducted paper, the Calcutta Journal, we find an article, written by a British Officer, who served under General Hislop, that affords some curious information respecting the followers of the army.—*Glasgow Journal.*"

This paragraph was inserted in the very number of the Calcutta Journal that announced the fact of a criminal information being filed against its Editor, for venturing to discuss the question whether the paragraph before quoted, as prosecuted by the Six Secretaries, was or was not a libel; and giving an extract from a speech of Mr. Windham's (who had been himself a secretary), wherein he said as follows:

"With respect to the *abuse of patronage*, one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality most suffer, I perfectly agree that it is likewise one of which the Government, properly so called, that is to say, persons of the *highest* offices, are as likely to be guilty, and, from their opportunities, *more* likely to be guilty, than any others."

In commenting upon the extract from the Glasgow paper, and in allusion to the criminal information, founded on this re-publication of Mr. Windham's sentiments, as going much further than the

pretended libel on the Indian Secretaries, the following paragraph was subjoined :

"It appears that very different scenes are acting, and very different opinions prevailing in England and India on the subject of the press, and the extent of patronage given to its freedom in this country. We hardly know now whether we may make comments of our own, or whether we may even re-publish those of others. If the speech of Mr. Windham, so long numbered with the dead, be held libellous in India, because of its truth, we shall hardly be able to promise our readers their accustomed gratification in presenting to them both sides of a question discussed in Parliament, or to publish any thing probably but Government Orders, Births, Deaths, and Marriages, and choice loyal effusions from John Bull and the Courier. Such is "the boon of a free press in Asia," with the praises of which the world has rung for the last three years; and, from those who knew not what awaited it, it is not even yet at an end. Such is "the salutary control of public opinion on supreme authority," and such "the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments."

Mr. Adam, at the period of the publication here alluded to, was one of the members of council only, and as such could not be supposed to be more feelingly alive to the manifest inconsistency between the professions and practice observed towards the press of India, than Lord Hastings himself. This nobleman, however, being then paramount in the council, wisely passed over this paragraph without animadversion, well knowing that the inconsistency intended to be shown was founded in fact, and could not be justified or explained away, so that silence was the best course. Mr. Adam thought differently; and his remarks on this occasion (which we quote from his pamphlet), while they disclose some of the secret consultations of the Government, which have never been made public before, contain such an excellent specimen of his style and reasoning, that we are tempted to give them at length. They are as follow :

"The words with which the passage from the Calcutta Journal, given in the note, concludes, (those respecting the boon of a free press in Asia,) were taken from the answer of the Governor General to the address of the inhabitants of Madras in 1819; and the new strain adopted by Mr. Buckingham on this occasion deserves particular attention. Hitherto, whatever had been the *offences* of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal against the authority and dignity of Government, and the order and decorum of society, he had abstained from direct personal reflections on the Governor General. Indeed, he had studiously distinguished between the Governor General individually and the Government, ascribing all those measures which he chose to characterize as tending to check the progress of free discussion to the Council Board collectively, in contradistinction to, and, as he would have it, implied against what *he assumed* to be the personal feeling and disposition of the Governor General. This policy on the part of Mr. Buckingham had perhaps best been met with the contempt which it had received; but the *attack* in the passage alluded to was *too grossly personal* to the head of the government, to be treated in the same manner. Whatever *general* observations might have been thought by Mr. Buckingham suited to the occasion, it was at least to be expected that a sense of common propriety and of respect, both for the person and public station of Lord Hastings, would have restrained the Editor

from such an *unprecedented licence*. Every body knew the passage quoted to have been taken from his Lordship's speech, not only from the publication of the document itself, but from Mr. Buckingham's repeated citations of those very passages, when it was his object to give them a construction in favour of his assumption of a latitude *they were never intended to convey*. He, of all men, could least plead ignorance of their *real meaning*; for, besides the *clear purport* of the speech itself, and the *qualification* with which the sentiments regarding the advantage of public discussion of the acts of Government were accompanied, he had been repeatedly and authoritatively corrected for acts which he had attempted to defend on his construction of that speech. His perversion of it on that occasion, in a manner *still more grossly and personally offensive*, seemed to demand the most serious notice. It would be a *waste of words* to point out the evil consequences of such a procedure: it was manifest that the object of Mr. Buckingham was to destroy as much as was in his power the deference and respect which had up to that hour been uniformly shown towards the head of the government, and consequently to weaken his authority, and bring his *administration* into *contempt*. That this single *pitiful attempt* would not have that effect, might be admitted; but if Mr. Buckingham was at liberty to bring the *person* of the Governor General into discussion, every other man who might be dissatisfied with the decision of Government was equally so, and would naturally follow an example so congenial to his disposition, sanctioned, as in his opinion it would be, by the impunity of the first offender. The mischief that must result from the extension of such a spirit throughout the service, and especially its baneful influence on the minds of the young and inconsiderate, who were most likely to be affected by it, were too obvious to be insisted on. There was too much reason to fear that the seeds of much mischief had been already sown by the writings of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, and those who, to their own *disgrace*, and to the signal failure of their duty to the Government and the Company, had *combined* to support him in his career of *insolence and audacity*: and though the evil might not have spread so wide as to be beyond correction, its continued progress could not be contemplated without serious alarm." 28—30.

These are the sentiments of Mr. John Adam, on the subject of a free press! He speaks of *offences* against the dignity of Government and the order and decorum of society, as if they were such as no one could dispute. What those against the dignity of Government were, the reader will have already seen—not *one* of them, nor all of them together, constituting any thing that would be deemed an offence by a court of law, or court martial, or any other court on earth, since the Star Chamber and the Inquisition have lain dormant. Those against the decorum of society may also be estimated by the fact, that Mr. Buckingham was himself a friend and associate of most of the first families in Calcutta; and that his writings were received, honoured, and approved by nine-tenths of the society of India, composed of gentlemen of the highest sense of honour and correct feeling: and that this continued up to the period of Mr. Buckingham's quitting India. These pretended offences against the *dignity* of Government and *decorum* of society, were offences only against the self-love and indolence of half a dozen secretaries and three members of council, who wished to have every thing their own way, and were consequently annoyed at any thing which reminded them of their public duty.

Mr. Adam next pretends that Mr. Buckingham *assumed* (falsely must be implied, or the sentence has no meaning) that Lord Hastings's private and individual opinion was in favour of that public scrutiny, which the members of his council so strenuously opposed. The fact is undeniable; for independently of his Lordship's celebrated speech, we have the confession of Mr. Adam himself in several parts of his printed statement, that the Governor General and his colleagues thought differently on this particular point, and that the former repeatedly refused to carry the suggestions of the latter into effect. But, the mere act of quoting a passage of Lord Hastings's speech, to contrast it with existing events, is called "a grossly personal attack:" so that according to Mr. Adam's notion it is "grossly personal" to remind any man at one period of the sentiments professed by him at another! To those who are betrayed into inconsistencies in their public conduct, it must no doubt be mortifying to have their professions contrasted with their practice; but that this, which is done in the highest assemblies and between the most distinguished characters on all occasions, should be called an "*attack*," and considered to be "*grossly personal*" also, argues a blindness of understanding and a perversion of judgment which nothing but a long Indian residence can explain. "General observations," says Mr. Adam, might have been indulged in: but to mention any thing which could reflect a hue of inconsistency on the public conduct of the Head of the Government, was an *unprecedented licence*! If Mr. Adam, who has passed all his life in India, had been as well acquainted with its history, as he is deeply imbued with its arbitrary and enslaving principles, he would have known, that so far from comments on the conduct of a governor general being *unprecedented*, it was common in the days of all the governors general up to Lord Wellesley, who found the press in India *free*, as it had been indeed ever since its first existence there, and who was the *first* to fetter it with the censorship which Lord Hastings removed. Mr. Adam ought to have known that there had been prosecutors at law for libel, before the Supreme Court of Justice in Bengal. He ought to have known that in the days of Warren Hastings, in the most dangerous and difficult times of Indian history, the Governor General's acts were canvassed in the papers of Calcutta with a freedom not surpassed by the press of England, and that no single evil ever arose from or was even ever attributed to this cause. A man called, as Mr. Adam was, to rule over a great country like India, though but for a season, ought to have been better acquainted with its history before he ventured to state in print, what was wholly unprecedented, and what was not. His own conduct, while holding the temporary reins of power—assuming the Dictator—and setting up his mere *will* in the stead of *law*, is we believe really unprecedented: and we hope, for the honour of our

country, is not likely to be paralleled by any successor to a brief reign of less than "a hundred days."

One of the grossest insults perhaps that could be offered to the head of any government, is that shown by Mr. Adam to his own predecessor Lord Hastings, when he says, that in assuming his Lordship's answer to the Madras Address to be favourable to a free press in India, we were giving to it a meaning which it was never intended to convey! And when he talks of a *real meaning* as distinct from that which must have been *apparent* on the face of it, both to those to whom it was particularly addressed and to the world at large,—what is this, but in plain terms telling us that Lord Hastings was a hypocrite; and that while he was professing to invite public scrutiny on the acts of authority even when its intentions were most pure, he had a *real meaning* in all he said which was quite different from the *apparent* one? This is Mr. Adam's respect for the head of that Government, which according to his notions should only be spoken of in terms of eulogy and admiration. The *clear purport* of this speech was that Lord Hastings had removed all restrictions from the Indian press, except those to which it is subject by law: and as to *qualifications*, there was absolutely none: for his Lordship distinctly says, "The *seeing no direct necessity* for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them; I know myself, however, to be guided in the step by a positive and *well-weighed policy*. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion." There was *no* qualification whatever; and even the *necessity* for any did not appear to Lord Hastings then to exist.

Mr. Adam says "it would be a *waste of words* to point out the evil consequences of such a procedure"—namely, exercising scrutiny on the public acts of a governor general or his colleagues in government. This is a very convenient excuse indeed for those who have no better arguments to offer. We should have been pleased, however, with a little of this "waste of words," to have seen from them what were the pretended *evil consequences* of a procedure which Lord Hastings—whose character Mr. Adam was so anxious to maintain immaculate—considered as likely to be taught only with *good*. His Lordship said "It is *salutary* for *supreme* authority (not merely subordinate officers) to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can *lose nothing* of its strength by its exposure to *general* comment: on the contrary, it acquires incalculable *addition* of force." Mr. Adam says that "any *one* writer exercising such scrutiny on the acts of *supreme* authority is calculated to *weaken* its strength, and bring the whole administration into '*contempt*!'" Which of these authorities (for both of them have been *supreme* in their turn) is the bewildered reader to believe? Lord Hastings

said, "That government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance of the whole mass of the governed: and let the triumph of our beloved country, in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the *value* of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments." Mr. Adam says, that to venture to penetrate this disguise, is a *pitiful attempt* to bring the *person* of the Governor into discussion: that the greatest mischiefs must arise from the extension of a spirit which should lead every dissatisfied person to express his honest sentiments—and that the baneful influence of such spirit on the mass of the governed is really too obvious to be insisted on, while those who fostered this spirit which Lord Hastings extolled so highly, were guilty of ensuring their own *disgrace*, of failure in their duty to their country—and were a set of conspirators, combined together to support another in a career of *insolence* and *audacity*; though these individuals were the very men whom Lord Hastings had so eulogized, as "possessing the spirit to be found *only* in those accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments!" If supreme authorities can differ so widely in their estimate of the same things, well may persons of less eminence be staggered when called on to pronounce their decision. Mr. Adam it would seem did not stand alone in entertaining the opinions here expressed: they were entertained by *two* of the council—one other besides himself; and these two therefore forming a minority in a council of five:—yet within a few lines after making this remarkable admission, he says it was acknowledged on *all sides* (*i. e.* on the side of himself and his single adherent) that Mr. Buckingham's writings produced the most seriously hurtful effects. But the whole passage is worth quoting; it is as follows:

"These sentiments were strongly maintained by *two* of the members of Council, who were only withheld from proposing the immediate annulment of Mr. Buckingham's licence, by the consideration of the pending proceedings in the Supreme Court already noticed, and the probable misconstruction to which such a measure at that time might be liable.

"It was admitted on *all sides* that Mr. Buckingham's conduct was deserving of the serious consideration of Government, and the seriously hurtful effects of his writings were *fully* acknowledged: but it was observed that the discussion, at that time about to take place in the Supreme Court, would exhibit the *true quality* of Mr. Buckingham's conduct. Should he be acquitted, then the Government, by having resorted to a trial, had avoided the inconvenience of a harsh procedure in a disputable case. Should the verdict be against him, then the *equity* of a subsequent removal, which it was finally anticipated Mr. Buckingham would entail upon himself, by renewed improprieties, would stand manifest in the judicial decision. Here the case rested." p. 30, 31.

In these disclosures of the secrets of state, which the acting Governor General has now for the first time condescended to make

public, it is clear that as long as the Government anticipated the conviction of their opponent, they were willing to suspend over his head the terrors of the law; and with great kindness and consideration they forbore passing a decree for his *immediate* banishment, from a belief that the court would convict him of libel; and that then, *after* suffering the punishment which the law might award, they could safely super-add their own quantum of punishment *beyond* the law; thus imposing *double* penalties for a *single* offence. This is certainly a new view of the advantages of the Indian Government having "two strings to its bow:" and under *such* a system it would be wonderful indeed if any man against whom they stretched forth their arm should escape. But what was the fact? The passage from the Glasgow Journal, which gave the offence here alluded to, was published on the 9th of November, 1821: and the "pending proceedings in the Supreme Court," of which the Government wished to see the issue before they moved further in their measures towards Mr. Buckingham, ended in his complete and triumphant acquittal on the 18th of January, 1822. Had he been convicted, Mr. Adam avows that it was intended to add to his legal sentence, whatever it might have been, the further extra-judicial sentence of banishment from the country, as a person convicted and found *guilty*. It would therefore have been consistent with even-handed justice, in the opposite termination of the case, to have confirmed to Mr. Buckingham that security in his person, property, and pursuits, which ought to belong to every man whom the law pronounces *innocent*. Without this balance of good and evil, it is clear that the proceedings in a court of justice were only meant as an experiment to see whether its penalties could not be super-added to those inflicted by a mandate independent of its authority: and if not, to supply some other mode of torture, without reference to the tedious formalities of a court or a jury. What, indeed, was the issue? Mr. Buckingham was honourably acquitted;—but the Government still considered him as obnoxious as ever: and even Mr. Adam enumerates as the "very head and front of his offending," acts and expressions which the solemn tribunal of the law had pronounced to be no offence whatever! If this process were to be admitted as fair or honourable, the most innocent being in existence might be made to appear covered with guilt and crime—indeed, no man would be safe.

At this stage of affairs, some scruples were professedly entertained as to the propriety of banishing a man from the country at the very period of his being engaged in proceedings in a court of justice. But this remnant of conscience, poor as it was, no longer existed in a subsequent stage of these transactions; for at the very moment of Mr. Buckingham's being actually banished from the country—*without* a trial—he had proceedings pending in the Su-

preme Court of Justice, both as plaintiff and defendant; and yet this formed no obstacle to Mr. Adam's passing his unjust and arbitrary decree. The scruples of this conscientious Government, as to not forcibly banishing a man from the protection of the laws, were only acted on as long as they anticipated the conviction of their victim: when they had reason to believe that those laws would pronounce an *acquittal*, their scruples vanished, and were heard of no more! But we pass on to the narrative.

11. The *eleventh* charge on Mr. Adam's printed list relates to the publication of a letter, for which the injured and unfortunate writer (now no more) received a punishment beyond all measure: but as the history of this cruel transaction will be embodied, in a subsequent number of this Journal, in a separate article, we shall in this place include only so much of it as is charged as an offence against Mr. Buckingham its publisher, and we shall give this from Mr. Adam's Statement, in his own words, p. 31.

"The next occasion on which the proceedings of Mr. Buckingham came officially under the cognizance of Government, was the publication in the Calcutta Journal, of the 17th of May of the same year (1822), of the following letter, signed "A Military Friend;" which seemed to contain matter which the Government could not pass over with any regard for its own dignity or authority, or the interests of the public—

"To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

"Sir,—Were I to enumerate the benefit, in small matters and great, which within the last three years (but particularly within the last one year) I know to have been done to the public service by the free exposures and discussions which have taken place in the columns of your Journal, I should fill up more than the whole of your 'Asiatic Department' for at least a couple of days, and put to shame, if they have any, every one of the courtly well-led tribe who have laboured to deprive the Indian world of that free press, which is the greatest blessing that any rational people can enjoy.

"What abuses of power have already been checked by it! With what wholesome fear it has already inspired many hundred public servants, who were before under no fear or control whatever! What civility, what attention to business, what alacrity and regularity it has helped to introduce into many of the public offices! Yes, what virtue, public spirit, and emulation to excel in their different callings, has it not given to many who never before considered a place or appointment with any other thought but how the most was speedily to be made of it! How much more has it done to stop foul play, and introduce improvements in bazars, and in the administration of military justice, flogging, taxing, cheating; how much more than all the orders you can pick and cull out of that valuable compilation, as clear as it is rich, the Bengal Code!

"Yes, Sir, I congratulate you most heartily, on being in a manner the author of more improvements than all the laws and regulations that have yet been framed to improve things mendable.

"I congratulate the natives, from the bottom of my heart, at the good you have already done for them; and I hope to see the time when it will no longer be in the power of those, who are supposed to protect them from fraud and violence, to harass them even in legal courts, and under rules and regulations. That it still is so, and that the most crying evils may be and are too often experienced under legal forms, where the sufferer has little hopes of redress, I could furnish some examples to any one who doubts the fact."

This is the only portion of the letter that relates to the beneficial effects produced by a free press in India, and the only portion that appears to have given offence to the Indian Government, as will be seen hereafter by their comments on it. Under a government desirous of learning the true state and condition of the provinces over which they ruled, the publication of such a letter would immediately have led to an inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the statements it contained; and as the author had offered to furnish examples to those who doubted the facts of his statement, it would have been wise and liberal to have invited him to the proof, and to have either courted or commended the information he professed to possess. To a government that felt an interest in the progressive amelioration of its institutions, it would have been a subject of congratulation to observe the beneficial effects of a measure, of which they might take all the credit to themselves—if, as they constantly pretended, the free press was a gift of their own, and entirely at their option to give or withhold. The Indian Government were not enlightened enough, however, to perceive that they who *expose* abuses of power, are more faithful servants than they who *commit* such abuses: they had not even the common sense to understand that an eulogy on the improved state of the country, from the operation of a particular cause, which they themselves had first set in motion—was in fact an eulogy on themselves. No! Mr. Adam has such a singularly happy faculty of discovering evil in every thing, that in this picture of the improved and improving state of the country under the influence of the press, he sees nothing but mischief, insult, and crime! But we must quote his own words as before, p. 33.

“The mischievous tendency and insulting tone of this letter cannot require to be dwelt on. They must strike *every one* on the first perusal.”

If so, we might ask, why was not the author tried by a court martial, if it were a military offence; or the publisher tried by a jury, if it were a civil one? If *every person* must have been impressed at first sight with the criminal intent and evil tendency of such a letter—the officer who wrote it, and the editor who published it, could not fail to have been found guilty and punished accordingly: but these Governors who profess to be anxious to maintain the “due course of justice” from being obstructed by others, never once thought of appealing to its tribunals in this instance for redress. They knew well that a court martial and a jury would equally have done their duty in pronouncing such a letter to be no crime: and it was *because* they knew that no impartial men could be brought to acknowledge the mischief and insult which they hypocritically pretend *every man* must see in it, that, after their own happy mode of maintaining the “due course of justice,” they met together, pronounced the letter to be

criminal, and proceeded against the author, without waiting to examine evidence or hear his defence; but inflicting upon him at once—without reference to *any* tribunal but their own ungovernable will—the greatest punishment and degradation which could be awarded to one in his station of life, even had he been formally tried, found guilty, and condemned! But in this, as in the former cases, Mr. Adam must speak for himself, he alone is worthy to be his own commentator:

“The mischievous tendency and insulting tone of this letter cannot require to be dwelt on. They must strike every one on the first perusal. When it was brought under the notice of the Council, it was distinctly stated not to be with a view to any specific proposition on the subject; the immediate object being to engage the attention of the Board to a subject which was every day assuming greater importance, and which sooner or later must be met by a decided resolution. The Governor General and Members of Council being unanimously of opinion that the tenor of the letter alluded to was highly objectionable, directed the Chief Secretary to call upon Mr. Buckingham for the name, designation, and residence of the individual by whom that letter was communicated to him for publication. Mr. Buckingham, after soliciting the permission of Government to communicate their wishes in the first instance to the writer, which was not complied with, stated, in a second letter to the Chief Secretary to Government (under date the 18th of May) that the author of the letter was Lieutenant Colonel Robison, of His Majesty's 24th Regiment of Foot, then at Nagpore: * upon the receipt of which information, Government passed the following resolutions:

“That a letter under the signature of ‘A Military Friend,’ published in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 17th instant, is a *gross insult* to the Honourable Company's Government, *falsely* and slanderously asserting that divers abuses and oppressions were *permitted* by that Government *until* they were exposed in the above newspaper; and encouraging the *thoughtless* to represent grievances through that channel, with all the *distortions* which inexperience or *maligency* might prompt, instead of resorting to the *legitimate* source of redress, where the grounds of complaint would be *justly* measured.

“That, as the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* has acknowledged Lieutenant Colonel William Robison, of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, to have written the letter in question, and to have sent it to him (the editor) for publication, the Governor General in Council must deem it *unexpedient* for the interests of the Honourable Company that the said Lieutenant Colonel William Robison, (unless he can disprove the charge made against him by the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*), should be placed in any situation where an important trust may devolve upon him.

“That the above opinion be communicated to the Commander in Chief, and that His Excellency be requested to act in consonance to it.”

“In consequence of this resolution (adds Mr. Adam) Lieutenant Colonel Robison was removed by the Commander in Chief from the command of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, and ordered to repair to England; and the case was submitted to His Royal Highness the Duke of York.” p. 33, 34.

It should be stated that this act, like most of those done by the Indian Government, was resolved on in secret, and executed

* This was done under an express authority from Colonel Robison himself, to furnish his name on any occasion on which the Indian Government might insist on knowing the author of any letter written by him.

without a reference to the individual on whom they were about to inflict this severe punishment. A statement of facts, which in themselves ought to have been gratifying to a good government, is pronounced without inquiry to be a "*gross insult*." Assertions, of the truth of which the author offers to furnish proof to any one who doubts, are instantly stigmatized as *false*, without even asking the writer to establish their truth. Abuses are said to be represented as *permitted* by Government until exposed, though the whole drift of the letter is to show that the press brings to light deeds that but for it would neither be known to the Government nor to the public : and with the same extraordinary perversion of the real meaning of the writer—which can only be attributed to extreme malignity or extreme weakness—it is said that he encourages the *thoughtless* to represent grievances in the most *distorted* manner, though the writer has not a single line that will with the most forced construction admit of such an inference. Last of all, these wise rulers, seated at the council board, with no one to call in question the accuracy of their views, most complacently record their assurance, that in all cases in which complainants resort to the *legitimate* sources of redress, their grounds of complaint are sure to be *justly* measured. Admirable self-eulogists ! If this were true, the expression of public opinion would never be dreaded by them—as all to whom they had extended this just measure of redress would be ready to applaud their equity—but it is *not* true, and therefore it is that they dread publicity.

The removal of Colonel Robison from his command at Nagpore was accompanied with an order, to leave that station and repair immediately to the coast, to embark for England, leaving his regiment to follow him ; thus coupling military degradation with banishment without trial : and as if the Government were really ashamed of their own deed, secret orders were sent at the same time authorizing an official falsehood, and empowering the officer then in command at that station to announce Colonel Robison's sudden departure from Nagpore as on leave of absence from ill health ! provided he quietly complied with the mandate of his superiors, in quitting his regiment and quarters within the brief period laid down as the limit of time to be allowed him. The season was at that time most unfavourable for such a journey, and Colonel Robison's health was then in so infirm a state,—from a series of the most active and honourable services in various countries of the East,—that he apprehended he should never reach England alive ; and he communicated this conviction in letters to several of his friends. Nevertheless he determined, with the true spirit of a soldier, and a proud but injured man, not to let his infirmities stand between himself and the Government to shield him from their arbitrary decree. He prepared to march a distance of seven hundred miles, through an unhealthy tract of coun-

try, and alone, or attended only by his servants, at the most unfavourable season of the year. Before he set out, however, he addressed a letter to the Government, in which, under the irritation of deeply-wounded feelings, he expressed himself with more warmth and anger than even the justice of his case could recommend, and protested against what he deemed an act of unwarrantable despotism and cruelty. A few days after the despatch of this intemperate letter, he wrote a second, addressed to the Government, to acknowledge that as a military man, he was aware that his protest was couched in indefensible language: though the temporary state of irritation into which he had been thrown by the circumstances therein adverted to, would perhaps induce the Government to accept this acknowledgment of its impropriety, and withdraw it from their records accordingly. The Government, however, did not possess either the candour or the clemency which Colonel Robison had given them credit for. Knowing that the *first* letter published in the *Calcutta Journal*, and for which the punishment of degradation and banishment was actually inflicted, could not be construed into a breach of military law, so as to justify the infliction of the punishment awarded, they very eagerly seized upon the *second* letter, and this being undoubtedly a military offence, was a fit subject to send before a court martial. Accordingly, the Government refused to withdraw this intemperate letter; and on Colonel Robison's reaching Bombay, while he was already suffering degradation from his command and removal from his regiment, for what could not be considered a crime at all, he was arrested and tried by a court martial for an offence arising out of the very injustice at first committed towards him, when he was denied the protection of that trial to which all men, even in the military service, have an undoubted right.* What was the result? After an

* The similarity of this sudden removal of an officer of rank from his regiment and station, without trial, is so similar to many of the suspensions that took place under Sir George Barlow's administration at Madras, (except that in the present case the cause of offence was slighter, and the punishment more degrading, that no one acquainted with the history of that period can read of this transaction without reference to it. It will be worth while, therefore, to cite the opinion of a man, since honoured with the peculiar favour of the Indian Directors, and likely to succeed to the first vacancy in either of its separate governorships, General Sir John Malcolm, as to this practice of punishment without trial, applied particularly to officers in the military service. He says, "Though the right of suspending officers from the service till the pleasure of the Court of Directors is known (not banishing them too), is one that has been very properly vested in the local governments of India, they possess no power which should be exercised with such extreme caution. It never can be wisely exercised in any cases but those of most clearly established guilt, where trial would either endanger the authority of government, or expose its dignity to the highest insult and degradation; which is indeed one, and perhaps the most effectual, mode of endangering its existence. Every officer is conscious, when he enters the public service, that he subjects himself to military law, but not to arbitrary power."—*Observations on the Disturbances in the Madras Army in 1809*, by Lieut.-Col. now General Sir John Malcolm. p. 17. 8vo. 1812.

arraignment on charges of disrespect and insubordination, which in point of fact could not be denied, the Court assembled at Bombay were so deeply impressed with the outrage and provocation which Colonel Robison had suffered, by being driven from his regiment and station, and ordered to quit the country, for an act which no tribunal could have recognised as an offence, that though they were obliged, in regard to their oaths, to find him guilty of all the charges preferred against him, they acquitted him of "scandalous" conduct, and merely sentenced him "to be reprimanded in such manner as the officer approving the sentence might think proper;" which, considering the nature of the charges on which he was arraigned, was regarded throughout India as a virtual acquittal.* The Court added, that "they were induced to award this lenient sentence, in consequence of Colonel Robison's long and meritorious services, and the high character which he produced on his defence from the late Governor General as a confidential servant of Government." It might have been supposed, that the same claims would have induced the Government themselves to have proceeded in the first instance with more consideration towards one who had such testimonials to entitle him to their justice at least, if not their favour. But they did not even admit their force *after* the trial, as the Commander in Chief, who, it will be remembered, was the principal party concerned, as Governor General, and one at least of the authors of the first arbitrary act of removing Colonel Robison from his post without a trial, *disapproved* this sentence of the Court, and published in his remarks on it a severe reproof to the Court for exercising this lenity, couched in the strongest terms.

Colonel Robison being released from arrest, proceeded without

* Referring again to the case of the Madras officers, the reader will see in the excellent volume of Mr. Charles Marsh, entitled, "A Review of some important Passages in the late Administration of Sir George Barlow at Madras," the same sentiment expressed.—Speaking of the trials of some of these officers, the author says, "The fact of mutiny could not be denied. The only avenue, therefore, through which they could reach the merciful discretion which empowered the Court to substitute a *mitigated* punishment for that of death, was to deduce from the peculiar acts of government, its questionable policy, and its violent procedures, such an *abuse of authority* as would, at least, palliate the excesses into which they were hurried. It was the *legitimate*, it was the only efficacious topic of defence to these gentlemen, that there was a peculiar character of outrage, and insult, and illegality in those measures, which had urged the whole military body into a course in which, as in a transient delusion, they forgot their duties in a blind attempt to redress their wrongs; that the sense of these oppressions, among which the *arbitrary right* exercised by Sir George Barlow, of *punishing without the forms of justice or inquiry*, gradually diffusing itself over the whole body, at length bore down their own personal authority and all discipline and subordination. No man can affect to deny the *leniency* of the sentences (passed on at occasion) to have been virtually a condemnation of the policy of the Madras Government, and more than a tacit recognition of the principles of the defence." p. 356—359. 8vo. 1813.) Such was exactly the feeling in the case of Colonel Robison at Bombay; and such will it always be, where governments are vindictive in their desire of condign punishments.

delay on his way to England; but from the accumulated injury done to his already impaired health, by anxiety of mind, and a sense of unmerited persecution, he lived only to approach the shores of his native land, expiring in the British Channel, the day preceding that on which the vessel in which he had embarked anchored in port, where his lifeless corpse was brought on shore for interment. Had he lived to have pleaded his own cause before the higher tribunal to which he was subject in England, we should have seen perhaps a different result. As it is, however, his name can never recur to the recollection of any Indian reader without a feeling of sorrow for his fate, and pity for the Government that could heap such unmerited indignities on a man, who was pronounced by a court of their own officers to have the highest claim on their consideration, from his long and meritorious services.

The remarks on the publication of Colonel Robison's Letter, as to the beneficial effects of a free press, and the share of guilt belonging to Mr. Buckingham in this transaction, are in Mr. Adam's own peculiarly happy vein; and, to be appreciated as they deserve, they must be given entire. They are as follow: (p. 34—37.)

"From the whole tenor of Mr. Buckingham's conduct, as here recorded, it appeared obvious that some prompt and public mark of the displeasure of Government was essential to the due *vindication of its insulted authority*, and to the correction of the *dangerous habit*, which from the example of Lieutenant Colonel Robison, and others of the same disposition, was rapidly spreading through the service. It appeared therefore desirable that the misconduct of that officer, and the Government's marked disapprobation of it, should be made known to the army in the most public manner, and the occasion taken of drawing the serious attention of the officers of the army, especially in the junior ranks, to the dangerous consequences of the practice which was so rapidly advancing, of appealing on all occasions of *real* or imaginary grievance to the columns of a newspaper. It could not be pretended that there was *any* difficulty in representing grievances, and obtaining redress, through the *regular* channels pointed out by the Regulations; and the habit that then prevailed, and had been gaining ground for some years, of seeking it by appeals to the public through the newspapers, must have speedily confounded all principles of military subordination, vitiated the *honourable* and *high-minded* feeling of the army, and placed it in sentiment, and even in act, in a state of constant and irritating collision with the Government.

"It is difficult to imagine *any good* that could result from a practice which would afford to every discontented subaltern the means of anonymously indulging his spleen against a commanding officer, who might exact the strict performance of his duty; or to any officer of any rank, who might so far forget himself as to employ his time in maligning the Government and the whole body of its institutions and public officers. It might be argued by those who take an opposite view of the case, that by having the opportunity of publicly venting their ill-humour and discontent, people were prevented from silently brooding over imaginary hardships, and the more serious consequences of discontent were thus averted. As applied to an *extensive* and *mixed* community, this might be true; but it could hardly be considered so, when applied to a professional body of which the vital principle is strict subordination and discipline, whose point of honour is obedience and fidelity to legitimate authority, and whose pride is the exact and *implicit* execution of the duty

prescribed by their superiors. It is certain that all trifling and temporary causes of dissatisfaction, whether well or ill founded, that would otherwise pass off with the moment, must be inflamed and spread by being made the subject of peevish and petulant complaint in a public newspaper; while for every real grievance there is a constitutional channel of redress which had never been closed against temperate and *respectful* representation. In proof of the increasing disposition here alluded to, to resort to the newspapers for the redress of wrong, almost any Number of the Calcutta Journal, about the period under consideration, might be produced. On the 21st of May a letter appeared in the Calcutta Journal from 'A Lieutenant of Artillery,' complaining of certain regulations of the Court of Directors, regarding artillery cadets; and expressing his hope that this grievance would be removed, by being brought to the notice of the Government through the medium of the newspaper to which it was addressed. To this letter the Editor appended a note, from which it appears that he knew the evil complained of had been repeatedly brought before the Court of Directors, who had recently repeated their former decisions, but adds, 'that there can be no harm in again *drawing the attention of Government to the matter.*' Another correspondent in the same paper, under the signature of 'A Young Sub,' imparts to the editor and the public his objections to the 'Form of a Monthly Return,' exposes what he considers its absurdities, and seems to take credit for his candour in admitting that it is not imposed on officers by the spleen of their commanders. Other passages of *equally* improper character may be found in the same paper, which exhibits a *tolerable specimen* of the principles on which this Journal was conducted, though by no means containing the most flagrant instances of the licence in which the Editor (Mr. Buckingham) indulged. In the Journal immediately preceding it was an article in the Editor's own name, on the subject of the letter of which Lieutenant-Colonel Robison was the author. It was a professed defence of that letter, and of the motives of the writer, although Mr. Buckingham knew at the time that it had incurred the displeasure of Government, by his being obliged to give up the author. The occasion was artfully taken, of exciting by an anticipation the sympathy and commiseration of the public, and he had again the *effrontery* to quote the *qualified* declaration of the Governor General in favour of a free press in defence of the general tone of his paper, notwithstanding the repeated intimations he had received, that the recorded regulations of Government were to be the rule of his conduct. **IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE A MORE GROSS AND OPEN INSULT TO GOVERNMENT THAN THE PUBLICATION OF THIS DEFENCE OF A PAPER WHICH HE KNEW HAD EXCITED ITS DISPLEASURE.** This was not done in a letter addressed to Government, when he might be supposed to be justified in using such arguments as would best help his cause, but in the face of the public, to which the fact of his having been required to give up the author was no secret, thus openly and deliberately *defying authority*, and appealing to the public *against* a measure of the Government. By his defence of Lieutenant-Colonel Robison's letter, he became equally responsible for it (even if the publication had not made him so) with the author, and the same measure of punishment ought to have been dealt out to both. He could not plead the surrender of the author's name in mitigation, as that publication was subsequent to that act; nor was there the smallest room for exculpation. If this had been a new offence, and suitably atoned for, it might have been passed over by a liberal and indulgent Government; but the various *recorded* offences of Mr. Buckingham, of a similar character, the frequent warnings he had had, the great indulgence he had experienced, the continued and increasing *offensiveness* of his publications, their plain object, and, above all, the extensive mischiefs which they *had* occasioned, and *would continue* to produce, seemed to impose on Government the necessity of putting it out of his

power to pursue that course, and by the same act to vindicate its own authority, which he had been so long permitted to defy with impunity.

"A proposition to that effect was supported by all the members of Council, but it was *negated* under the provisions of 38 Geo. III. c. 52, sec. 47."

The perpetual begging of the question throughout this long extract, is not the least amusing part of Mr. Adam's manifesto. Having been accustomed in his past secretaryship to *dictate* to the humbled princes of native states whatever his masters chose to prescribe as *law*, he vainly imagines that he has an equal patent for laying down what shall be sense and *reason*. It is true, that from his temporary throne in India he may put forth what doctrines he pleases on this subject, for *there* no man may now dare to call them in question. But this will not pass current in England. The "*vindication of insulted authority*" should be left for more trying occasions than the supposed danger of a mere eulogy on the benefits of a free press, which Lord Hastings was the *first* to proclaim in India, and which Mr. Adam himself did not then dare, though he stood by and heard this proclamation, to call in question. The "*dangerous habit*" of which he talks, is also one that was originally encouraged by the Government themselves. But in *his* liberal view of this practice, Mr. Adam seems to think it criminal to advert even to a *real* grievance in the columns of a newspaper, because, if we would take *his* assertion for it, it was not even *pretended* that there was any *difficulty* in getting redress through the *regular* channels,—Mr. Adam well knowing at the same time that it was *because* of this very pretended difficulty being alluded to by Colonel Robison in his letter respecting the Six Secretaries, that Mr. Buckingham was indicted for a libel, though a jury of his countrymen declared that it was no libel to pretend that this difficulty did exist: so short are the memories of men who dogmatize by authority! As to the habit of appealing to the public through newspapers being "*calculated to confound all principles of military subordination, and to vitiate the honourable and high-minded feeling of the army,*" what will Mr. Adam say to the fact of Lord Hastings, the Commander in Chief, being not only the first to liberate the Indian press, but the first to start and encourage a discussion on a purely military topic, the introduction of "*brevet rank*" into the Indian army? Mr. Adam knows this to be the case: he knows moreover that most of the distinguished men in the Indian army wrote freely on this subject, which filled pages of the Calcutta Journal for months in succession, and produced, as we shall afterwards offer proofs of, the very best effects to the state. What also will Mr. Adam say to the fact of Captain Lockett, of the Bengal army, being for a long period the publicly known and acknowledged Editor of the Indian *John Bull*, and in return for his services as *one* only of the six successive editors of that licentious

and convicted libellous print, being made Mr. Adam's own military secretary and aide-de-camp? Was *this* the way to show that he believed newspaper-appeals "calculated to confound all principles of military subordination, and to vitiate the honourable and high-minded feeling of the army?" or did he take Captain Lockett, the military editor, under his especial care and keeping, in order to purge him, by the influence of his advice and counsel, from the "mischievous spirit" which he must have contracted, in being himself the organ of those very appeals to the public through the newspapers, which his patron and rewarder professes so much to dread?

Mr. Adam goes on to tell us that in an "*extensive and mixed community*," it might be advantageous to give vent to ill humour and discontent through the press, rather than let people brood silently over their wrongs, wholly forgetting that there is no community on earth so extensive, or so mixed, as that of India, where a hundred millions of beings are subject to one supreme ruler, and these including a greater mixture and variety than any other portion of the globe could present; from whom he would yet exclude that press, which, according to his own showing, is exactly suited to the state of India, where the community is more *extensive* and more *mixed* than any where besides! What *can* be expected of a Governor General who betrays such palpable ignorance of the state of that very society over which he is called to reign? He talks as if it were the army *only* by whom the newspapers were to be read, instead of the *whole population*, for whom the native papers were particularly intended; and even that army, he says, has no higher pride than the exact and *implicit* execution of the duty prescribed by their superiors. To give the English reader some idea of what is meant by this implicit obedience, we shall mention two well-known facts:—General Hardwick, commanding the East India Company's artillery at Dum-Dum, had been prevailed on by the Government to use his influence for the purpose of excluding the Calcutta Journal from the mess-room of that regiment. The experiment was tried by convening a meeting, at which, however, the expression of opinion was so decidedly in favour of this paper, that the General was defeated. Soon after this, the John Bull newspaper making some insolent remarks on the conduct of the officers in venturing to patronize and read what the Government desired to suppress and put down, *that* paper was expelled from their mess. Another attempt was made to cast the same stigma on the Journal; and another signal defeat was the consequence. It was even repeated a third time, when the General took occasion to express pretty plainly the displeasure of Government at this resistance to their wishes, and alarmed some of the timid into submission. The leading members of the mess, majors and captains, still, however, held their ground; and suffered in various

ways for daring to be thus honest, some being removed from their situations, others having their allowances retrenched, and younger men deprived of their temporary command of companies, and sent from their more agreeable residence at headquarters to be exposed to privation and solitude in remote and unhealthy stations. This was the sort of reward with which those who did not understand the pride of *implicit* obedience were visited:—though they had committed no military offence, and were guilty only of a determination not to have their minds entirely enslaved, by being obliged to read what they abhorred, and to abstain from reading that which they considered entitled to their attention and support. This is a specimen of the implicit obedience expected from the *military*: we shall give an instance also from the *marine*. Captain Ross, who had recently arrived from England to fill the appointment of Marine Surveyor General in Bengal, not knowing the particular hostility which existed towards the Calcutta Journal on the part of the Government, but having long had an opportunity of judging of its merits, from reading it both in China and in England, sought an early opportunity of introduction to Mr. Buckingham, in which he expressed his desire to be supplied with that paper at his official residence, which was accordingly complied with. A few days after this an account of the wreck of the ship Regent appeared in its pages, in which the narrator attributed the accident to the imperfection of Captain Ross's charts of that coast. Captain Ross, in an honourable anxiety to defend his professional reputation, wrote a letter to the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, for immediate publication, on this subject, to which he attached his real signature and official designation. The wise and sagacious men who then ruled over the "extensive and mixed community" of a hundred millions of people, Mr. Adam being then their Chief, and Mr. Lushington his right-hand adviser, fancied that this letter from a servant of theirs high in office would be taken as a proof that all the functionaries of their Government were not so hostile to the Journal as they ought to be, and very serious consequences were apprehended from this occurrence. Captain Ross was accordingly sent for by the Secretary, as well as Commodore Hayes, who both happened, by a remarkable coincidence, to be in Mr. Buckingham's company, on board the Sir Edward Paget, at the time of this message being delivered to them. They repaired hastily to the bureau of the offended Secretary; and from so much of the interview as was suffered to transpire, it was known that Captain Ross had been roundly reprov'd for this act of suffering his name and title to be affixed to a letter, which appeared in the columns of a print so obnoxious to the Government as the Calcutta Journal had long been. It was in vain that this was represented as an act of justice to his reputation, and as a duty to the public

service as well as to mankind; since the question was one in which the lives and properties of men were concerned: and the Calcutta Journal being the paper in which the originally erroneous statement first appeared, it was important to select *that* paper as the channel of the correction also, independently of the fact of its circulation being far more extensive than any other paper then existing in India. The interview produced no effect on the "dignity of insulted authority;" and on the following day Captain Ross withdrew his subscription to the Calcutta Journal:—whether he was *compelled* to yield "implicit obedience," could not be ascertained; but the fact carries with it its own comment. Many similar facts might be mentioned, to show that public functionaries in every branch of the Indian service were thus wrought into an hostility to Mr. Buckingham and his paper, because he had the honesty to oppose himself to evil-doers in every department of the Government; and that promotion and favour were the rewards of that hostility, while supersession and injury were the consequences of an adherence to what men believed to be honest and right. To such a length were some of the weaker members of the community operated upon by this conduct of the Indian Government, that men who were in private Mr. Buckingham's warmest eulogists and friends, felt themselves obliged, in order to preserve themselves from the anger and punishment of men in authority, to write *against* him in the John Bull newspaper, and to plead such writings as proofs of their being well-affected towards the Government, and worthy to be reckoned among their allies! There is a letter at present in London, from a public servant in India to his confidential friend, frankly avowing this, and freely acknowledging, that while he felt himself compelled to choose between writing against Mr. Buckingham or losing the patronage and favour of Government, and was driven from necessity to adopt the former, he at the same time entertained the most sincere respect for the character, principles, and conduct of the man he had entered the lists to condemn and decri!! If Mr. Adam had spoken of *this* description of "appeals to the public through the newspapers," as calculated "to vitiate the honourable and high-minded feeling" of the members of the public service generally, he would have spoken truly. But *this* was the sort of appeals that was not only tolerated by him, but patronized; and those who made them, whether as editors or contributors, were promoted to places of trust and emolument in the branch of service to which they belonged, as in the case of the late Mr. Jameson, of the medical, and Captain Lockett, of the military establishment; or had new places made for them, if they were *not* in the Company's service, as in the case of Mr. James Mackenzie, the first Editor of the John Bull, who was made Deputy Judge Advocate of Marine, an office never before found

necessary, and less so at the period of its creation for his reward than at any former time; and in the case of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, one of the latest contributors to this great cause of bringing hatred on the friends of a free press, who was appointed Clerk of the Stationary department by Mr. Adam, who must have known at the time that such an employment was contrary to the rules of the East India Company whose servant he was, contrary to the rules of the Scotch Kirk of which he was a member, and contrary to the general feeling evinced by nine-tenths of the British community over whom he then ruled. After all, however, the strongest proof that could be offered of Mr. Adam's dread of the "vitiating" effect of appeals to the public through the press in India, is the fact of his committing the very offence of which he complains; for what is his laboured pamphlet but an appeal to that public whose indignation he wishes to allay, and whose good opinion he desires to conciliate?—For himself he finds this practice admirably convenient and indispensably necessary. Why, then, would he deprive others of the same privilege? For obvious reasons. He would wish that only himself and his eulogists should be heard, and that no man should be permitted to express any opinion that might be adverse to his own. The public of England will duly estimate the character of one who finds such a monopoly of privilege necessary to his case.

After quoting, as an instance of Mr. Buckingham's continued aggressions, the alarming opinion, that though an evil had already been repeatedly brought to the notice of the Court of Directors, "*there could be no harm in again drawing the attention of Government to the matter,*" which Mr. Adam himself prints in italics, as if so flagrant an offence were peculiarly worthy of notice, he says, "other passages of an *equally* improper character may be found in the same paper, which exhibits a *tolerable specimen* of principles on which the Calcutta Journal was conducted; though by no means containing the most flagrant instances of the licence in which the editor indulged." Few persons will give Mr. Adam credit for the latter part of this assertion, when they consider that the sole object of his pamphlet is to show the extent of Mr. Buckingham's transgressions, and to place them in the strongest possible light, for the justification of his own conduct in visiting them with so severe a punishment. It is hardly to be supposed that an individual bent on proving the criminality of another would select for reprobation only a few of the least objectionable of his acts, and pass over the "most flagrant" of them altogether. Neither is it true that Mr. Adam *has* done so. He has selected the very worst he could find, ranged them in the most imposing order, and portrayed them in the most aggravated colours that his industry and ability would admit: and after all, is so extremely disappointed at their contemptible weakness, and inadequacy to produce the impression he

wishes to convey, that he finds it necessary to hint at something more flagrant still, which has no existence, but such as he would fain give it in the imagination of his all-credulous and implicitly-confiding readers. Mr. Buckingham may be content, however, to be judged by what Mr. Adam has put upon the record, and what he alleges is sufficient to give a tolerable specimen of the principles upon which Mr. Buckingham's Journal was conducted in India; it is this, that though the governing authorities had hitherto paid no attention to what had already been repeatedly brought to their notice through those "regular channels," which Mr. Adam says "had never been closed against temperate and respectful representation," and where, according to the same high authority, "the grounds of the complaint" were sure to be "justly measured:" yet Mr. Buckingham "thought there could be no harm in again drawing their attention to the matter." Though *they* were supine and indifferent, *he* was active and persevering: and *this* is given as a specimen of the principles by which his public labours were regulated!! He need not be ashamed of the illustration.

With a view, apparently, to give an instance of the more flagrant abuses of the licence taken by Mr. Buckingham, as before alluded to, Mr. Adam cites in the foregoing extract a case in which Mr. Buckingham had the "effrontery" to quote again the declaration of Lord Hastings in favour of a free press, after he had been told that this declaration was not intended to convey the meaning which it appeared to bear. Of that, however, men might think very differently; and although the person who uttered, and many of those who heard them, might wish to have them blotted out for ever, it can hardly be imputed to those who wish to preserve them ever fresh in the memory, that the mere quotation of them should constitute a crime. Yet such is Mr. Adam's version of so simple a deed. It is false to say that such a declaration was "qualified;" unless the statement of Lord Hastings, that he saw no direct necessity for those invidious shackles which formerly bound the press, could be considered as such: but to every impartial mind such an expression must be regarded as bearing the interpretation of an "unqualified" admission, that a free press was entirely without danger in India. We pass on, however, to the more important assumption of Mr. Adam, who, with the dogmatism of an oracle, laying down a position, which he conceives no man ought to dispute or deny, says, "*It is not possible to CONCEIVE a more gross and open insult to Government than the publication of this defence of a paper which he knew had excited its displeasure.*" What! then, are the governors of India absolutely gods, that it is blasphemy to think them fallible like mortal men? It is possible to conceive treason, rebellion, and all the train of crimes against governments which belong to actual resistance of their authority.

But these, in Mr. Adam's opinion, are all inferior to the crime of daring to defend as just and true, what the infallible wisdom of an Indian Governor has erroneously pronounced to be otherwise! It is not possible to *conceive*, he says, any thing more grossly insulting than this! Here is a dictator, such as Rome never saw. Here is a ruler, whose reign of "thirty days" would eclipse, in strange opinions at least, that of any other who had ruled a "hundred." According to this standard of decision, every member of the council of this absolute lord, who presumes to doubt his superior wisdom, and defend what he has previously determined to condemn, must be guilty of the grossest insult! Every advocate at the bar who presumes to defend a client against whom this faultless Governor has set his face, must deserve unequivocal reprobation! Every functionary who ventures to suggest an improvement, after this "Supreme" had expressed his opinion of its impracticability, must be guilty of gross offence: and every individual who presumes to defend his own conduct, or that of another, after this "Infallible" had pronounced *his* opinion of the case, must be condemned as guilty of nothing short of blasphemy against the "sacred majesty" of this Eastern Deity! Is such a man, thus bewildered with a few short days' possession of absolute power, fit to be intrusted with despotic sway over the lives and properties (*liberties* they can have none) of a hundred millions of human beings! and with the exile and ruin of as many of his fellow-countrymen as he may decree to be in *his* judgment no longer worthy of his protection and countenance? Forbid it, Heaven! that such a stain should blot our annals, without an attempt at least to wash it away.

We find that we should extend this article to an undue length (if we have not already done so) were we to analyze every portion of Mr. Adam's pamphlet with the minuteness which its richness in absurdity almost invites. We must therefore pass on more rapidly to its close. Before we do this, however, we cannot omit to point the reader's particular attention to the happy climax of dogmatism and assumption at which Mr. Adam arrives at the concluding part of the last quotation we have given from his Statement. After calling a simple defence of sentiments, which the writer believed to be just, the "most gross insult that could be conceived" to a Government that entertained a different opinion: after representing Mr. Buckingham as "deliberately defying authority," because he questioned the wisdom of its views: after considering as "recorded offences," what no law condemned, and what a jury had pronounced innocent: and after going beyond the "offensiveness" that *had been* discovered, to speak with the same certainty of mischiefs that would be continued *to be* produced:—Mr. Adam is at length obliged to confess that Lord Hastings, the Governor General at that period, thought so much more favourably of Mr.

Buckingham and his labours, than "all the members of Council" who supported a motion for his banishment, that his Lordship **NEGATED** their proposition, on his own individual responsibility; incurring the ill-will of all his colleagues rather than sanction an act which he must have thought a most unjust one, to have resisted at such a sacrifice of personal ease and comfort. We have this from Mr. Adam's own confession, and we therefore need not cite other authority; though it could be shown if necessary, from private letters addressed by the Secretary of Lord Hastings to Mr. Buckingham about this period, that his Lordship entertained very different opinions from his Council on the subject in question. But Mr. Adam's own authority is least likely to be questioned; and according to this it is clear that the supreme head of the Government, whose opinion it is said to be "a gross insult" to doubt or oppose, did *not* think Mr. Buckingham deserving of punishment, or he could not have negated a proposition made by all his colleagues for its infliction. Yet immediately after this remarkable admission Mr. Adam has the following most extraordinary paragraph:

"The foregoing review of the proceedings of Government relative to Mr. Buckingham, must *satisfy* every unprejudiced mind of the *extraordinary lenity* shown to that individual, and the reluctance even of those who most condemned his conduct to deal harshly with him, while there was a hope of his amendment. It has already been observed, that the *recorded instances* of his misconduct, form but a *small proportion* of his offences. Those mentioned in the foregoing pages, however, will show the little reason there was for believing, that he could be reclaimed by lenity; and must be considered to have *FULLY justified the most severe measures.*"

If the minds of the community of India generally had been so thoroughly *satisfied* of Mr. Buckingham's offences as Mr. Adam pretends, how happened it that his Journal continued to be sought after and supported by nearly all the respectable and well-informed members of that very service to which Mr. Adam himself belonged; while the papers opposed to him never obtained either the celebrity or the circulation? How happened it also that this individual, whose conduct must have been considered by every *unprejudiced* person to have justified the most *severe* measures, was considered by a jury of his countrymen to be innocent of all crime, and to deserve no punishment whatever? Mr. Adam knows that *that* jury was not a packed one; that it was formed in the ordinary way, without any effort being made to get particular individuals into it, and that not a single member of it was challenged or objected to on any ground whatever: were there *no* unprejudiced minds among the whole of their number, when they unanimously acquitted Mr. Buckingham of all that was laid to his charge? Mr. Adam cannot answer this question without condemning himself, and casting reflections on the "due course of justice,"—for not

respecting which sufficiently he would have other men punished. He knows well also, that when Mr. Buckingham's conduct as Editor of the Calcutta Journal was brought before the Supreme Court in India, even the Advocate General, Mr. Spankie, who moved the prosecution against him, was compelled to admit that if there were any blame, it was in the *system* which admitted of too great a facility of publication, rather than in the man. On the trial he said,

"The tendency of this facility of publication is to dissolve all subordination, and to set persons who filled the lower ranks in the service against the higher. But I do not accuse Mr. Buckingham of having this intention. From him, if left to himself, we might expect better things. It was a great evil that the press was so open, and thus made an engine of disturbance. If Mr. Buckingham would exercise his own discretion on the writings of his correspondents, of which he is the proper censor, his paper might be productive of incalculable benefits."*

Mr. Adam knows also that about the same period Lord Hastings addressed, through his private Secretary, a letter to Mr. Buckingham, in which nearly the same sentiments were expressed; but which Mr. Adam has carefully kept out of his collection, though he has printed *other* private letters when he found them likely to support his partial view of the case. Mr. Adam further knows that Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Judge who has so long presided alone on the Calcutta bench, then objected to the filing of an information against Mr. Buckingham, as not only illegal, but cruel, and wholly uncalled for by his conduct: that in speaking of some of the letters made the ground of such an information, the Judge said,

"A letter in the *Hurkaru* (a paper then under the peculiar patronage of the Indian Government and its functionaries, and the editor of which soon afterwards started the Indian John Bull) signed C., written while the indictment was pending, was *infinitely* more mischievous than *anything* the accused (Mr. Buckingham) had written, and was more calculated to pervert the course of public justice. It was an *extreme provocation*, and deserved consideration before a man was sent to a petit jury as a libeller, the hardship of which was very properly and very feelingly adverted to by the defendant's counsel."

Here, then, are three of the highest authorities in the country, the Governor General, the Company's Advocate, and the Judge on the bench, who, in accordance with the jury of twelve that sat in judgment on his acts, and the still larger jury of the public that upheld and rewarded them, were unanimously of opinion that Mr. Buckingham's intentions were *not* hostile to the public good; that if there was any fault it was in the *system*; of which, be it remembered, Mr. Buckingham was not the author: and that in acting under that system, a paper under the especial countenance of the prosecuting functionaries had contained an

* Report of the proceedings in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, Nov. 21, 1821.

extreme provocation, and an article more calculated to pervert public justice than any thing which Mr. Buckingham had ever written, even when goaded by the provocation admitted from the bench; while the writer of the *most mischievous* paper not only escaped, but was patronized, honoured, promoted, and a new office created for his emolument and reward: leaving Mr. Buckingham to all the anxiety, expense, and prejudice of a prosecution by indictment, another by information, an actual proscription from many circles of that society in which he moved, by the effect of the Government publicly proclaiming their displeasure against him, his writings, and its supporters; and repeated threats of expulsion from the country, without allowing him to claim the protection of the law, a privilege not denied to the poorest and humblest beggar that solicited alms at his door! *This* is what Mr. Adam calls "unexampled lenity;" after trying every method of inflicting the heaviest penalties that the law could award; and after Mr. Buckingham had been obliged indeed to pay little short of a thousand pounds in costs and contingent expenses, for two prosecutions, in one of which he was pronounced innocent, and from the other of which he was forcibly banished before it was brought to trial! When the law was found to protect the innocent, and to have no terrors but for the guilty, it was found an inconvenient tribunal for a government determined to destroy: and therefore it is admitted by Mr. Adam that Colonel Robison was expelled from the country without a trial, in the true spirit of eastern tyranny, to make an impression!—We shall quote his own words:

"The repeated and unfulfilled *menaces of punishment* naturally lost their effect, and it had become quite plain that the authority and orders of Government were openly and systematically defied. It was yet hoped by some that the EXAMPLE of Lieutenant Colonel Robison would operate as an effectual warning, by showing him, that however forbearing Government might be, it would at length be roused to *vindicate its insulted authority*; but such a hope could not reasonably be indulged in the face of all past experience. There was nothing in Mr. Buckingham's late publications, to lead one to think that he had attained a juster sense of his duty. The punishment proposed *would have been heavy undoubtedly*, but the interest of the public seemed to be a more important consideration, and compassion of the object of punishment must yield to a sense of what was necessary for the general good. Mr. Buckingham knew quite well the dangerous course he was pursuing, and, on a particular occasion, he had been distinctly informed that a repetition of his offensive conduct would be followed by a deprivation of his licence and *expulsion from the settlement, without any previous discussion*. He had been treated with *unexampled lenity* which only *hardened* him. He might, like others in the same walk of life, have pursued a *respectable* occupation, without bringing on himself, by his restless and irreclaimable spirit of opposition to all *wholesome restraint*, the troubles in which he was then involved."

These "others in the same walk of life" have obtained the reward of their "respectable occupation," in being convicted before a court of justice, as libellers of so abandoned and atrocious a cha-

racter, that the Judge himself confessed he could not even think of their writings without horror ! These are the respectable men whom Mr. Adam still patronizes, still honours, still rewards with his smiles, his favours, and the places intended for meritorious services to his masters : and this is the picture of the *wholesome restraint* he is likely to impose on the press of India, as long as the guardianship of it remains vested in his hands. Mr. Buckingham may well congratulate himself in having chosen a different course from those in "the same walk in life" who are here held up as worthy of his imitation, and may consign them over without shame or remorse to Mr. Adam's wholesome keeping.

It was soon after this period that an order was published by the Commander in Chief, forbidding, to all officers in the army, the expression of their opinion on any military topic, on pain of severe displeasure : and adding that if any thing objectionable appeared in the papers, certain means would be taken to render the discovery of the authors inevitable : which might have been done either by threatening the editor with immediate banishment if he did not give up his authority, or tracing all letters through the post-office, a thing often practised and easily accomplished in India. This order, being a military one, was binding on the army only, for no other branch of the community was yet considered to be under martial law : and it was addressed, not to the editors of newspapers, but to officers in the army, and signed by the Commander in Chief. As the order was so vaguely worded, that it was difficult to understand exactly what were the topics meant to be prohibited and what might still be allowed, some discussion took place as to the exact meaning of the order : and in reply to a correspondent's inquiries, Mr. Buckingham ventured to express his opinion as to the interpretation which the terms of it might fairly bear. This simple endeavour to ascertain and define what was prohibited, so as to secure unwary persons from offending, and which deserved praise rather than blame, is thus characterized by the happy pen of Mr. Adam :

" This question is put to Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the Calcutta Journal, who in a note, takes upon himself to declare what is lawful and proper discussion on military subjects ; and having pointed out what *he* considered the points prohibited in the general order by the Commander in Chief, he assured his correspondent and others, that they might consider themselves at full liberty to treat on any *general* question, although it might relate to military affairs. This article, like many others of the same kind, was drawn up with some *art*, but the spirit and tendency could not be mistaken. It was obviously a *deliberate insult* to the authority of Government."

Common sense would suggest that the first step towards securing an obedience to the laws would be to ascertain, as nearly as possible, what those laws prohibit and what they permit ; and this being settled, the rest would be easy. In England, writers who

draw up commentaries on the law, are thought to do the government as well as the public a service; and the several professions of attorneys, barristers, and judges, whose business it is to interpret and declare the meaning of what is difficult to understand, are accounted learned and honourable. In India, however, the very same course brings odium on the head of him who attempts it: and what is thought the best security of good government in the one country, a clear understanding of the law, is held to be a deliberate insult to its authority in another!

12. The *twelfth* charge urged against Mr. Buckingham is that of having, in his Journal of July 30, 1822, made what is called by Mr. Adam "a violent attack on a most honourable and distinguished public officer at the Presidency (Calcutta) by name; and a distinct charge against the Government of an undisguised and indefensible job, in having appointed him Superintendent of a School for Native Doctors." There is in this short sentence the same perpetual begging of the question that occurs throughout the whole of Mr. Adam's Statement, and which requires to be constantly guarded against at every line. The animadversions of the press on this occasion do not deserve the character of "a violent attack:" the public officer indicated, however honourable, was *not* a "distinguished" one, in comparison with those of the same branch of his profession; and there was *no* "distinct charge of an undisguised and indefensible job" on the part of the Government: all of which Mr. Adam boldly asserts in India, because he knows that no man may dare to contradict him there; but it is nevertheless untrue. The following paragraph, which closes Mr. Adam's narration of this affair, is worth transcribing:

"The officer (the late Mr. Jameson) who considered his character *injured* by this *wanton attack*, and not deeming himself accountable to the editor of a newspaper, for the manner in which he was to discharge the public duties of his office, made a representation of the matter to Government, with the view of obtaining its *protection*, but his application was not attended to; it being thought that it was *not a fit subject for the interference of Government*. This being made known to Mr. Jameson, he was induced to seek personal satisfaction for the *insult*, and a Duel was the consequence."

There is an inextricable confusion in all this, which no art can disentangle. If the attack was wanton, and Mr. Jameson's character was really *injured* by it, why did he not appeal to a court of law for redress? If he was not accountable to the editor of a newspaper for his public conduct, how came he to exercise the power of commenting on both the public and private conduct of others; which Mr. Adam well knows he *did* exercise both as the editor of an Indian paper, which he conducted for some years, and subsequently as a writer in the *Hurkaru*, and *John Bull*, in both of which, articles of the greatest virulence against the individuals who advocated the rights and benefits of a free press in India, were

known to have proceeded from his pen? this was surely not doing to others as he would they should do unto him! If also the "violent attack," as Mr. Buckingham's strictures are called, included also a "distinct charge against the Government of an undisguised and indefensible job," how came it, that this Government, so sensibly alive on all other occasions to every *insult* offered to their *authority*, did not, on the present occasion, think Mr. Jameson entitled to their "protection"? or upon what possible ground could they think *this* "not a fit subject for their interference"? The answer is obvious—the whole transaction was so manifest an appropriation of their patronage to reward one of the principal writers in the John Bull newspaper, that the Government were ashamed to interfere, and suffered the matter to pass, most unjustifiably, into a cause for private revenge. We respect the feeling which teaches us not to violate unnecessarily the repose of the dead; but when an improper use is made of this feeling to heap undeserved odium on the living, it becomes a duty to society to make it yield to the more important claims of truth and justice; and as we detest and abhor the character of a slanderer and a bully, which it is plainly Mr. Adam's wish to affix to Mr. Buckingham's share in this transaction, we shall endeavour to set this question in its proper light by inserting here the entire article from the Calcutta Journal, and a report of the consequences to which it led,—requesting the English public to judge for themselves as to the parties most justly to blame in this affair. It will be new to the greater portion of our readers, and sufficiently illustrative of Indian manners, feelings, and opinions, to plead an apology for the space it will occupy. It was published on the occasion of Mr. Jameson's appointment to an office, which was afterwards discovered to be expressly created for him, and which before this period had no existence in India.

"For ourselves, therefore, we say plainly and explicitly, without meaning any personal insult to Mr. Surgeon Jameson, or to the authorities who have appointed him to this important post, which intention, if imputed to us, we utterly and entirely disclaim, that the person chosen to preside over this institution, established with the most benevolent views by Government, for the education of native doctors, ought to be one of the most skilful members of the medical profession, distinguished for his knowledge of pharmacy, surgery, and anatomy; he ought to be intimately acquainted with the native languages, and capable of giving his lectures in them with ease, perspicuity, and fluency; he ought to possess the talents requisite for forming a new nomenclature of anatomy suited to the capacities and language of those to whom his lectures are to be delivered; and he should be peculiarly fitted by nature and manners, as well as by education and experience, to convey readily, clearly, and unambiguously, to others, all that he himself knows. Independently of these high qualifications, he should be a person of as much industry as ability; one who loved his profession, and whose whole time and attention should be absorbed in its pursuits.

"Now without having any thing to do with Mr. Surgeon Jameson's personal or private character—which is altogether out of our province, and which

we should never think of meddling with, even if it were *proved* that he had not observed the same rule of forbearance towards us—we may at least be permitted to say that we doubt his fitness for the office of superintending this native institution, from an opinion that he does not possess the eminent qualifications before enumerated, and which appear to us requisite for such a purpose. We should be very glad to find that we had undervalued his talents and acquirements; and if it can be proved that he is distinguished above his colleagues for his knowledge of pharmacy, surgery, and anatomy, that he is well versed in the native languages, that he is peculiarly well qualified to deliver lectures in them on abstruse and difficult points of his profession, and that he is so enthusiastically devoted to this, as to give up the greater portion of his time to the pursuit, neither troubling himself with public or private matters, or even turning from the lore of Esculapius to mingle in the din of newspaper controversy and political discussion; if these things can be substantiated, we shall be among the first to retract our doubts as to his fitness for the office to which he is appointed, on the score of qualification.

"But even were this point yielded, and were it even granted that, like the admirable Crichton, Mr. Surgeon Jameson had the powers to fit himself for *any thing*, by a genius that could find a royal road to the summit of every pursuit on which he entered; there is yet another qualification, which even such a commanding genius could not give him—this is *time*. It is not in the power of Mr. Jameson, we suppose, to make forty-eight hours out of a day of twenty-four; neither can he do without the necessary portion of food, exercise, and rest, which all men require to support and prolong existence: but if he could make ninety-six hours out of the twenty-four, he would still not have enough to perform all the duties now required of him.

"In the *first* place, we learn from the Directory (p. 161), that Mr. Jameson is Secretary to the Medical Board, which being the medium of all the public medical correspondence of India, is of itself sufficient for any one man who attends sedulously to the duties of this extensive and important branch of the service.

"In the *second* place, we learn from the same Directory (p. 36), that Mr. Jameson is Clerk to the Committee for Controlling the Expenditure of Stationary; and considering the quantity of this article that must be consumed in every department of government, and the consequent necessity for a vigilant exercise of this control over its expenditure, we should think that this also was an office, the duties of which were fully sufficient for any one man who was zealous in the performance of his duty.

"In the *third* place, we learn from that same useful publication, the Directory, that Mr. Jameson is Surgeon to the Free School, which, judging of the number of pupils from the large body of functionaries (17) attached to its superintendence, we should conceive would be also enough for one moderate man's time, if the children were at all unhealthy, or his attendance on them frequent and regular.

"What then will be said of the wonderful capacity of this public servant, who having already the duties of three different offices to perform, each of them sufficient to occupy his whole attention, though the lowest on the List of Surgeons except five (as we learn from the same Directory, p. 61), has yet in the eyes of his honourable masters sufficient merit to recommend him for the appointment, and sufficient time to spare to do the duties of "Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors," on a salary of eight hundred rupees per month, in addition to all his other places! Let the reader only observe what those duties require of him, and he will not think them at all extravagantly paid for: but if he thinks that any man already holding the three offices before enumerated, can do justice to his employers, to the institution, to the public, or to himself, by the full performance of all that is here required of him, then we can only say that such a man must be more or less than human, and possess faculties hitherto unheard of or unknown. The

duties assigned to, and expected of him, are thus defined in the General Orders of the 21st of June, 1821 :—

" 9. The duties of the Superintendent will embrace the whole establishment. He is to direct the studies, practical pursuits, and general conduct of the students; to prepare manuals of the most necessary and intelligible parts of medical science for their use in the native languages; to give demonstrations, and deliver courses of lectures to them on these subjects; and generally to take every available means of imparting to them a practical acquaintance with the diseases of most frequent occurrence in India; the remedies best suited to their cure; and the proper mode of applying those remedies.

" 10. Besides these especial duties of instructing the students in the elementary branches of medical knowledge, and of superintending their practical education, the Superintendent will conduct all the general details of the Institution; all correspondence with the Medical Board connected with the first appointment of the students; their ordinary conduct, and their promotion when duly qualified.

" 11. The whole establishment is to be placed under the immediate control and superintendence of the Medical Board; and all correspondence regarding the nomination of the students, and the appointment of native doctors, to pass intermediately through their office.

" 12. The Superintendent will be entirely subject to the orders of the Board in every thing relating to the welfare of the Institution and its students; and he is to be guided by their advice and instructions, in all cases of difficulty, or circumstances of emergency.

" 20. It will at all times be in the power of the Medical Board, at the recommendation of the Superintendent, to discharge any individual student, on being satisfied that from dulness, idleness, negligence, or misconduct, he is not likely to profit by the Superintendent's instructions, or to become properly qualified for the exercise of the duties to which he is designed.

" 26. The salary of the Superintendent is fixed at *sonat* rupees eight hundred per mensem; with an establishment of a moonshiee to assist in reading and translating at *sonat* rupees sixty, a writer at thirty, and a *pon* at five rupees per mensem.

" 37. The supplies of stationery necessary for the establishment, are to be indented for by the Superintendent, on the government stores in the usual manner.

" 38. Contingent bills for expenses surplus to the above, are to be submitted to Government in the Military Department, through the Medical Board and under their countersignature.

" The writers who have hitherto touched on this subject have left unnoticed the most singular parts of this strange mixture of offices and responsibilities.

" In the *first* place, to proceed in regular order, supposing the Superintendent competent as to talent to do *all* that is required of him, and neglecting all his other duties so as to attend to *this*, we have Mr. Jameson as Superintendent of the Native School corresponding with Mr. Jameson, the Secretary to the Medical Board; and Mr. Jameson the Secretary to the Medical Board replying to Mr. Jameson the Superintendent of the Native School. *All* the correspondence connected with the establishment is to pass through his hands: he is both to knock at the door and to open it; to ask advice of himself, and as Secretary to give his own opinion to himself, as to what he ought to do in all cases of difficulty that may arise to his said self as Superintendent. He is to recommend a pupil in one capacity, and approve of that recommendation in another; and if he finds that owing to his own incapacity to do that which is impossible, namely, performing all the various and conflicting duties of these stations efficiently and properly, his pupils do not learn as fast as the Government wish or expect, the Board, of which he is Secretary, is authorized at his *recommendation* as Superintendent to discharge the unfortunate pupil for dulness, idleness, negligence, or not profiting by the Superintendent's instructions.

" Then again comes the supply of stationery to the Institution, for which Mr. Jameson the Superintendent must indent on Mr. Jameson the Clerk for controlling his own expenditure; and all the contingent expenses contracted by himself in one capacity are to go up to Government through him in another; so that he is to be, in short, the strainer and refiner through which every thing is to pass.

" The whole affair reminds us strongly of an occurrence which took place at Bussorah, and which is well known to many old Indians, particularly those on the other side of India. A Mr. Manesty was formerly the Honourable Company's Resident at Bussorah, and had the charge of the public despatches which then passed frequently by that route from Bombay to England. The same Mr. Manesty being allowed by the absurd regulations of the enlightened government of that day, to trade also on his own private account, as well as

to superintend the affairs of the Company, became ship-owner and general merchant. One of the most frequent calls for the employment of his shipping was that of hiring them as packets for the conveyance of despatches. Such was the activity of Mr. Manesty's mind, however, that these occasions did not occur often enough for him : and accordingly, at intervals between the regular periods of writing, he used to *get up* some piece of important news that demanded urgent despatch to the government. The letters being written, the first step was for Mr. Manesty the resident to address Mr. Manesty the merchant, requiring to know his terms of charter for one of his ships to sail immediately to India with important despatches for government. Mr. Manesty the merchant then replied to Mr. Manesty the resident, that in consequence of his ships being all very profitably engaged, he could not spare one for the voyage intended, under such or such a round sum. On this Mr. Manesty the resident, ever anxious for the interests of government, remonstrates on the exorbitancy of the demand, and hopes that Mr. Manesty the merchant will relax in his claims. Mr. Manesty the merchant, who has nothing to do with any interests but his own, then assures Mr. Manesty the resident, that whatever may be his zeal for the public service, he is sorry he cannot relinquish a profitable voyage then in contemplation, without being adequately remunerated. The farce continues, until by the merchant's firmness or obstinacy, the resident is compelled by circumstances not within his power to control, to hire his own ships at an exorbitant price, to audit his own bill, and to pay his own charges ; and when Mr. Manesty the merchant and Mr. Manesty the resident meet to balance the accounts, they both laugh heartily at the Government for their credulity, though they take care on all occasions to praise it as the best of all possible governments that have been, now are, or ever will be to the end of time.

"We do not suppose Mr. Jameson to be a second Mr. Manesty ; neither do we think him an ignorant, or indolent, or dishonest person ; but all we contend for is, that if he were the most learned, the most active, and the most upright man that ever lived, he could not do all the duties of all his various places efficiently ; and that neither he nor any other man ought to stand in such relations to himself as he is made to do, as the supervisor and comptroller of his own conduct, in a commingling and conflicting of offices and responsibilities without a parallel in our recollection at least.

"We had no idea, until we looked into the details of the subject minutely, that so many and such serious objections existed to such pluralities as are here held by the same person ; but having almost without an effort seen these objections staring us in the face at every step of the inquiry, we should neither do our duty to the Government, to the Superintendent, nor to the Public, if we were not to point them out ; for all parties are equally interested in having them removed.

"The Government can have but one end in view. It has created the institution for the benefit of the public service, and not for the benefit of Mr. Jameson. Its only desire therefore must be, that this institution should be efficient ; and we are sure that the Government has too much good sense not to see that while these obstacles remain, its efficiency must be doubtful, if not altogether certain of being defeated.

"The Superintendent ought only to have one object in view, to do his duty ably and effectually, and not to hold more places than he can fully discharge the duties of, or receive more salaries than he can conscientiously consider that he is in honour and honesty better entitled to, than the long list of surrogates that stand above him in seniority.

"The Public can have only one desire, that of seeing the acts of Government regulated by wisdom, equity, and a fitness of the means to the end ; so that its proceedings may *command* respect by their freedom from all objection ; and that the public service may be advanced, and not retarded, by every act that proceeds from its able counsellors or their supreme head.

"For ourselves we have no interest beyond the regard due to justice and truth. If in any thing we have said, it can be shown that we have offended the one or violated the other, we shall stand deservedly convicted of a breach of duty on our own parts, and submit to such reproach.

"But because we have mentioned Mr. Jameson's name—as Mr. Canning does that of Mr. Creevey, or John Bull that of Mr. Hume—let it not be said that we are *personal*. We disclaim all such intentions: we never have had, and never shall have, to do with Mr. Jameson's private relations in life, as a husband, a father, or a member of society (we wish all men in India were as free to unburden their consciences on this point); we speak of him only as a public character, and no mean one either, or he never could have attained the eminence from which he now looks down on so many of his fellow-servants far above him in years and length of service, as secretary of two boards, surgeon of one institution, and superintendent, comptroller, and lecturer of another. We have not dragged him from the retirement of private life to hold him up to the profane gaze of an idle and scandal-loving world; neither have we called him by any other than the name of which he has just reason to be proud. His early history, his travels, his domestic fidelity, his children, his relatives, whether male or female, and all the connexions and endearments of his private life, are far too sacred in *our* estimation to be held up to public scorn, or made the sport of wanton ridicule and unfeeling mirth; but his public duties and his public functions are the fair and legitimate objects of that "public scrutiny," to the control of which the most pure may not be ashamed to submit themselves; and we will do Mr. Jameson the justice to believe that he has too much good sense not to perceive that none but those who think their duties will not bear the prying gaze of public scrutiny, would ever shrink from that investigation which it is the peculiar boast of innocence, rectitude, and integrity to court, as the best ordeal through which they can pass, and from which they must come out, like pure gold, refined from the process."

Let any impartial person declare whether, in the whole of the preceding comment, there is any thing that warrants Mr. Adam's description of it, when he says, in a subsequent part of his pamphlet, (p. 41,) that this was a "deliberate and unprovoked *outrage*" on Mr. Jameson, "whose official and *private* character were treated with wanton and unpardonable freedom," while "the gist of the charges was levelled against the Government, by whom the obnoxious appointment had been made." There was not one word said of the *private* character of Mr. Jameson, except to separate it as much as possible from the public duties of his office, which were the exclusive topics of animadversion. But this is a fair specimen of Mr. Adam's perpetual perversions and misrepresentations throughout the whole of the laboured and distorted Statement, which he has put forth as an apology for his conduct. The report of the proceedings that arose out of the publication before alluded to, will complete all that it can be necessary to say on this case: a subject to which we should never have reverted, had not Mr. Adam made it so prominent a part of his pamphlet, with a view to stamp the character of Mr. Buckingham as a wanton slanderer of private character, and an unprincipled aggressor—an imputation which he abhors.

• “*Authentic Statement signed by the Seconds.*”

“The following is a narrative of what took place in a duel between Mr. Jameson and Mr. Buckingham, accompanied by the papers which passed between the parties named in them:—

“(No. I.)

“*Calcutta, August 4, 1822.*

“Mr. Gordon, on the part of Mr. Jameson, having waited on Mr. Buckingham, states, that with regard to what has already passed in the *Calcutta Journal*, on the subject of Mr. Jameson's several appointments, he (Mr. Jameson) having applied for the protection of Government, who declined taking any measures on the question, does not consider himself entitled to seek personal satisfaction, as it would be unfair to have recourse to two modes of redress for the same injury.

“Though Mr. Buckingham avows as a principle by which he is ready to abide, that neither the private and personal character of Mr. Jameson or any other individual is a fit subject for animadversion in a public paper; yet, in the opinion of Mr. Jameson and his friends, the late remarks on Mr. Jameson's plurality of appointments (which Mr. Buckingham conceives to have been purely of a public nature) contained so much of a private and personal description, as to justify his demanding therefore a pledge from Mr. Buckingham, that he will not in future make Mr. Jameson's name or public duties in any way, directly or indirectly, a subject of comment, allusion, or discussion, since they are not agreed as to what is of a public, and what of a private nature; and Mr. Jameson states, through Mr. Gordon, that if Mr. Buckingham will not give such a pledge, he must demand his meeting him in a duel.

“Mr. Buckingham declines giving such a pledge in favour of any public individual, as he considers it to be a virtual abandonment of the liberty of the press, and an immunity that no man in a public station has a right to ask. For the same reason, having distinctly disavowed all allusion to Mr. Jameson's private character, he refuses to make his public conduct a matter of personal quarrel, and declines meeting him *on that ground* in a duel.”

“Immediately after the delivery of the above, Mr. Buckingham proceeded in search of a friend, to whom he might confide the future conduct of this affair, and having requested Major Swiney's assistance for that purpose, Major S. waited on Mr. Gordon, and, after having repeated Mr. Buckingham's disavowal of all allusion to Mr. Jameson's private character, left the following paper with Mr. Gordon, and agreed to wait till the next morning for further communication:—

“(No. II.)

“*Allipore, August 4, 1822.*

“Major Swiney, at the request of Mr. Buckingham, waits on Mr. Gordon, to state that the written paper (No. I.) given by Mr. Buckingham to Mr. Gordon being intended to express his unwillingness to make his public conduct a ground of private quarrel, and his objection to meet Mr. Jameson *on that ground only*, Mr. Buckingham wishes to follow it up immediately by a private communication through his friend, stating his perfect readiness to waive the objection urged by Mr. Gordon on Mr. Jameson's account, as to Mr. Jameson's unwillingness to seek redress by two modes for the same injury; and to meet him (Mr. Jameson) when and where he thinks proper, if Mr. Jameson is still dissatisfied with Mr. Buckingham's disavowal of all allusion to his private character, and conceives himself entitled to satisfaction from Mr. Buckingham as an individual in his private capacity.”

“On Monday morning accordingly Mr. Gordon waited on Major Swiney, and it appearing, after considerable discussion, that he could not accept the

acknowledgment tendered by Mr. Buckingham, the conference was terminated by their drawing up the following paper :

" (No. III.)

" *Fort William, August 5, 1822.*

" Major Swiney having stated to Mr. Gordon that his friend Mr. Buckingham is ready to waive the objection urged by Mr. Jameson, against Mr. Jameson's pursuing two modes of redress at the same time, and that his friend Mr. Buckingham cannot make any other apology to Mr. Jameson than by distinctly repeating the declaration, already published in the paper which originated this correspondence, disavowing any intention to injure the private and personal character of Mr. Jameson in the remarks which appeared in the *Journal* of the 30th ultimo. Mr. Gordon, on the part of Mr. Jameson, states, that his friend cannot accept such disavowal as a sufficient apology, and that therefore the difference must be terminated in a personal meeting, to take place at Ballygunge to morrow morning the 6th instant, as soon after daylight as possible."

" In the course of the morning, however, circumstances, which it is unnecessary to record, having rendered it desirable that the meeting should take place as soon as possible, the parties proceeded to the Great Race Course, at four o'clock, and the customary forms having been observed, exchanged two shots with each other at twelve paces distance. After the second round was fired, Major Swiney asked Mr. Gordon whether Mr. Jameson was not now satisfied. Mr. Gordon replied, that as Mr. Buckingham had not tendered to Mr. Jameson that reparation of the injury complained of by Mr. Jameson, which Mr. Gordon conceived due from a man of candour when he found he had done another an injustice, he could not recommend to Mr. Jameson to put an end to the matter. Major Swiney replied, that he could not demand of Mr. Buckingham the acknowledgment proposed, because neither he nor Mr. Buckingham was conscious of its being due. The pistols were then again loaded and placed in the hands of the principals for a third fire, when Major Swiney declared aloud that before they proceeded any further he was desirous of repeating Mr. Buckingham's declaration, that he had no intention to injure the private or personal character of Mr. Jameson, adding further, that as this was the only acknowledgment that could now be made, and as it was in his judgment as a man of honour perfectly sufficient, he considered himself and friend exonerated from all blame for what might occur from refusing to terminate the affair. On this Mr. Gordon retired with Major Swiney, and stated to him that after what he had just said, as to the responsibility for further proceedings, and his declaration that he conceived his friend had already done all that could in justice be required of him as a man of honour, he felt that he had no course left but to intimate to Mr. Jameson the propriety of foregoing any further demand of satisfaction. Mr. Gordon accordingly notified this conclusion to Mr. Jameson, and both the principals having then expressed themselves satisfied with this decision, the parties retired.

" (Signed)

" G. SWINEY,

" *Calcutta, August 6, 1822.*

" G. J. GORDON."

" *Note of the Editor.*—It may perhaps seem indecorous in us to offer any observations on a transaction in which we have been a party; but as that very circumstance may perhaps give the more weight to what we may have to offer, the evil may be more than outweighed by the good,—and this consideration removes our scruples. We may also now say freely and voluntarily what might have *before* been interpreted as concession: and those who know the influence of such feelings as belong to enthusiastic and ardent minds, will easily appreciate the difference of value between admissions that *follow*, and those that *precede* a contest in which a man's life is hazarded in defence of his principles or opinions.

"We shall say now, therefore, on a review of the article on Pluralities, in the Journal of the 30th of July, that there is a boldness and plainness of manner in investigating and laying bare the subject treated of, which is so unlike the usual mode of treating Indian questions and Indian holders of office, that we can scarcely wonder at the individual to whom it relates feeling aggrieved, as being the first thus selected from all the fellow-members of a service in which pluralities are far from rare, to be designated by name, and his offices and duties spoken of with a degree of homeliness quite unusual in the newspapers of India. We can suppose this pain to have been increased by a belief that some secret desire of wounding the feelings of the person spoken of, dictated this departure from the usual track; and we can thus imagine a sense of injury and injustice sufficiently deep to call for some immediate means of redress.

"All this might have happened, and did happen, without any such invidious distinctions existing in our own mind, without any intention of doing injury or injustice, or of inflicting pain for its own sake. We were actuated by a higher consideration. The question was introduced by a correspondent originally, and we took so little share or interest in it then, as to suffer the letter to remain for several days before it appeared, and to issue it without a word of comment. After this, however, we were inundated with letters on the same subject, until they became so numerous that there was no possibility of publishing them all; and in apologizing for their omission, the idea struck us that it would be better to treat of the subject editorially, and to come at once plainly and explicitly to the point, as is done in all countries where public men are held amenable to public animadversion, and where any thing approaching to a freedom of the press is supposed to exist. We thought then, and we think still, that this is by far the most manly, the most honourable, and the most useful mode; and that, as Englishmen, we should leave metaphor, allusion, and ambiguity to nations not worthy the free use of that best gift of God to man—his reasoning faculties,—and let our words be the undisguised and fearless echo of our thoughts, whenever we spoke of public men or public measures.

"We here distinctly state, therefore, that it was from no desire whatever to point out the gentleman named, more particularly than any other individual similarly situated. Our objection was to the measure, and not to the man; to the system in general, as much as to the particular instance of it; and above all things our desire was rather to render service to the Government than to do injury to the person they had selected for the offices enumerated, by showing them (what might have escaped their attention) that there were objections to the union of such offices, which, according to our perception and reason, seemed insuperable, and that the duties described were in common estimation likely to be considered incompatible. We thought we had taken such pains to separate the private and personal from the public and official character of the individual whose offices and duties were commented on, that no misapprehension could have arisen. Events have shown, however, that the gentleman himself, as well as his friends, thought differently; and we can now declare frankly, and with a clear conscience, that no one regrets more sincerely than we do that such a difference of opinion should exist as to what is private and personal, and what is public and official; since to this mere difference of opinion the lives of both might have fallen a sacrifice, and the smiles of gladness that awaited each in the bosom of his family and friends, been turned into the tears of widowed and orphaned mourners. But there are considerations far higher than that of mere existence, even when this is blessed with all that can endear and adorn it; and the parties have each only shown their disregard of what is but comparatively valuable when put in competition with that which in their estimation is infinitely more so.

"With regard to the main feature of the whole case—the right of every

individual in the community to comment freely on the conduct of public men, being amenable to the laws of his country for every violation of this right, and confining himself to public acts and public duties only—we hope we shall always be prepared to contend for that right, as we have hitherto done, whether the resistance to it originate in the arena of public controversy, in the more secluded chambers of influence and authority, or in the open courts of that legal tribunal to which we are always ready respectfully to bow. Beyond these precincts we would not willingly carry its defence, and nothing but an overruling necessity and the impossibility of honourable compromise should ever lead us to pass them; but if such a necessity arises, our only reliance must be on the justice of our cause. We are moreover satisfied, that the public functionaries of every government (and we know of no good reason why those of India should form an exception) must stand higher and higher in public estimation, in proportion to their readiness to submit to that examination and scrutiny which is at once the source and the test of much of the public virtue that any where exists. Even the purity of private life is perhaps more owing to the vigilant watchfulness that every member of society exercises over his associates, and the moral influence of public opinion, than to the injunctions of religion or the terror of the laws; and in our opinion a much higher degree of influence must be exercised by that same public opinion when it is permitted to be freely expressed on all public acts, and to operate as the wholesome corrector of errors that have transpired, as well as the preventative of abuses which, but for its salutary restraint, might and no doubt *would* take place."

We put it to the good sense of the English public, whether there is in all this transaction any thing that warrants the criminal complexion given to it by Mr. Adam; or whether there is any thing in the whole proceeding of which Mr. Buckingham need be ashamed?—We again repeat, that, but for the importance of repelling so odious and cruel an imputation as Mr. Adam has endeavoured to fix on Mr. Buckingham's share of this transaction, we should never have reverted to the subject: but justice to the living is at least as important as respect for the dead.

18. The *thirteenth* charge of misconduct on the part of Mr. Buckingham, as it stands on Mr. Adam's list, is that of his having characterized the resolutions and orders of Government for prohibiting the discussion of any particular subject, so long as they were confined to a "private circular" of the Chief Secretary, as "in point of fact and point of *law* mere waste paper." The result has shown that in this expression Mr. Buckingham was right; for the Government of India, discovering this to be really the case, have since found it necessary to have these resolutions passed through the Supreme Court in Bengal, before they could be considered as of any value in point of *law*. From hence arose the effort made to get a law passed in India for licensing the press, which was hurried through the Court under a temporary Governor General, and while two of the Judges belonging to the Calcutta bench were absent, leaving a single Judge to preside on this important occasion! On the *argumentative* part of this vital question, as to the unlawfulness of restraining the press in India by a licence, to be taken away at the pleasure of the Government, we shall say more here-

after; but in point of *fact*, the assertion that a mere "private circular" could not acquire the force of *law* until registered under the legal sanction of the Supreme Court, was undeniably true, and is fully proved by the subsequent conduct of the very men who ventured on that occasion to call it in question. As this assertion, however, gave rise to a letter from the Chief Secretary, addressed to Mr. Buckingham, to which the latter replied at some length, the reader is referred for that correspondence to the APPENDIX, where the entire letter will be found, so as to render it unnecessary to do more than advert to it in this place. It was in this last letter Mr. Buckingham told the Government that their principal functionaries were known to write in the Indian John Bull, and to be the principal contributors of all the articles in that paper intended to defame and destroy his reputation: a charge which the Government neither did nor could deny. It was in this letter also that he made the request to be permitted to publish to the Indian community all the correspondence which had passed between the Government and himself, closing it with the following paragraph:

"I shall rely on his Lordship's justice to permit the publication of the official correspondence in which I have been involved on the subject of the press, in order that no persons may henceforth plead ignorance as their excuse for not conforming to the wishes now so clearly and finally expressed by Government. It is not only granted to my opponent, the Indian John Bull, to publish such portions of the letters of Government to me, as may suit his purpose of bringing my writings and character into dispute; but access is given him to all such documents sufficiently early to make them a subject of comment in his pages almost before they reach my hands, and certainly before I have been able to reply to them. Those who remember the avowed purpose for which that paper was established, to crush and annihilate the Calcutta Journal, those who know the manner in which it has been supplied with every mark of official countenance and protection, being made indeed the channel of information formerly confined to the Government Gazette, as well as a vehicle of the most angry denunciations of myself and my opinions, in letters written for its columns, and generally believed to have been penned by some among the highest functionaries of the state; those to whom all this is notorious (and they include nearly the whole of the British community of India) will not wonder at the ungenerous exultation which the habitual contributors to that paper have already displayed at what they no doubt deem the immediate harbinger of my irrecoverable ruin. I only ask the common justice of being permitted to publish the correspondence and final decision of Government regarding the press, not only to satisfy the Indian public as to the impossibility of my further continuing to maintain the sentiments I so lately held, and as I thought justly, regarding the freedom of the Indian press; but also to escape the imputation of that "gross dissimulation" and "mischievous suppression of fact, tending to betray others into penal error," with which I should be justly chargeable if I concealed from others that which it is important for all men to know, who desire to conform to the wishes of those in authority, and who seek for explicit information as to what those wishes are, in order that they may more fully and effectually obey them. The Government, feeling that their decision is just, must be honoured by making it known; and the most effectual way of closing for ever all plea of excuse from those who may in future pretend to doubt their intentions, will

be to place clearly and unequivocally before the world this explicit and final declaration of their expectations and command."

To this serious accusation, and to this reasonable request, no answer was ever returned by the Indian Government! The public of England will necessarily conclude, as the public of India have already done, that the accusation was unanswerable, and that the request could not be complied with, because it would show the Indian Government to be in the wrong.

14. The *last* act, which sealed Mr. Buckingham's fate, was the publication of an article in his Journal of the 8th of February, tending to show the incongruous union of the duties of a Presbyterian parson and a stationer's clerk, which had just been effected in the case of the Reverend Doctor Bryce, whose name is never once mentioned in Mr. Adam's impartial Statement! This article, as giving rise to the last portion of the official correspondence, will be found at length in the APPENDIX, and need not be repeated here. It was considered by all who read it at the time, and by most persons who have read it since, to be a light and good-humoured display of the difficulties to be encountered in any attempt to reconcile such discordant and conflicting duties, as those of an active and pious minister of the church—and a busy and zealous distributor of stationery to the East India Company's servants in Bengal. Mr. Adam, however, in his accustomed tone of moderation, thus characterizes this harmless comment:

"During the remaining part of Lord Hastings's administration, there appeared in almost every successive number some new attack on the measures and character of that nobleman, and the same disposition to *assail with indiscriminate abuse* every thing that did not square with Mr. Buckingham's views and opinions, was evinced during the period that followed his Lordship's departure from India. In the course of this direct and open *defiance* of the supreme local authority, Mr. Buckingham, in his Journal of the 8th of February last, published a paragraph animadverting on an appointment made by the Governor General in Council, in language *so gross and insulting* that the Governor General felt it an *indispensable obligation* of his public duty to bring the conduct of Mr. Buckingham distinctly under the notice of the Council Board, and to propose his *expulsion from the country*, as the *only* effectual mode of putting an end to his mischievous career."

At every step of this examination we are tempted to exclaim, Were there no courts of law, no judges, no juries in India, to punish this "hardened offender"? Was there no sense of honour or of right feeling in that enlightened and gentlemanly body of which the great mass of the public servants in India is composed, to withdraw their countenance and support from one who assailed with indiscriminate abuse *every thing* that did not square with his opinions? Alas! such *abuse* and such *defiance* existed nowhere but in the disordered brain of the Governor General, the only man in all India perhaps who could have given utterance to the slavish sentiment, that "it is impossible to conceive a greater insult to a

Government than an attempt to defend what they have already visited with their displeasure." If any man should doubt his incapacity to judge aright, or to call things by their proper names, let him look at the article on the Presbyterian Clerk of Stationary in the APPENDIX, and say whether there is any thing in the language of it that can justly be considered *so gross and insulting* as to render it an *indispensable obligation* on the part of the Governor General, to propose the forcible and immediate expulsion of the writer from the country without a trial, a hearing, or a defence, as the *ONLY* mode of doing justice? If only one honest and disinterested man should decide in the affirmative, we shall think the Governor General worthy of our pity and forgiveness, rather than our blame. Mr. Adam proceeds:

"It appeared very evident that Mr. Buckingham was acting on a systematic plan, and trying the length which he and his abettors might go with safety in establishing an *organized* opposition to Government. The publication in question, on the recent appointment made by Government, could only be regarded as an attempt on Mr. Buckingham's part, to ascertain whether he might, under the *existing* Government, continue to take those liberties in which the *forbearance* of the late Governor General enabled him to indulge. The *NECESSITY* of repressing that spirit was manifest from all that had happened since the commencement of the Calcutta Journal. It was quite clear that if not stopped, the evil would extend to *many other public acts*, and to every branch of the service, and there appeared no other measure so *WELL* calculated to stop it, as that proposed by the Governor General."

What is meant by an *organized* opposition proceeding from a single individual, without a partner, colleague, or assistant in his labour, is not easily understood; but if the publication in question could *only* be regarded as an attempt of the description stated, would not any temporary governor, whose intentions were honest and just, have intimated, by some new order, immediately on the departure of his predecessor, what were his individual intentions with respect to the press, during the brief period that he might be expected to hold the reins of power? Would he not have said, "Now, Sir, *I* am dictator; and as it is my determination to punish with immediate expulsion from the country whoever offends me during my rule, beware! and do not plead former precedent as your excuse." Such language would have been bold, but it would have been honest. Mr. Adam's conduct was quite the reverse. It is true that the individuals who enjoyed his especial favour, made no scruple of asserting, that Mr. Buckingham's stay in India would now be very short, as Mr. Adam had made up his mind on that subject; but no intimation whatever was given through any official channel of any change intended in the measures to be pursued towards the press; from an apprehension, no doubt, that they might lead either to extreme caution, or a temporary suspension of Mr. Buckingham's labours, during the expected interregnum, by which the victim marked out for punish-

ment might possibly have escaped. As if alarmed, however, at the consequences of his own deed, and anxious to deprecate the indignation which it is likely to excite in the breasts of all who can feel for the injuries unjustly inflicted on another, Mr. Adam proceeds to palliate his conduct in the following strain :

"The removal of Mr. Buckingham from the country will not seem, to those who take a *comprehensive* view of the subject, to be a measure of severity disproportionate to the *offence*. If the publication in question had been an insulated act, or ascribable to inadvertence or want of due appreciation of the consequences, that supposition might be admitted ; but viewing it as it *must* be viewed, in the light of a *deliberate* and *advised insult* to the authority of Government, and bearing in mind the numerous *recorded* instances of pardoned offences, and the repeated warnings given to Mr. Buckingham of the consequences of his persisting in his course of opposition and defiance, it will be admitted that the objection loses *all its force*. Besides, **EXPULSION IS THE ONLY MODE OF PUNISHMENT WITH WHICH THE LEGISLATURE HAS ARMED THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST SUCH ASSAULTS ON ITS DIGNITY AND AUTHORITY**, and the Governor General conceived that in proposing to exercise that power in the instance here alluded to, he was using it strictly as a shield, and not as a weapon of offence."

For what purpose, then, we must ask again, were courts of justice established in India? For what purpose were king's judges sent out to administer the laws? To what end and intention were charters given, authorizing the formation of juries and other legal instruments of justice in India? Were they not intended to *try* men for their offences before they were condemned? Mr. Adam, whose father is at present one of the highest law officers in Scotland, whose brothers are also legal men, and whose whole family are whigs! cannot surely think that any of his friends in England will countenance such a "deliberate insult" (to use his own favourite phraseology) on the law as this. Expulsion is *not* the only mode of punishment, and no one knows this better than Mr. Adam himself; for if it were, the Government of India would be weak indeed. Expulsion cannot be enforced on any native of the country, however abject, however criminal he may be; expulsion cannot be enforced even on any foreigner belonging to a country at peace with England. No! this enviable distinction is reserved for Englishmen alone, the *only* persons who cannot visit their country's possessions in India without the permission of the East India Company; and, consequently, the only persons in whom it is considered a crime not to possess that permission, from whom it may be taken away at the mere will and pleasure of the Governor for the time being, leaving the helpless individual subject to banishment and ruin for not possessing a paper of which he is forcibly and without due cause deprived!! Mr. Adam could not say that expulsion is the *only* power **EXERCISED** by an Indian Governor for repressing what he is pleased to term mischievous publications. Did not Lord Wellesley assume the power of putting the press under

a censorship? and can Mr. Adam, in the delirium of his sudden elevation, forget that he himself filled that odious office of a censor on a British press for years, during the period that he was Chief Secretary to Lord Hastings, before its abolition in August, 1818?—Has not the Legislature vested *this* power in an Indian Governor? We say it has *not*; but Mr. Adam cannot dare to agree with us, without admitting (what is undeniable indeed, but what at the same time condemns him and all other censors of a British press,) that those who imposed such censorships, and those who exercised them, acted *illegally*. Again, we say, expulsion is *not* the only power possessed and exercised by the Indian Government over the press. Does Mr. Adam, in the blindness of his exaltation, already forget, that immediately *after* his expulsion of Mr. Buckingham, and while the very sheets of his apologetic pamphlet were wet from under his hand, he framed an odious regulation for putting every press in Bengal, British, foreign, and native, under a licence, to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the Government, and authorizing bye-laws for imposing fine and imprisonment on all who dared to print, sell, lend, or even read *any* publication prohibited by the wisdom of the rulers of this *happy* country? Will he say that the Legislature has armed the Indian Government with *this* power also? We contend that it has not, and that he and all his counsellors, with the judge who sanctioned such a regulation, would, in other times, have been impeached in Parliament for giving the solemn sanction of the law to that which is not only unjust, but *illegal*, and as clearly repugnant to the laws of the realm as any thing can well be. If “expulsion” were “the *only* mode of punishment with which the Legislature has armed the Government against such assaults on its dignity and authority” as comments through the press, (and Mr. Adam says it is,) upon what possible ground could he have attempted, not merely to *assume* a power beyond the law on the plea of necessity, but to put forth with all the sanction of the law a power more fearful still, as extending its baleful influence over all those classes who were hitherto exempt from expulsion, and liable only to that “trial by jury,” which is the great safeguard of our rights; and which Mr. Adam has the honour of being the first man in India to propose a law for destroying and making void? The hypocritical professions of meekness and gentleness in what follows, will put Mr. Adam’s character in a clearer light still:

“It cannot be *supposed* that the Governor General could have any disposition to adopt a measure of *unnecessary severity* against any individual, *however culpable*, and circumstanced as he then was, his inclination must have been, that the probably short period of his administration should not be marked by any *unusual* exertion of authority. But in a clear case of *expediency*, it was incumbent on him not to shrink from the exercise of a power which he had on more than one occasion pressed the late Governor General to use

for the public good; nor would he submit to compromise the public interests by sanctioning the unrestrained indulgence of a spirit, which must produce the most extensive evil, or by suffering the Government to be defied and insulted with impunity, while he was at its head. Influenced by these considerations, the Governor General proposed, in conformity to the intimations repeatedly made to Mr. Buckingham, to withdraw his licence for residing in India, which proposition was unanimously approved of by the Board, and the provisions of the law applicable to such cases were put in force against Mr. Buckingham accordingly."

"This is a plain narrative of facts as connected with the conduct of Mr. Buckingham at this Presidency as an editor of a newspaper, and of the steps he took from time to time to render himself in that capacity wholly independent of the Government. With reference to the particular act of removing him from India, it is hardly necessary to repeat, that it has not been occasioned by one or two instances of contumacy, but has been forced upon Government after long forbearance, by his systematic disregard of the regulations of Government, and open defiance of its orders. It was quite evident that he was resolved to bring the matter to issue, and that further toleration would have been a virtual acknowledgment of the inability of Government to curb him. He has artfully endeavoured to make it appear that the punishment was applied for the single publication of the 8th February, but that perversion of the truth admits of easy exposure by a simple reference to the facts, which have been found faithfully detailed in the preceding statement.

"The unimportant nature of the appointment referred to in Mr. Buckingham's publication of the 8th of February, and the intrinsic absurdity of the remarks themselves, can in no degree affect the question of his expulsion, nor are the merits of the arrangement itself in any respect involved in the present consideration. The Governor General's objection was, as on a former occasion, to the assumption by an editor of a newspaper of the privilege of sitting in judgment on the acts of Government, and bringing public measures and the conduct of public men, as well as the conduct of private individuals, before the bar of what Mr. Buckingham and his associates miscall public opinion."

Be it so. Let the people of England judge whether there was any unnecessary severity or not in this case; let them determine whether the Governor General's inclinations *must* have been on the side of forbearance and mercy, or on those of vengeance as prompt as it was uncalled for; let them decide whether a Governor occupying the seat of power for a few days could have any moral or even legal right to pass judgment on acts done when he was a subordinate servant of the Government, and passed by as undeserving of more than a reprimand by his lord and master; whether, in short, he could, in justice, have any right whatever to look beyond the single and only publication which took place while he sat in the judgment-seat. We do not fear the result. If, however, as Mr. Adam states, the "appointment" commented on was of an "unimportant nature," and the remarks full of "intrinsic absurdity;" if, as he further asserts, they could in "no degree affect the question of Mr. Buckingham's expulsion," and "were not in any respect involved in that consideration," how happened it that this "single publication of the 8th of February" was the only one specifically alleged as the cause of that expulsion in the official letter which conveyed to Mr. Buckingham the first intelli-

gence of this measure being resolved on? Does Mr. Adam repent him of his folly, and wish to make it appear that it was for other and earlier deeds, far surpassing in magnitude and importance this last "absurd" and "unimportant" matter? Alas! it is too late: he himself has officially alleged that this single publication was sufficient to justify all the awful consequences that have resulted from it, and he cannot *now* blot out a line from the record!

For the offence of pointing out the improper union of duties in a public servant, who held an office contrary to the duties of his sacred profession, contrary to the regulations of the East India Company, who have since, it is said, ordered his dismissal from this employment, and contrary to the interests of the public service, Mr. Adam has thought fit to visit an untried and innocent man with exile from his friends, his property, his connexions, and his lawful pursuits; to involve him in an endless train of evils resulting from such a destruction of all his dearest hopes; and, worse than all, to inflict a curse upon a whole country, by fettering the honest expressions of thought and opinion, and degrading the press of India below the lowest depth to which it had ever before descended, inasmuch as the present law for licensing that press is worse than a censorship a thousand times. It would require the pen of Burke to paint these enormities in the colours in which they deserve to be exhibited. We content ourselves, however, with a plain narrative of the *facts* on which this question of the Indian press is founded; and having brought up our comment to that portion of the Governor General's Appeal to Public Opinion in India where the enumeration of the several charges against Mr. Buckingham ends, we shall reserve an examination of the *arguments* on which he endeavours to prove the incompatibility of a free press with good government in India, for our succeeding Number.

We have met this Appeal with no more freedom of expression than Mr. Adam himself uses towards the object of his alarm and the victim of his power; and following the Christian maxim of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, we have gone into the inquiry with a candid search after truth, fully impressed with the importance of exhibiting in its true light all the bearings of a question, on which the improvement and happiness of millions of human beings may be said to depend.

In concluding this long article on a question that may by some be regarded as too personal in many of its details, we beg to repeat that it is our wish to attach importance only to the *principles* involved in the transaction; and to contend for the advantage of that "publicity and censure" on the acts of Government, which is justly regarded by the historian of India, from whom we have taken our motto, as the grand remedy for all its defects.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 1.—*Turkey.*

THERE is less practical wisdom in the affairs of government than can easily be believed, and more especially in that kind of government which in all ages has prevailed among the Asiatic nations. Custom and antiquity are man's chief idols. They direct the stream of his affairs, and go on "conquering and to conquer;" the weak bow down before them through fear; and those who pride themselves upon their knowledge and speculative principles, through an over-refined policy, which is startled at the aspect of novelty. Man's moral atmosphere, indeed, is obscured by a thick mist; those only who stand on the highest eminences of wisdom, where it does not reach, being able to see to any distance around them:—the mass are moles who work their way in the dark. In enlightened countries this does not, it is imagined, take place, because the spread of literature carries about into every hole and corner the key of the arts and sciences of life. The poor have politics preached unto them. But is it very often honestly done? And do they use this key to unlock the treasures it can open, never suffering it to rust in their keeping? Men gain less by creating multiplicity of means, than by turning the unbroken efforts of the mind into one constant direction. The other more easy paths of literature have drained off in modern Europe those energies of the imagination, which, in ancient Greece and Rome, used to run undivided into the channel of political study. Bad governments undoubtedly find their account in this; for the men who might otherwise become severe censors of their conduct, the more dreaded as censuring with wisdom and integrity, in the present order of things, dwindle their efforts down to criticism and the chit-chat and idle gossip of letters. In the plenitude of this taste, they regard a fond looking back to the legislative studies of antiquity as a strong indication of hebetude of understanding—as a mark of unfitness to live and make a figure among contemporary merit. The Asiatics have follies equivalent to this. Their disputes about religion, perpetuated by habit and illeness, and fostered possibly in secret by the government, carry off those corroding humours which in tyrannies devour the meditative and uncommunicating heart. It is necessary in all states that men should have some "scape-goat" of a subject, upon which may be laid at the same time the excess of their own ill passions, and the oversights, incapacities, and real wickedness of their rulers. The Orientals have in *Destiny* a most convenient theme. It answers the end of an *Opposition* in Europe. All evils are invented or created by it. You can put no case in which this universal

meddler will not have a finger. It at once causes and solves all mischiefs and all errors.

The grand feature of all Asiatic governments, excepting those perhaps of Arabia, is naked despotism; the great spring of every movement, physical force. This is the true cause of the feeble interest we take in their histories, compared with those of Greece and Rome. Actions are not seasoned, and refined from the dross of the passions, by the exquisite infusion of intellect and sentiment: what is done appears to be the rough coarse manufacture of flesh and blood. There is not observable that fine and constant dependence of one event upon another, inducing a sense of order and connexion, which we find in the affairs of free states. There is a feeling of degradation impressed upon the mind that is highly painful; man seeming a base animal, and contempt extinguishing sympathy. It seems not so much in fact the history of any state, as of some twenty or thirty men who act their follies in rotation. It is something to see tyranny pushed to the use of cunning and circumventing policy, to see it bear about its power sheathed and hidden, for these are evidences of some remains of dignity in the objects of its oppression, and a kind of acknowledgment of its own baseness. There is none of this veiling and delicacy in Asia. Power walks abroad with unabashed front, and sways by nods and smiles.

But as this principle has its differences, and is by various causes modified in the several countries of the East, it is proposed in these Essays to mark the *phases* of this changing planet, and to show how, during some of the interlunations, its influence might be eluded. It is far from being intended, however, to sketch the mechanical construction of each government, (such labour would be both dry and unnecessary,) or to follow the theoretical clue of any former writer, through the windings of so extensive a labyrinth. What seems desirable is a rapid glance at the inner principles of the Oriental Despotisms, which may serve as an induction of a more earnest study of institutions by which the happiness of the human race is so materially affected. We will be guided, in setting forth on this journey, by proximity, and begin with that state which lies nearest home.

The Ottoman empire, owing to its present contest with the Greeks, and the probable designs of Russia, has obtained more consideration from the people of Europe than any other Eastern country. It will be the less necessary, therefore, to enter into any lengthened details respecting it. It is one of those political machines which appear most loosely and inartificially joined together. It has neither the prejudice of high antiquity, nor of a flattering aspect in its favour. It is not moved by involved and hidden springs. It is a bald and ill-favoured despotism. Surrounded by commercial, or laborious and rural nations, it

lies like a nest of boorish wasps, born to sting and eat. With a public revenue constantly going to decay, inferior even to what is collected for the Sultan alone; with an army of men ignorant of modern tactics; with statesmen incapable of political science, how has it subsisted?—Through two causes. The first, the jealousy of European potentates, who, like the Roman cardinals, when they feel themselves too weak to reach the pontificate, place some old man upon the throne that they may have a longer period to strengthen their pretensions, have left this infirm shadow of a state to keep the eyes of mankind from the germs of their policy, till they shall be able to despise opposition. Conjectures have put off the fulfilment of these hopes from time to time; but political hopes are not easily blasted: like the tannen,* they will flourish on the bare rock. The second, which forms a strong counter-check to its many evil qualities, is the rooted prejudice of an old and widely venerated religion. This keeps up in every nook of the empire the leaven of obedience, by diffusing that awe for the sovereign which renders the human heart, in the hands of tolerable policy, so apt and manageable a machine. Were this awe once removed, or diminished in any very sensible degree, the Sultan's power would be at an end. His tenure is chiefly strong, inasmuch as he is supposed to be the lieutenant of the Prophet, *the shadow of God*. To introduce a new religion would be to dethrone him; for he lives through the ignorance of his slaves, and not in defiance of the knowledge they possess.†

In Turkey those who suffer death by command of the prince are esteemed martyrs; and on the arrival of the imperial order condemning any one to the bowstring, his wives and children, and all those most dear to him, hasten, in case he should design escape, to give him up to punishment: for from that time he is looked upon as a person excommunicated, whom it would be profanation to succour, or admit to any intercourse.—“*Les préjugés de la superstition sont supérieurs à tous les autres préjugés, et ses raisons à toutes les autres raisons.*” It is from facts of this kind that we must gather the spirit of a tyranny, and not from its acknowledged maxims and scheme of governing. The former show its principles in action: the latter, the disguise of those principles in the unworn

* A species of pine on the Alps.

† “On sait que le Sulthan Othman s'étant dispensé de paroître à la mosquée un vendredi, ne put calmer le peuple qu'en se déterminant à se rendre la semaine d'ensuite en cérémonie à Sainte-Sophie, malgré l'état de foiblesse et de langueur où l'avoit réduit la maladie. Ce prince à son retour déjà chancelant sur son cheval, et soutenu par les gens de pied qui l'environnoient, perdit connoissance entre les deux portes qui séparent les cours du sérail; on lui jeta un schale sur la tête, et il mourut quelques instans après avoir été transporté dans ses appartemens. Le despotisme des Sulthans est doux au-dessous du despotisme du peuple ou de l'usage.”—CASTELLAN.

gloss of theory. This superstitious slavery carries the dissociating principle into the bosom of families, and causes them to hold lightly those comforts and affections, which in other countries make up the sum of the happiness of life. Such a disconnecting cause, holding the elements of society in constant fusion, as it were, and never suffering them to cool down into that graceful and solid mass which constitutes a state, must keep civilization and industry ever at bay. Upon the natural distrust and selfishness of men, there is superinduced by this means an additional crust of unconfiding fear, which hardens the heart against the milder charities of life, and keeps man perpetually in the precincts of the savage state. Added to this is the fact of the Sultan's being every man's heir. There is no such thing in the whole Turkish empire as real inheritance; for what descends from father to child only by permission, or through the payment of a species of bribe, (10*l.* per cent.) cannot by any means be so considered. The Sultan, by thus turning off the water from the family tree, effectually prevents its reaching an inconvenient size. This practice produces a kind of equality which tyranny contemplates with satisfaction: it is an equality of misery and uncertainty. It is towards the Sultan's treasury that all the little streams of wealth in the state flow, and there they are absorbed and transmuted into the means of fresh tyranny.

There is in all despotisms a strong tendency to simplicity. Pure will, unmitigated by any shadow of reason, is sought to be made the sole principle of action and rule of obedience. In Turkey the Grand Vizier is the express image of the Sultan, and to be equally idolized: The next in order transmits the electrical shock of power to the one following, and so on to the extremity of the line. Commonly, indeed, the Vizier is the real sovereign: he possesses almost unlimited power, and exercises it harshly, the Sultan lying *perdu* in his harem, to be produced on extraordinary occasions. In time of war it is the Vizier who holds the divan. He determines on war and peace, on alliances and treaties, on the life or death of every man in the state, except a few Pashas and the soldiers. Were this minister a man fitted by a political education to look properly to affairs of state, less disorderly doubtless would be the proceedings of the government. But there is no such thing as political education in Turkey. The whole knowledge of the Turks consists of a few meagre maxims yoked to a short and imperfect experience. But learning is the lock, and experience the key of all education. They get hold of the key, but have nothing to open. Their minds are a blank or a sadly blotted page. Ignorance, which secures the perpetuity of tyranny, makes it also a beastly and uncertain possession to individuals. But even such a state can go on from bad to worse. The first fourteen Sultans received the sceptre in regular succession of son to father, during a

space of three hundred years, (from 1300 to 1603,) and some of their reigns were of considerable length. From that period, however, massacre entered the imperial palace, and the relations and children of the rulers became obnoxious to every species of cruelty from the hands of each other. This must be some consolation to their subjects.

No government can be other than retrogressive in respect to its moral operation, in which knowledge does not keep pace with the innovations of time. The rude policy of the Othmans and the Orkhans was sufficient to regulate the affairs of a warlike people, every member of which, from the nature of their livelihood, was led to pay especial attention to the manners and concerns of his own family. For nature has made political prudence to be the effect of much experience, and some little reflection; and thus, while in constant action, every Turk arrived at a sufficient portion of it for his own guidance. But when conquest had placed the nation in a state of repose, when the ship had made its way through rocks and shallows into open sea, these unskilful mariners betook themselves to sleep, as if afterwards the winds and waves would be sufficient to keep her in her course. They seem now as if just awakened from such a trance, wondering at the civilization and advanced state of the world around them. It was unfortunate that the countries which the Ottoman arms subdued were little less ignorant than their conquerors: the latter might otherwise have been civilized. As it is, "they seem," to use the words of M. de Bonnard, "no other than a horde of barbarians encamped on the frontiers of civilized Europe, who, in order to retire, have only to strike their tents and pass over into Asia." The Romans, who were at first a coarse and fierce nation, though not unendued with a keen prudence, might have played in the ancient world the part which the Turks have performed in the modern, had it not been for the arts of Greece. But the Ottomans found no civilizing arts in Constantinople. Theological controversies, and a narrow and impotent policy, had reduced the Byzantine Greeks to a nation of quibblers and mystics, who had nothing in their character that could give rise to one admiring sentiment in their conquerors. It must be confessed likewise that there was very little in any of those European institutions, which could come under their notice at the time in which they might have been disposed for innovation, that was of a nature to give them any very considerable political light. Their own government appeared as wise as any other. The germs of high improvement had been sown, it is true, in many European nations; but the plants had not at that time shot up above the surface of old manners and prejudices. Learning itself was trifling, and there was no philosophy. It was pardonable, therefore, for these Tartars to sit down in voluptuousness within the palings of their religion and ancient fame, not foreseeing

that they were to crumble away in the shadow of that very power which their *inertia* created. There is no antidote against tyranny but knowledge; and that not a knowledge of literature, or of the mere elegant and useful arts, but of politics as a science resting upon the basis of history. How many nations have we seen enslaved, which a moderate tincture of political knowledge would have saved! Men are for ever preaching of the ingratitude of the ancient republics; but we will be bold to utter it as a political truth—there is no propensity of his heart which man ought so carefully to watch over in a free state, as a disposition to public gratitude. Good men are satisfied with doing good. Those who are for ever on the look-out for expressions of public gratitude, have a secret leaning towards tyranny. They foster the failings of the public, and, that they may the easier bend them to their purposes, dignify them with the name of gratitude.* This is a suspicious conduct. In proportion as men are ignorant are they susceptible of this public failing, and therefore is it, that knowledge is the sole antidote against tyranny.

The Koran is a bad source of legislation, not so much that the designs of Mohammed were bad, as because he was incapable of forming true designs for the amelioration of the race of man. His imagination was fiery and inventive, but in this respect it was barren as an Egyptian cloud; and besides being totally absorbed in schemes of conquest and deception, he appears not to have possessed the true legislative spirit. It is not enough to bind men together: they must gain by being so bound. To produce gain to a people is not so much to fill its hands with gifts, as to put it in a train of improvement; and to make this distinction, and to act upon it, a man must possess something of Chalcas's spirit,

- - - - - " Whose comprehensive view
The past, the present, and the future knew."

It is no hyperbole to say, that a legislator should be versed in the future; for if he cannot go on with his principles for a certain distance, and see to what they will lead those who are to be guided by them, he is unfit for his task.

Now the Turks have never had any legislator, but have lived upon the shifts and provisions of chance. They are therefore an ignorant and unimprovable people; for no nation can ever become wise, or great, or capable of greatness, that has not been modelled by a great legislator. Their natural fate is to sink into "the dust and powder of individuality, and be scattered to all the winds of heaven."

* In a republic, where every man exercises part of the sovereign power, and is therefore personally interested, there should be no such thing as public gratitude looked for. As in partnerships, the exertions of any particular person engaged do not call for the gratitude of the other persons of the firm: he is actuated, as they are, by a sense of gain.

ON THE DIFFICULTIES OF STEAM NAVIGATION TO INDIA,
BY THE RED SEA.

THE constant and increasing intercourse between Great Britain and her Eastern Empire, must render every scheme proposed for improving the mode of that intercourse particularly deserving attention. We have, therefore, examined the project of steam navigation from England to India with the care which its importance demands; and shall state briefly the result of our conviction.

The earliest printed notice that we have seen on this subject, is the Prospectus of a plan for going by steam-boats through the Mediterranean to El-Arish, on the borders of the Egyptian Desert, crossing the Isthmus of Suez on camels, going down the Red Sea, touching at Mocha and Socotra, and from thence across the Arabian Ocean to Cochin, Trincomalee and Calcutta. The writer of the Prospectus in question is well known to us; and we believe few persons are better qualified, either by intelligence or activity, for carrying such a plan into execution. But notwithstanding our estimate of his enterprise and ability, we perceive difficulties in the way of its successful accomplishment, which we are persuaded will not be easily overcome.

It is unnecessary, as the writer justly observes, to dwell on the efficiency of steam-vessels to encounter severe gales in open seas; and superfluous to demonstrate that which is self-evident—the great advantage to all parties of a speedy communication with our Asiatic dominions. Its practicability, under existing circumstances, then remains to be the principal point of inquiry; and of this we shall not only venture to express our doubts, but proceed to state the grounds on which we entertain them.

With the same ease as passengers are now conveyed from Falmouth to Gibraltar in steam-vessels, they might be conveyed from thence to Malta; and although the expense of fuel would increase by its heavy freight, the higher the ship should ascend the Mediterranean, yet, as far as the port of El-Arish, which is chosen by the writer of the plan for the place of debarkation, all would be quite practicable. From this point, however, the difficulties which oppose the success of this undertaking would commence.

In the first place, El-Arish, being seated just on the limits of the Desert which divides Egypt from Syria, is a frequent point of contention between the respective governors of these adjoining countries; and, from that cause, is in a constant state of insecurity: added to which, it is so easily accessible to the Arabs of the Desert, on all sides but the north-west, immediately facing the sea, that it would be in perpetual danger of being pillaged by the Bedouin tribes, without their encountering much risk of opposition or pursuit from the Egyptians or Syrians, whichever might happen to

possess the place. The only way in which this evil could be met, would be by having an English garrison there; but there are two great obstacles to such a remedy,—first, the political impracticability of such a military occupation without an invasion of the territorial rights of the Turks; and next the inadequacy of any profit, derived from the conveyance of passengers by that route, to maintain the necessary establishment of a protecting force.

The journey across the Desert from El-Arish to Suez, being one hundred and twenty miles over a deep and yielding sand, could not be performed in less than a week,—the assembling of the caravan, and the providing of the fresh water necessary for its subsistence by the way, being considered. Independently of the great expense of such a mode of transport for persons and baggage, they would each be exposed to all the evils of an unprotected state during the whole of that period. If the Pasha of Egypt were known to derive any considerable benefit from the tribute collected at El-Arish, for the protection of caravans going from thence to Suez, it would immediately excite the cupidity of the Pashas of Syria, who might easily take it from their rival; and the inevitable consequence of such contests for this border-port would be, fresh demands on the purses of the passengers who might land there, in order to convert this convenience of transit into a source of immediate gain. Nor would the evil end here: for the Desert-tribes that encamp in the neighbourhood of this Isthmus, as frequently contend for the sovereignty of the sandy wastes, as the pashas do for the possession of more settled territories. When plans of attack are formed, they assemble too from all quarters, and frequently lay aside their immediate hostility to each other, in order to bear down with united force upon those whom they may have marked for plunder.

To meet all these combined obstacles would require either a military occupation of the whole Isthmus from sea to sea, by a British force, which it would not be in the power of private merchants to command; or a specific fund set aside, to pay largely for the protection of the party which might happen to be the strongest on the spot, a contingency which it would require more than the profits of such a speculation to cover.

Supposing these obstacles entirely overcome, which is granted, however, more for the sake of proceeding in the investigation, than from a belief that they *can* be overcome on such terms as it would suit private individuals to pay,—new difficulties would await the passengers on arriving at Suez. At that most miserable of all the ports in the world, there is not a drop of fresh water which an European could drink, unless mixed with some strong or spirituous beverage; scarcely any fresh meat; and not a vegetable or fruit to be had for any sum, there being no tree, or even a blade of verdure to be seen for miles around it. There is not a single dwelling in which any person could pass a day with comfort; and short as

the stay might be here, it would be necessary to inhabit the tents that were used for shelter in the Desert, until the moment of embarkation; which, however, could not take place, until the new exactions, certain to be levied here, whatever amount might have been paid at El-Arish, were complied with.

The next difficulty is greater still—the securing a supply of fuel. It does not seem to have entered into the writer's calculation, that not a single ton of fuel suited to steam-navigation is to be procured at any one of the stations fixed on by him between London and Calcutta. We have shown that this article may be sent from England to Gibraltar, Malta, and El-Arish, though at a great expense of freight, and with slender hopes of cargo in return. But the transport of coals across the Isthmus of Suez on the backs of camels, with insurance from plunder by the way, would so enhance this expense as to form an almost insurmountable obstacle to their conveyance. The only way, therefore, in which coals could be brought to Suez, would be in ships sent expressly with them from Calcutta; and taking into account the expense of such a mode of supply, with the number of ships required to furnish the several depôts of Suez, Mocha, Socotra, Cochin, and Trincomalee, all of which places are destitute of coal, and could only be supplied with it from London or Calcutta; with the impossibility of finding any return-cargoes for such ships, thus subjecting the fuel to the cost of double freight, interest of capital embarked, and a heavy insurance from the innumerable dangers of the navigation, we have no hesitation in saying that the expense would be such as to swallow up even the most extravagant prices that could be paid for passages by this route.

Granting, however, again,—which we still do for the sake of proceeding, rather than from really conceding this point—that these difficulties were entirely overcome, and that by the employment of a fleet of Indian colliers, the several stations named on the other side of the Isthmus of Suez, were amply supplied with as much fuel as could be desired; the greatest obstacle of all remains unmentioned—it is the state of insecurity in which property is placed in the stations in question, and the impossibility of protecting it in the intervals between each succeeding trip, without the maintenance at each station of a force that no private merchants could keep up. At Suez, possibly, the influence of the Egyptian Pasha might command protection; but even *he* would require to be largely paid for this: and whenever he chose to impose a new exaction, or to order any new arrangements that his caprice might dictate, he would always have it in his power, by seizing on the depôt of fuel, to force the parties dependent on this for their progress to surrender. At Mocha this difficulty would again occur; there a new and entirely different government would make its own exactions, and enforce them by a similar power. And at Socotra,

where neither the Turks nor the Arabs command, existing engagements with these would weigh nothing in the scale, as the negroes of that island would make new laws, and enforce them by such means as might best suit their purpose.

Those who know the character of the several people here spoken of, will not accuse us of exaggeration when we state, that with all of them the desire of gain is such an ungovernable passion, that they can resist no temptation which may offer for its indulgence. What then can present a stronger temptation than their several towns or ports being made the depôts for the safe-keeping of a material indispensable to the progress of vessels, on board of which are persons so impatient to proceed on their way, that they can demand from them the payment of any sum they choose to name, when detention for an indefinite period is placed as the punishment of refusal to comply with such demand? In many of the ports of the Arabs, as well as in those of Siam, Japan, and other eastern countries, when the ship of a strange nation arrives in their waters, they have the rudder unhung and taken on shore, where it is safely lodged in the custody of the officers of government, and released only on such conditions as the government thinks fit to impose. The fuel of a steam-vessel is in importance exactly like the rudder of the ship navigated by sails: and whoever has the keeping of that is in entire possession of the vessel herself. When attacks are made on ships navigated by sails, in order to arrest them in the course of their voyage, whether by pirates or open enemies, these can be repelled by the arms and exertions of those on board. But an embargo laid on steam-vessels by withholding their supply of fuel, is the most effectual that can be imagined, and places them entirely at the mercy of those who have the custody of that indispensable material.

Nothing, therefore, but a national occupation of the entire line of stations from El-Arish in the Mediterranean to Socotra beyond the Red Sea, would enable any plan for a steam-navigation to India, by that route, to be carried into effect: even were all other obstacles to its success removed. And if we add to this, another very important hindrance to speedy progress, which seems entirely to have escaped the observation of the enterprising author of the project we have examined, namely, the great frequency of plague in Egypt, and the certainty of being subjected to quarantine both in England and India, we think we shall be fully borne out in saying, that however desirable such a speedy communication may be, it is not likely under existing circumstances, or until the obstacles we have enumerated shall be removed, to be carried into effect. We say this, however, without wishing to detract, in the slightest degree, from the personal or professional merits of the gentleman whose project we have thus freely examined.

ON THE INJUSTICE HITHERTO DONE TO THE MERITS OF
ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

EUROPEANS seem still to entertain erroneous notions of Eastern Literature, and these can only be removed by able translations. Hitherto almost all the versions of Oriental books which we possess, have displayed a vicious and uncertain orthography in respect to Asiatic names, and a literal rendering of idiomatic phrases, which is quite unpardonable. A language like ours, which has been refined and enlarged by the labours of so many illustrious writers, and kept open a constant path for the influx of terms generated from the Greek and Latin, must unquestionably be copious enough to find within itself a sufficiency to express all the ideas of the East. The longest periphrasis, however, is better than a new word that can never look of a piece with the body of the language; for the mind is averse to making additions to its vocabulary. From this conviction it was that the ancient Greeks constantly hellenized all foreign names. They were possessed by a delicate watchfulness over the purity of their native tongue; and were aware how dissonant and uncouth were the names of barbarous nations to the ears of their countrymen. They knew that the integrity and the harmony of language, if broken in upon, interfere in a short time with a people's habit of thinking. The change has an air of violence, of fluctuation, of a disposition to be modified by accident *ad infinitum*. The current coin of the realm being sufficient to represent any degree of wealth in an individual, he has no occasion to go about issuing another coinage from a private mint of his own. In the present state of things a new word should be little better received than false money; for the constant going on of this intellectual mintage is destructive at once of memory, and of that confidence with which a great writer should be able to look for immortality in his language. Our vanity and love of novelty may make us the Gowers and Lydgates of a future race. It is expedient that we now turn round upon Time, and prevent his sowing those seeds of oblivion, which may rise and overtop our hopes. New words reverse the practice of Saturn, and devour their parents.

It is very well, while yet a language is young and poor, to admit the choice sounds of foreign tongues with moderation and an eye to analogy; but in its mature age, when its beauty is incomparable, and power all but infinite, to make it the place of sanctuary for all the ragamuffin words of the world, is little less than madness. There are even ideas which are not to be transplanted. But for ideas that, to be understood, require to be carried about in their original frames, they are worth nothing; they have too many localities about them ever to become travellers; they should be left at home. Some habits of thinking, also, exclude others: what is proper in the mind of a slave, is dangerous in that of a

free man; the latter is to be nourished by what may strengthen his magnanimity,—as in the growth of the human body, all those aliments that increase the force and stature are preferred to those which would make it weak and pliable to the breath of accident.

Guided by something like these views, we might traffic in the ideas of Asia with as much advantage as we have long done in her material riches. That class of them especially which belongs to the imagination, is worth our culture. If the structure of their minds, indeed, has any advantage over ours, it is in the faculty of imagination; it is with them as brilliant and fiery as their skies; it resembles a tropical torrent rushing through a cultivated plain, and bearing on its bosom in orderless profusion, the buds and flowers, and trees, and cattle, and the wrecks of human habitations, which it has broken or unrooted, or snatched up, or overthrown in its progress. That this powerful fancy has not given birth to any great poems, is to be attributed to the weak influence of knowledge, arising from their despotic governments. That it is capable of being moulded into the most exquisite forms, we may conclude with certainty from the *Arabian Nights*, which incontrovertibly display more imagination than any other prose work in the world. Nor have these workings of fancy been unsprinkled with a kind of rude ethics; not cut down, we admit, into the shape of any system, but springing from the fertile field of observation upon human life, and on the principles which render it happy or otherwise. And nothing can be more delightful than those moral axioms, which seem, like sparks of light, to be struck out by the collision of the elements of society, and to be transfused by an author into his works from the rough vocabulary of experience. In these, least of all, would an affectation of *Orientalisms* be indulged, for morals are common property. We readily associate a kind of keen wit and repartee with our ideas of the people of the East, and nothing but literal translation could ever banish it from our minds. This wit has been made subservient to the interests of morality, as among no people do we find a greater number of truths cased in sparkling aphorisms, or embodied in more elegant apoloques. Their retired lives account for this;—they may likewise account in some measure for the extravagance of their metaphors and allegories; because, not often bringing their ideas to any comparison with those of others, they shoot up, like plants in a wilderness, into strange and uncouth shapes.

It is the business of those who re-cast these images for the delight or instruction of more severe and systematic minds, to give them such dresses as may befit them for the associates of their former acquisitions. In defiance of this fact, the generality of translators from Eastern languages abound with new words and phrases. To understand them, one ought to have a glossary as long as the continent of Asia. This is fatal to their fame; for

we are averse to labour, and most of all to that which appears to be unnecessary; we put from us with indolent ill-temper whatever would force us into unusual activity; and thus a writer, who might otherwise have been useful, is delivered over to oblivion.

The ground-work of the "Tales of Inatulla" seems to be peculiarly interesting and beautiful; and their diction and style may likewise appear so to a native of Delhi: but in the English version of Dr. Scott, under the frigid title of "The Garden of Knowledge," they are altogether intolerable. This work Major Dow had previously modelled after an European fashion, with the title first given. But Dr. Scott, with an inveterately literal appetite, was averse to this proceeding, quarrelling with the very name as Anglicè written. He changed it therefore to "Einaiut Oollah," which rapidly pronounced is no other than the "Inatulla" of Dow; but how at war is it with English orthography!*

We mention this merely as an instance of the ill success which must attend a violent departure from the idiom of our language, (which would be heightened of necessity by the admission of strange words,) and of the manner in which some of the best productions of the East have frequently been transformed into English monsters. To a man of letters this is a subject of regret. It may not be consistent with his plan of life to make himself master of the Asiatic languages; but neither can he consent to pass by the intellectual efforts of so great a portion of mankind. His only resource is in translations; but whose patience is equal to the reading of the "Bahar Danush" in Dr. Scott's English?

It may reasonably be expected that a more general knowledge of Eastern Literature will be promoted by the pages of "The Oriental Herald." The circumstances under which it comes before the public will, it is hoped, make it generally popular; and the gems which may occasionally be drawn from the unworked quarries of the East will be, perhaps, one means at least of giving it perpetuity. Our youth have been imbued with a deep enthusiasm for the Eastern world, through the means of the Arabian Nights; but as it is seldom maintained by after-acquisition, this feeling remains upon the mind like a fairy vision. The cities and countries, however, of which he reads there, are dwelt upon with unspeakable delight by the imagination. They are the Pisgah from whence the fancy projects itself into a new world; but, like Moses, most persons only see it with their eyes, they are never led by real knowledge to make permanent settlement in the land. But this preference, sowed in the bosom in youth, and cherished through life, might by judicious management be ripened into enlightened taste.

* The following is a specimen of the style:—"The Prince, upon this, resolved to follow the advice of Peri-uzzade, who girded the belt of friendship round the waist of her heart, and diligently sought a remedy for her friend."—*Story of the Prince of Futtun and the Princess Aherbanou.*

Great Britain, at the Commencement of 1824, exhibited in Comparison with her State and Condition during the Period 1784—1792; and her Present State and Condition exhibited, in Relation to her Territorial Extent and Population, Colonial Possessions, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Consumption, Taxation, Foreign Relations, and Administration.

ALTHOUGH the more immediate purpose of our Work be to bring before the people of England, such questions as may affect the interests of their territorial and colonial possessions, in the eastern and western hemispheres, it is desirable, in order to show the influence of their condition on the internal interests of the mother country, in the first instance to exhibit the present condition of the parent state in contrast with some former period, sufficiently remote to admit of the comparison being uninfluenced by contingent, partial, or speculative circumstances; and yet not so far removed as to include changes effected by any great convulsion, either of nature or of society, or any of those striking revolutions which time alone has a tendency to produce.

For this purpose, we shall exhibit the state and condition of Great Britain during the period between 1816 and 1823, in comparison with her state and condition during the period between 1784 and 1792; the fitness of which two periods for comparison, will be manifest as we proceed in our illustration. The result will establish this remarkable conclusion, that although the comparison exhibits a vast increase of population since the period of 1792, and of all the means necessary to their comfort and happiness, yet that actual poverty, with all its consequences of wretchedness and crime, has increased in more than a corresponding ratio.

How far governments may be deemed accountable for the evils experienced by the bulk of the communities subject to their rule, or how far those evils may be deemed an unavoidable condition of human existence, is not yet decided. It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to enter the lists of controversy with those who assert, that by nature the bulk of mankind are doomed to misery; our purpose is simply to state facts, and to exhibit them in as clear a manner as possible to the attention of the observer. We do this in the hope of enlarging the field of inquiry, and leading others to more favourable conclusions, in behalf of the human species, than have hitherto been deduced. If in the progress of this inquiry, the opinion that by nature the bulk of mankind are doomed to misery, should seem to be verified, it will then be well to institute a class of teachers, whose duty it shall be to reconcile men to their fate, be it ever so deplorable, and to teach them to bear whatever ills may befall them, with patience and resignation. If on the other hand it should appear, that human ills are mainly the effects of human causes, we shall have assisted in vindicating nature from the aspersion with which selfishness and ignorance have endeavoured to impeach the justice of her laws.

When the privation and distress of the people of England has been a subject of discussion, with a view of concealing the causes of their distress, attempts have been made to reconcile them to their condition, by contrasting it with the condition of the bulk of the people in other countries in different parts of the world; all such attempts, are, however, as unjust as they are unworthy. There is a tendency in the human species, to

accommodate itself to circumstances; and every deviation from this general rule, deserves to be regarded only as an aberration, and not as a principle. It is, consequently, unjust to contrast one community, surrounded by one order of circumstances, with another community surrounded by another order of circumstances. We look, for instance, with horror at the condition of the wretched peasantry of Ireland; and we turn with equal disgust from the precarious condition of the Aborigines of the frozen wilds of America, and the burning deserts of Africa, as we do from the abject condition of the subject millions of India, China, and Japan. There are, nevertheless, circumstances surrounding each of these miserable states or existences, which constitute among each of them respectively, an enviable condition, when contrasted with the misery of a million of families in England at the present day, if the difference of circumstances are duly considered. It is, therefore, not in comparison with, or in relation to this or that other wretched and miserable community, but in comparison with themselves at former periods, and in relation to the circumstances in which they are placed, that we are desirous to exhibit the condition of the people of Great Britain, at the commencement of 1824.

Great Britain being insular in territory, her territorial extent is consequently stationary; and being comparatively limited in extent, it constitutes a feature of nationality and of circumstance peculiar to herself. As some other communities increase in numbers, they spread themselves over a wider surface, and seek for that comfort and happiness in expansion, which the people of Great Britain seek in contraction or compression, a feature in itself sufficient to justify the ground we have chosen, on which to exhibit the condition of the country at the commencement of 1824, in relation to itself alone, at some former period.

After these preliminary remarks, we proceed to direct the attention of the reader to the territorial extent of Great Britain, divided into forty-four sections, with the proportion of population in each: this statement will be found exhibited in the table F. at page 110. But, before we offer any further observations on this statement, it will be well to direct attention to the statements at page 105.

The first of these statements exhibits (the extent of territory being the same) the variation in the population at five different periods, during the last fifty years. According to this statement, it will be seen that the population increased in a much greater ratio, during the last ten years, than at any former period; and, as it has been usual to regard the decrease or increase of population, as the index of the adversity or prosperity of a nation,—a decrease being deemed indicative of adversity, and of a tyrannical and bad government; and an increase being held to be indicative of prosperity, and of a paternal and good government; the statement here exhibited, would, if judged according to this rule, seem to refute the position which we have laid down: viz. that the aggregate condition of the people of Great Britain at the present period, is much worse than it was during the period 1784—1792. Whatever importance may be attached to the rule here adverted to, of an increasing population indicating prosperity and good government, we think it necessary to mention Ireland as sufficient to show, that like all other general rules, it is liable, not merely to exception in name, but in fact, and that to the utmost possible extreme.

The next statement to which we would direct attention, is on the same page 105, being an analysis of the population in 1821, according to the last return made to Parliament in that year, exhibiting the number of families, their respective avocations, and the number of houses they occupy. As there will be occasion to advert to this statement again, in reference to the increasing number of persons employed in trade, manufactures, &c. in contrast with the stationary number employed in agriculture, it is not necessary to offer any further observation upon it here.

Statement No. 3. on the same page 105, will be particularly deserving attention. By the philosopher, the statist, and the man in every walk of life, who has an interest in the condition of the people among whom he lives, it will be judged worthy of regard: it exhibits features and circumstances without any parallel in the history of the affairs of nations; as flattering and fascinating to the captious, the speculative, and the superficial observer, as they are painful and appalling to the analytical and scientific investigator. When we look at the circumstances therein exhibited, of the period 1813—1815, and recall the practical circumstances of that period, when taxes to the amount of seventy millions per annum were collected, from less than three millions of families, and forty to fifty millions per annum, in addition, raised by loans;—it would seem, as though the only way to render taxation light in its burden, and easy in its collection, were to increase its amount! For at that period, whether we look at the amount as exhibited in the statement alluded to, or carry our thoughts back to the practical circumstances of the period, it really seems, that the greater the amount both of taxes and of loans demanded, the greater the facility with which they were obtained. It seems as though the philosopher's stone, an object of so much research, and of such anxious solicitude in past ages, really consisted (without their seeming to be aware of it,) in the system of the "Pilot who weathered the storm," and those "Gentlemen of England," who were the "mariners" of the state vessel in those pretended gales.

In the course of our illustration, we shall endeavour to show that the privation and distress so severely felt by the bulk of the people at the present time, results mainly from the mistaken notion entertained, equally by the governors and the governed, as to the nature and advantages of external and foreign commerce; before we proceed, therefore, to offer any further observations on the statement No. 3. page 105, it may be well to direct the attention of the reader to the amount of British produce and manufactures, exported in each year since 1776; and the number of commissions of bankruptcy in each year since 1789, as exhibited in the first and second columns of the table B. page 106; while the population increased in the proportion of only about one-half, as exhibited in the statement No. 1. of page 105. By the statement of British produce and manufactures exported, as exhibited in the first column of Table B., their power and means of production appear to have increased, in the proportion of about four to one; but in contravention of the fair inference deducible from so great an increase of production, of every thing so well calculated to increase the comfort, the interest, and well being of the community at large,—the second column exhibits an extent of insolvency and embarrassment, as painful to contemplate, as it is at variance with the fair inference deducible from the fact of so great an increase of production. The page of history is full of the alternations of adversity and

prosperity, to which countries have ever been subject; the unfavourableness of seasons, and the intervention of causes, both of nature and of nations, and of men in collision with each other, have continually subjected the bulk of the people, of every country, to more or less of privation and misery: but it is, we believe, new in the history of the affairs of nations, for a people to superabound in all the means requisite for rendering them comfortable and happy, whilst privation and distress increase in proportion to the increase of means for preventing them. In other countries, at the present, as well as in other times, the tyranny, the despotism, the profligacy and licentiousness of the rulers, and the ignorance and indolence of the ruled, have sunk both of them to the lowest depths of physical and moral degradation; but it seems to have been reserved for the administration of the statesmen in England, during the first and second ages of the nineteenth century, to produce the same sad effects from the extreme of opposite causes.

In the task which we have here imposed upon ourselves, of endeavouring to show the condition of the people of England as it *really is*, we are not insensible to the innumerable prejudices to which we stand opposed; we are well aware of all the long, and deep, and almost universally indulged prepossessions cherished, as well by self-interest as by error, in favour of the most opposite conclusions to those we have already drawn. We are fully aware of the many and repeated declamations which have emanated from persons the highest in power and authority, and by some deemed so in intelligence, asserting, in unqualified terms, an increasing prosperity.* But we shall rest our case entirely on the evidence of facts, as laid from time to time before the Parliament of the country; we shall seek no aid from the force of opinion; and, unless the evidences of the facts which we exhibit should prove sworn, in despite of all the pompous declamations and repeated assertions to the contrary, we have no doubt of being able to substantiate, to the satisfaction of every impartial person, the correctness of this conclusion: that, notwithstanding the deceptive illusion which may blind the dependents on the sixty millions of taxes taken from the rest of the community, the condition of more than half the population of Great Britain is such as to portend the common ruin of the whole, and, if not speedily ameliorated, to involve all classes in one common calamity.

It is much to be regretted that the parliamentary returns and national accounts, during the period 1784—1792, are so incomplete that a specific representation of all the items in each year, in comparison with those of 1816—1822, is impossible. It was not till the commencement of the present century that the national accounts assumed that order of uniformity which they now bear; and it was reserved for a still more recent period to institute that order of minute investigation, and detail of illustration, which, if persevered in, is more likely than any other cause to be the means of averting the sad effects of the impending calamities which threaten the country. As the national accounts come more and more before the Public, they will, it is hoped, be the means of exciting that spirit of inquiry and order of investigation amongst the people at large, which shall lead the Government to that right course of action to which they have hitherto shown themselves indifferent.

The reason for the comparison of the period 1783—1792 with that of

1816—1823, has been the analogy between the two periods. It was at the close of the year 1782 that the preliminaries of peace with France, Spain, and Holland were signed, and the United States of America acknowledged as a sovereign and independent nation, after a contest of eight years: 1783 was, therefore, the first year of a period of peace and uninterrupted intercourse with the whole world; and 1816 was likewise the first year of a period of peace, and the like uninterrupted intercourse.

The statement No. 1, page 105, shows the extent of the population at the period of 1783, as correctly as the imperfect order of the accounts of that period admit; during the last year of the war, 1782, the foreign productions imported into Great Britain amounted to 9,714,000*l.*, and the British produce and manufactures exported amounted to 9,919,000*l.* The statement No. 3, shows the amount of parish assessments and the proportion expended in relief of paupers, on an average of the three years 1782—4, ending 25th March, 1785, and also the amount of taxation; and it will be seen that both parish assessments and taxes show no inconsiderable increase on the amount in 1776. As regards the taxes during the eight years of war, 4,980,201*l.* of annuities were created, and consequently occasioned a permanent increase of taxation to that amount; but, as we shall show, in contrast to the period 1816—1823, notwithstanding the disasters which the war of 1775—1782 occasioned, the period of 1784—1792 was the proudest, most interesting, and prosperous ever experienced by any nation. We are not at present aware of any return having been presented of the amount of parish assessments in the interval of 1784—1803, but from 1784 to 1792 there was a very considerable decrease; but the most interesting and important feature of the period, is in the vast increase of comfort and enjoyment which the people at large experienced, as exemplified in the extraordinary increase of supply and consumption of tropical and all foreign productions. The importation, which in 1782 amounted to only 9,714,000*l.*, progressively increased, year by year, up to 19,670,000*l.* in 1791; and, so far from this vast increase of foreign production having tended to constitute an unfavourable balance of trade, a term on which much stress is laid by some, there was no less than 18,750,000*l.* of gold coined at the Mint during the same period. The increase of taxation, therefore, which the statement No. 3 exhibits as having taken place from 1782 to 1792, was not the result, as at the present time, of an oppression at the expense of extreme privation, on the part of the bulk of the people, but it was the natural overflow of abundant contribution, arising out of the ample means of all classes of the people, to consume all the tributary articles of revenue. The consumption of tea, which, prior to 1780, had never amounted to five and a half millions of pounds per annum, and which in 1783 was only 2,734,657 pounds, progressively increased to upwards of sixteen millions of pounds in 1790; nor was the increase of taxation marked by a corresponding increase of expenditure; during the period 1786—1792 the principal of 243,277*l.* of annuities had been purchased, and the purchase money redistributed in giving reaction and vigour to the energies of the time, and not applied, as in the present day, to cherish a system of loan-jobbing and delusion, as contemptible for the meanness and trickery with which it is pursued, as it will prove injurious to the general interests of the people.

How different the result of the period 1816—1823; and how deplorable the difference! Although, since the period 1798—1802, the population has increased, as near as possible, one-third, so far from their experiencing any increase of comfort since that period, the supply of tropical and foreign productions is actually less, on an average of the last three years, than it was on an average of the five years 1798—1802, consequently showing an increase of privation on the part of the bulk of the people in the ratio of the increase of their numbers. It may be attempted to be argued that the supply of tropical and foreign productions forms no just criterion from which to draw such conclusions, or by which to determine the well being of a great community: because, it may be said, the genius and energy of the people may so far have increased their internal resources and increased their internal supply, as materially to diminish the necessity of supply from external resources:—To meet this argument, in the table B., we have exhibited, in collateral columns, the number of quarters of malt and pounds of tea charged with duty in each year during the last thirty years, the one an internal and the other a foreign production; and we deemed it desirable to exhibit these two commodities in connexion with each other, because, in both Houses of Parliament, when the privation of the people has been adverted to, and the diminished consumption, either of malt or of tea, pointed out in evidence of the fact, the reason for such diminution has been shifted from one commodity to the other: when malt was pointed out, it was contended that the diminution was to be accounted for by the increasing predilection for, and consumption of tea; and, when the diminished consumption of tea was pointed out, it has then been contended that it was to be accounted for by the increasing patriotic feelings of the people, in preferring the more wholesome beverage of beer, the production of their own dear soil; and, to aid the argument in favour of accounting for the diminished consumption of tea, coffee has sometimes been adverted to. It is true that the consumption of coffee has experienced some increase within the last twenty years, but the aggregate consumption of the country is only about sufficient to afford a hearty breakfast daily for each soldier of his Majesty's army, and, as such, is quite unworthy of notice in the scale of subsistence, or as contributing to the comfort of the nation.

A reference to the exhibition of the number of quarters of malt and pounds of tea, charged with duty, like the diminished supply of tropical and foreign productions, will show, notwithstanding an increase of one-third in the number of consumers, that there is a decrease rather than an increase in the consumption of both those articles; and, when their universal appreciation is considered, and how essentially they both contribute to the comfort and enjoyment of all classes, they may be regarded as demonstrative that the privations of the bulk of the people have increased in a proportionate ratio to the increase of their numbers. Nor does this fact, conclusive as it is, exhibit the condition of the greater moiety of the people, by any means, in that unfavourable and unhappy state in which they exist; it only serves to show the fact in the aggregate, and on the principle of supposing that the privation is borne equally by the whole community. But although we have no data by which we can found any precise rate or scale of proportion, showing how the sum total of privation has pressed more severely on one class than on another,

yet we know that, amidst the aggregate extent of privation, no considerable portion of the population have greatly increased in indulgencies of every kind. It is therefore further conclusive, as regards that unhappy portion of the population on whom the privation falls, that it is not merely in proportion to the increase of their numbers, but that it is further aggravated in proportion as the other part of the population have increased those indulgencies.

It is much to be regretted that we have not the same means of knowing the extent of consumption of all the great articles of subsistence, as we have of the consumption of malt and of tea. It is a set-off to the pressure of taxation, that it furnishes such unquestionable data from which to draw correct conclusions; and were it not for the abuses to which, as long as selfishness constitutes the ruling passion of governments, the measure would give rise, it would be well to subject every commodity to such regulations as taxation produces. The objection is not to taxation as a general measure, but to the abuses connected with its management.

In the absence of all positive data as to the extent of consumption of the leading articles of subsistence, we shall not attempt to strengthen the proofs of our conclusions, as regards the increasing privation of the bulk of the people, by any assertion as to the disproportionate supply of the main articles of subsistence to the increased population. The only statement of fact that has been laid before the public, bearing on our subject, in reference to the more substantial articles of subsistence, is a return made to Parliament last session of the number of head of cattle and sheep sold in Smithfield Market during the last 30 years. This document shows, that on an average of the five years, 1798—1802, the supply was 123,293 head of cattle, and 786,730 sheep, per annum; and on an average of the five years, 1818—1822, that the supply was 138,076 head of cattle, and 1,061,706 sheep: a considerable increase certainly; but in the first period the consumers did not exceed 900,000, and in the latter period they amounted to 1,274,000; consequently, had the supply of animal food been in proportion to the increase of consumers, instead of 138,076 head of cattle it would have been 174,637, and instead of 1,061,706 sheep they would have amounted to 1,114,370, being a diminution of supply in the five years 1818—1822, in comparison with the five years 1798—1802, of no less than 36,361 head of cattle, and 52,611 sheep per annum. We might add several other abstract accounts of a similar nature in evidence of our conclusions; but being local and partial, they would be open to objections. We know even that the statement of the number of head of cattle and sheep sold in Smithfield during the last 30 years has been considered as proving nothing; we are aware of all the reasons assigned, and arguments used, in endeavouring to negative it; although they do not in the least affect our conclusions, as it is but a partial or local proof when considered in relation to the country at large, we are not desirous of laying much stress upon it. We consider the statements of malt and of tea, if no other evidence could be produced, quite conclusive of the fact of an increase of privation, in the ratio of the increase of the number of consumers. We might, however, bring forward every other taxed commodity, and show that privation does not merely exist in proportion to the increase of the number of consumers, but that in many articles there is an actual decrease of consumption, notwithstanding the increased num-

ber of consumers! Wine, the most natural and the most universally esteemed drink, in all countries and in all ages, and the most conducive to that exhilarating flow of spirits, which man is so peculiarly adapted to enjoy, is almost unknown, in name as well as in taste, to the great mass of the British people; and instead of any increase of consumption during the last 30 years, its consumption has decreased nearly one-half; but we will not amplify our subject by minute details, as the next circumstance to which we shall advert will in itself suffice to substantiate the position which we have laid down.

The statement No. 3, p. 105, exhibits both the amount of parish assessments, and the proportion of those amounts expended in relief of paupers in each year since 1811. The maximum of money amount, it will be seen, was in the year 1817, ending the 25th of March, 1818; but notwithstanding the comparatively higher money amount of that year, we shall show that the oppression of the payers of those assessments, as well as the privation and misery of the receivers, has progressively increased down to the present time. It is, however, in the first place desirable to offer some observations on the amount of the parish assessments in 1803, in which year it will be seen that the average price of wheat exactly corresponded with the average price in 1821; and the increase of amount of the parish assessments between the years 1821 and 1803, on a cursory view of the subject, does not appear greater than the increase between 1803 and the average of the three years 1782—4: but it is not unimportant to a more correct view of the subject to observe, that the period for making up the parochial accounts is the 25th of March in each year, and that the amounts in each year since 1811 imply from the 25th of March, 1812, to the 25th of March, 1813, and so on to the 25th of March, 1822, being the latest period up to which any return has been presented to Parliament; but in the last return, ordered by Parliament to be printed on the 16th of July last, in which the amount for 1803 is included, it is not stated whether it is from the 25th of March, 1802, to the same date in 1803, or from the 25th of March, 1803, to the same date in 1804. If it was from March 1802, to March 1803, by reference to the average prices of wheat, as exhibited in column No. 3 of Table B., it will be seen that the equivalent of the money amount in quarters of wheat is above one-seventh less than if it ended March 1804. It may be noticed also, that the two preceding years were remarkable for an unprecedented high price of wheat, and it must be in the recollection of every person conversant with the practical circumstances of that period, that it was the unprecedented high money price of all articles of subsistence in the years 1800 and 1801, which occasioned the baneful system of pauperism to take such deep root in every part of the country. But supposing we should not be able to draw any conclusions from the peculiar circumstances of that period, tending to make the parish assessments appear more oppressive at the present time than at the period of 1803,—supposing we regard no difference of circumstances except the increase of population, and look merely at the money amounts of the two periods, unconnected with any consideration of change of circumstances;—it will be seen that the money expended in relief of paupers out of a population of 8,872,980 in 1803 was 4,077,891*l.*, and the sum expended for the like purpose out of a population of 11,978,875 in 1821 was 6,358,703*l.*; whilst had the number of paupers increased only in the ratio of the increase of population, and the rate of subsistence

remained the same, the money amount in 1821 would have been only 5,363,102*l.*, instead of 6,358,703*l.*; and even this increase, without at all taking into consideration the difference of the circumstances of the two periods, is in itself, in our judgment, sufficient to excite the most painful forebodings: and, as we proceed in our illustration, it will be seen that the change of circumstances, instead of palliating the evil, will aggravate it to an alarming degree. The years 1812 and 1813, also, were remarkable for the high money price of the main article of subsistence, viz. wheat; and it will be remembered that every other article of subsistence at that period bore a corresponding high price to the high price of bread, which will account for the high money amount of the parish assessments in those two years. But we will now bring the subject down to the year 1814, ending the 25th of March, 1815, as affording more circumstantial details for illustration, being the last year of the war, and in that respect analogous to the period of 1782-3.

In the session of 1815 an act was passed (55 Geo. III. c. xlvii.) for procuring returns relative to the expence and maintenance of paupers in England and Wales; and in compliance therewith, in the session of 1818, a very circumstantial account was presented to Parliament of the total amount of parish assessments in each separate parish in England and Wales, with the proportion thereof expended in the relief of paupers in the three years 1812, 1813, and 1814, ending the 25th of March, 1815, and also of the number of persons receiving relief. For the year ending the 25th of March, 1815, in Table C, is exhibited the amounts expended on paupers in each county of England and Wales, and the number of families receiving relief in each county, distinguishing the proportion receiving temporary relief from those receiving permanent relief; and of those receiving permanent relief, distinguishing the number in workhouses from the number not in workhouses.

The return made to Parliament last session of the amount of the parochial assessments, and the proportion thereof expended in relief of paupers in the year ending the 25th March, 1822, does not specify at all the number of persons receiving relief, and as such in itself is destitute of all utility of purpose: we have, therefore, exhibited in the Tables D. E. and F. pages 108, 9, 10, the amount of parish assessments, and the proportion thereof expended in relief of paupers in each county of England and Wales, in connexion with the number of inhabited houses, number of families, their avocations, total population, the territorial extent in statute acres, proportion of acres in tillage and pasture, rental of ditto, number of persons in friendly societies, &c. &c. in each county; under D. the counties are exhibited in alphabetical order; under E. in order of total population; and under F. in order of the extent of agricultural population: we have thus transposed them with a view of ascertaining if by that means they would produce any additional important conclusions; although in this respect, for want of more positive data, neither our wishes nor our expectations have been realized, the several subjects exhibited will be seen to render each other additionally and reciprocally interesting, and the whole to afford every overseer and every payer of pauper rates in the kingdom much scope for reflection.

The calculations in the last columns of the Tables E. and F. will, on examination, be seen to be fallacious, as regards the actual rate of assessments per head on the payers of the assessments; the result of the

calculations having been deduced by dividing the total sum assessed by the total number of persons, including the receivers and dependents on, as well as the payers of the assessments. In the absence of the requisite data, from which to draw a more correct representation, it was thought that the principle of the calculation would lead to a correct representation of the difference of pressure of the parochial assessments on the different counties; and, in this point of view, the exhibition is to a certain extent interesting, though on mature reflection it will be found calculated to lead to erroneous conclusions.

The two counties which exhibit the extreme of rate, according to the rule of calculation adopted, are Sussex and Lancashire: the former exhibiting the maximum of rate, and the latter the minimum. The sum expended in relief of paupers in Sussex in 1821, divided on the total population of the county, being at the rate of no less than 22*s.* per head, whilst in Lancashire, in the same year, the total sum expended for the like purpose, divided on the total population of that county, is only at the rate of 4*s.* 8*d.* per head, being a difference of more than 4*l.* to 1. This difference, on a superficial or cursory view of the subject, may be regarded as auguring favourably for Lancashire, being a county in which the trading and manufacturing population are in the proportion of 7 to 1 of agricultural population, whilst in Sussex the agricultural population is in the proportion of 4 to 3 of traders, manufacturers, and handicraftsmen. It is calculated, on a slight consideration of the subject, to lead to the most favourable conclusions on behalf of the advantages of our manufacturing system, and to show that the pressure of parochial taxation and of national privation falls more particularly on the agricultural portion of the population. Strongly as the exhibition in question may seem to justify such an inference, and obviously distressed as the agricultural portion of the population is, a little explanation will suffice to show that all the active and productive classes of the community are equally oppressed. As regards, for instance, the apparent disproportionately large rate of the parochial assessments in Sussex, the probability is, that the greater proportion of the remuneration for labour is paid out of the parochial taxes, so that while the payments appear large, the payer receives an equivalent in labour for the additional rate of assessment. In some agricultural districts, or parishes especially, it is the rule, that when a person applies for parochial aid, he is sent in rotation from one occupier of land to another, to perform so many days' labour for each, according to the extent of their occupation, and receives so much per day or week as the employers amongst themselves arbitrarily agree upon, and this without charging it at all to the parish rates. In some parishes the employer pays half the rate agreed upon for labour, and sends the employed to the overseer of the parish for the other half; and in other parishes, as probably is generally the case in Sussex, they are sent to the parish officer for the whole of their remuneration for labour. This, it will be perceived, is an increased perversion of the pauper system in a moral view, both as regards payers and receivers, rather than an increased oppression in a pecuniary sense, and will suffice to account for the apparently large amount of the rates in the county of Sussex. Whilst in the manufacturing districts, and especially in Lancashire, the system is equally perverted on opposite principles, by diminishing the money amount to the payers at the expense of increasing privation, and

diminishing the means of subsistence of the receivers; so that, on an analytical and close investigation of the subject, the most opposite conclusions are deducible to those to be drawn from a superficial or cursory view of it. It will be noticed with respect to Lancashire, that although the sum expended in relief of paupers appears proportionately less than in any other county of the kingdom, the proportion of the parochial assessments expended for other purposes than in relief of poverty, is in a corresponding degree greater than in any other county, although inferior in extent to seven others: it will be seen also that *select vestries* are favoured institutions in Lancashire. The inference therefore is, that the means which in other counties are applied in some degree in alleviating the distresses of the people, in Lancashire are applied in embittering it, and in rendering privation more and more severe by diminishing the means of subsistence; potatoes, oatmeal, and water, constituting the main articles of subsistence in that populous, tyrannized, and oppressed county: but as we shall have an opportunity of more fully elucidating the condition of the manufacturing districts in our exposition of the Commercial System, we will for the present leave the advocates of low prices and oppression to their reflections.

In the observations on the return made to Parliament in 1818, (page *630), it is attempted to be shown that the number of persons who received parochial relief, on an average of the three years 1812—14, in proportion to the population as returned in 1811, was only as 9½ to 100, whilst in the following statement (p. 102) it is represented at 45 in 1812, 44 in 1813, and 42 in 1814: this difference, before we proceed further, we deem it important to reconcile. Although in the Parliamentary Return, as well in the summary as in the detailed return of every parish separately, the number of persons relieved permanently are distinctly stated as “not including the children of such persons,” yet, in deducing the proportional of only 9½ to 100, the number relieved was made a divisor on the total population of men, women, and children, instead of on the number of families, which obviously ought to have been the case, in order to obtain a more correct proportional; and although the column specifying the number relieved occasionally, does not state whether children are included or not, it requires but little practical knowledge of the subject to discover, that should the number include several cases of individuality, yet the greater proportion will apply to families; and the proportional exhibited in the following statement has been deduced, by dividing the total number of *families* at the respective periods by the number of persons relieved. It is probable that by so doing the proportional which we exhibit rather exceeds than otherwise the actual proportional, could it be ascertained; a circumstance which the imperfect order of the accounts precludes. If a man, his wife, and five or six children obtaining relief, are returned as only one person relieved, it is obviously fallacious to represent a proportional deduced from the total number of men, women, and children, divided by the number represented as relieved; but all the accounts which have hitherto been laid before Parliament on the subject of pauperism and parochial assessments, whilst they exhibit a highly creditable, clerk-like and pains-taking character, and a great mass of very interesting abstract information, yet are so far deficient in purpose, as to preclude the possibility of drawing any purely philosophical deduction from them; but, as

we shall have occasion to advert to this part of the subject hereafter, we shall not offer any further observation upon it here, but show as we proceed, that although the proportional exhibited in the following statement may somewhat exceed the reality, and differ much from that exhibited in the return made to Parliament in 1818, yet it does not materially exceed the reality, could it be ascertained, and whether correct or not as a proportional in each specific year, it is perfectly so in reference to the increase or decrease of the different years.

In the following Statement, in addition to the proportion out of every 100 receiving relief, are also exhibited the total number of persons in England and Wales relieved in each of the years 1803, 1813—15, out of the parish assessments; the total number of families at each period; the annual rate of relief per head received, dividing the total sum expended on the *total* number relieved; and a scale of subsistence in pounds of bread, according to the average price of wheat in each year; the total number of persons in friendly societies at the respective periods; and, for the purpose of exhibiting all the leading features of the subject at one point of view, we have recapitulated the total sums expended in each of the years, and their amount of equivalent in quarters of wheat.

	1802-3.	1812-13.	1813-14.	1814-15.	1821-2.
Relieved per- manently } In workhouse . . .	83,168	97,223	94,085	88,115	The number of persons receiving relief not included in the returns for this year.
} Not in workhouse	336,200	434,441	430,140	406,887	
Relieved occasionally	305,900	440,249	429,770	400,971	
Total number relieved	725,568	971,913	953,995	895,773	
Total number of families at each period	1,850,000		2,142,148		2,493,423
Proportion out of every 100 receiving relief	·40	·45	·44	·42	
Annual rate per head, dividing the total sum expended by the total number relieved . . .	£5 12 6	£6 16 10	£6 12 0	£6 1 0	
Scale of subsistence in pounds of bread, according to the average price of wheat in each year	·167	·109	·123	·165	
Total amount expended in each year	£1,077,891	6,656,105	6,294,584	5,418, 45	6,358,703
Equivalent in quarters of wheat.	1,209,756	1,061,438	1,157,625	1,484,615	2,250,868
Number of persons in friendly societies	704,350	821,319	838,728	925,439	

Notwithstanding the absence in the return made to Parliament last session, of the requisite data to admit of incontrovertible conclusions being drawn from them, as to the increase or decrease of the evils of pauperism, that return affords sufficient grounds for some very interesting and important approximate conclusions on the subject. The total sum expended in relief of paupers, in the year ending the 25th March, 1822, it will be seen was 6,358,703*l.*; and we have previously shown, that had the increase of the number of persons receiving relief been only in pro-

portion to the increase of population since 1801, and the scale of subsistence or rate of relief remained the same as in the year 1803-4, the total sum required in 1821-2 would have been only 5,363,102*l.* instead of 6,358,703*l.* A twofold question therefore arises out of the disproportionately large amount expended in 1821-2, over and above the amount expended in 1803-4: which is this, Have the number of persons receiving relief increased in a greater proportion than the increase of population since 1801? or, has the rate of relief been increased? If we should be able to show, that instead of the scale of subsistence or rate of relief having been increased, and the comfort of the pauper thereby improved, since the period of 1803, the rate of relief has actually been reduced; and reduced, not merely in reference to the rate of relief of that period, but in proportion to the reduction in the price of all the main articles of subsistence since 1814, it would further prove to demonstration the position which we have previously laid down; viz. that the number of paupers have increased in a frightful and an alarming degree; and that their privation has increased in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Before we attempt to show that such is the fact, it may be proper to observe that the extent of parochial relief by no means affords any just criterion whereby to judge of the comfort or privation of the paupers, as will be manifest from the following examples:—In a family receiving permanent relief, it does not follow that such family subsists entirely on the parochial aid afforded; for permanent relief is given, in seven or eight cases out of ten, where the family labour for a part of their subsistence; and when the remuneration for their labour has been deemed inadequate to their subsistence, the parish funds have been resorted to. If, therefore, in cases where a man with a family, say of a wife and six children, has been in the habit of earning twelve shillings per week, and receiving four shillings per week from the parish funds; the remuneration for his labour may have been reduced to six shillings, or perhaps five shillings per week, whilst the parish has persisted in confining its aid to the same sum as when the remuneration for his labour was double the amount; and on this principle, as well in reference to those who receive occasional relief, as to those who receive permanent relief, it is obvious that the total sum expended in relief of paupers may remain the same, and even be increased, without the number receiving relief being increased; and yet the privation and discomfort of those so receiving relief may be increased one-third or one-half; and for this reason it is that any return which may be made to Parliament, which, in addition to the sum expended, and the numbers on whom it is expended, does not also comprehend whatever remuneration they may receive for their labour, will preclude any conclusion of a purely philosophical nature being drawn from it.

It may by some be argued that in reference to parochial assessments, or pauper taxation, as well as general taxation, there is but one object to be regarded, and that is to reduce *both* as much as possible. Conditionally it is desirable that both should be reduced; but a determined reduction unconditionally, would be as inhuman as it would prove impolitic. It is true that the privation of the pauper, in an abstract point of view, may be regarded as a question of humanity, rather than one of political economy; but let it be remembered, as in the body physical, so in the body politic, whatever pang an individual member of the body

physical may feel, produces a corresponding sensation through the whole; so with any specific class, or part of any political community, whatever privations any one class may experience, produces an effect on the whole, and especially so on the active and productive proportion. The first consequent effect of the privation of any given class or part, is a corresponding decrease of consumption, and a consequent decrease of interest and value of that which is consumed, whence follows a general derangement of the value of property on one side, and an increase of crime and immorality on the other; with a perversion and subjugation of the physical and moral powers of those deprived.

As the last return relative to pauperism, made to Parliament, does not specify the number of persons receiving parochial relief; and as no attempt has as yet been made to ascertain the amount received for labour by those so receiving such relief, we are of course precluded from stating, with that degree of accuracy which is desirable, the precise extent of pauperism, and the privations which it occasions: but those who have any considerable acquaintance with the practical operations and practical circumstances of the time know, that since the year 1814, the rate of subsistence has been reduced very considerably beyond the rate of reduction in the price of commodities: and had therefore the total sum expended in the relief of pauperism in 1821, accorded with the reduction in the rate of the means of subsistence since 1814, it would have been only about 4,000,000*l.* instead of 6,358,703*l.*; being a half more than it ought to have been in reference to the sum expended in 1814, as the Statement No. 3, in the following page, shows, by the column of equivalents of the money amounts in quarters of wheat: and by which statement it is seen also that in reference to the year 1817, ending 25th March, 1818, (a year that will be remembered to the end of their days by the present generation of artisans and labourers of every class,) although the money amount of the parochial assessments of that year is considerably reduced, the assessments in each succeeding year have been virtually, and to all intents and purposes, more and more oppressive to the payers; and finally, as regards the last year of which the accounts have been presented in 1821-2, it exhibits an extent of oppression on one side, and of dependence and distress on the other, without any example in the history of the affairs of this country at any former period.

Having brought this inquiry to a point at which we can conveniently arrest our pen, we shall break off here; and resume the subject in our succeeding Number, in which we shall endeavour to show the influence and effect of our colonial and foreign commerce on the internal interests of the country. The Tables which follow, and which have been referred to in the course of this argument, will form a Synopsis of the actual State of the Country.

TABLE (A.)

No. 1.—STATEMENT of the TOTAL POPULATION of GREAT BRITAIN, at five Decimal Periods, since 1780; specifying the proportion in England, Wales, and Scotland, separately.

YEARS.	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Army and Navy.	Total Great Britain.
1781	7,475,000	480,000	1,470,000	250,000	9,675,000
1791	8,175,000	500,000	1,500,000	200,000	10,175,000
1801	8,331,434	541,516	1,599,068	470,958	10,942,646
1811	9,538,827	611,788	1,805,688	640,500	12,596,803
1821	11,261,437	717,438	2,093,456	819,300	14,391,631

No. 2.—ANALYSIS of the POPULATION in 1821; showing the Number of Families of which it was comprised, their Avocations, and the Number of Houses they occupied.

	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Great Britain.
Families employed in Agriculture.	773,702	74,223	130,700	978,656
Do. in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft	1,118,295	41,680	190,264	1,350,239
Do. not comprised in either	451,690	30,801	126,997	612,488
Total No. of Families	2,346,717	146,706	447,960	2,941,383
Inhabiting Houses	1,951,973	156,183	341,474	2,449,650
Houses Building	18,289	915	2,405	21,679
Do. unoccupied	66,055	3,652	12,657	82,369
Total No. of Houses	2,036,317	160,800	356,536	2,553,673

No. 3.—COMPARATIVE VIEW of the INCREASE and EXTENT of PAUPERISM and CRIME in ENGLAND and WALES, at different Periods, and in each Year since 1811; showing the Total Amount of Parish Assessments, and the Proportion thereof expended for the Relief of Paupers, and the equivalent of that Amount in Quarters of Wheat, according to the Average Price of Wheat in each Year; the Number of Commitments for Crime in each Year in England and Wales since 1811; and the Total Amount of Taxes in Great Britain, and of British Produce and Manufactures exported in each Year.

YEARS.	Total Amount of Parish Assessments. 1.	Proportion expended for Relief of Paupers. 2.	Average Price of Wheat. 3.	Equivalent in Quarters of Wheat, of Amount expended on Paupers. 4.	No. of Commitments for Crime. 5.	Taxation. 6.	British Produce and Manufactures Exported. 7.
1749	£ 750,135	£ 689,971	s. d. ..	..	..	..	..
1776	1,720,316	1,521,732	..	..	..	11,000,000	..
1784	2,167,748	1,912,241	..	..	..	18,000,000	..
1805	5,348,204	4,077,891	56 5	1,443,501	..	38,511,812	22,252,102
1812	8,640,842	6,656,105	125 5	1,061,438	6,576	64,752,025	31,243,362
1813	8,388,974	6,291,504	108 9	1,157,625	7,164	68,502,859	32,000,000
1814	7,457,676	5,418,845	73 3	1,484,615	6,390	70,240,312	33,299,580
1815	6,937,423	5,724,506	61 4	1,779,639	7,818	71,203,141	41,712,002
1816	8,128,418	6,918,217	75 10	1,821,584	9,091	62,426,506	34,774,520
1817	9,320,440	7,890,148	94 9	1,665,467	13,932	52,135,739	39,235,397
1818	8,932,165	7,531,650	84 1	1,791,472	13,567	53,937,218	41,963,527
1819	8,719,655	7,323,594	7 0	1,008,108	14,254	53,238,914	32,923,575
1820	8,411,893	6,958,445	65 7	2,122,016	13,710	53,132,077	59,818,056
1821	7,761,441	6,358,703	56 6	2,250,868	13,115	55,530,072	40,194,893
1822	..	..	43 3	..	..	54,974,243	43,558,490
1823	..	..	45 0	..	..	..	..

TABLE (B) of the QUANTITY or OFFICIAL VALUE of BRITISH PRODUCE and MANUFACTURES Exported from Great Britain, in each Year since 1776; the Number of Commissions of Bankruptcy, and Average Price of Wheat, in England and Wales, in each Year since 1789; the Number of Quarters of Malt and Pounds of Tea charged with Duty, and the Amount of Taxes and Loans raised in Great Britain, in each Year since 1792.

YEARS.	British Produce and Manufactures Exported. 1.	Commissions of Bankruptcy 2.	Average Price of Wheat. 3.	CHARGED WITH DUTY.		Taxes raised. 6.	Paid into Exchequer on Account of Loans raised & Bills funded 7.
				Quarters of Malt. 4.	Pounds of Tea. 5.		
1776	10,000,000	..	s. d.	..	..	..	..
1781	8,000,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
1784	11,255,057	..	..	..	..	..	..
1789	13,779,506	..	..	..	..	..	..
1790	14,921,084	747	..	..	..	..	..
1791	16,810,019	769	47 2	..	..	..	..
1792	18,336,351	931	42 11	..	..	..	..
1793	13,892,269	1956	18 11	24,452,837	Vide Note below.	17,869,237	4,438,827
1794	16,725,103	1041	51 8	23,358,151		18,037,696	12,714,122
1795	16,333,213	879	47 2	24,693,567		18,385,023	41,562,833
1796	19,102,220	954	77 1	28,142,068		19,654,780	30,738,504
1797	16,903,103	1115	53 1	30,923,119		23,861,934	27,709,809
1798	9,675,503	911	50 3	26,963,451	19,566,934	30,490,995	17,075,754
1799	24,081,213	717	67 6	31,751,615	19,906,510	35,311,038	17,915,677
1800	24,504,281	951	113 7	14,360,715	20,358,703	34,079,058	20,321,741
1801	25,719,960	1199	118 3	18,566,946	20,237,753	35,516,350	27,611,111
1802	27,012,108	1090	67 5	30,538,382	21,848,243	37,111,620	33,870,530
1803	22,252,102	1214	56 6	50,479,202	21,647,922	38,511,812	11,950,000
1804	28,934,292	1117	60 1	22,421,791	18,501,904	46,107,153	13,209,351
1805	25,003,368	1129	87 10	22,343,385	21,025,380	50,545,219	25,130,405
1806	27,103,653	1268	79 0	27,187,920	20,355,048	54,071,908	19,699,263
1807	25,190,762	1362	73 3	24,912,163	23,599,066	58,477,330	15,257,212
1808	26,692,288	1135	79 0	22,406,300	23,880,038	62,147,600	14,102,621
1809	33,107,139	1382	95 7	22,812,791	23,251,065	63,879,881	22,607,760
1810	34,910,550	2314	106 2	24,281,212	23,927,567	67,825,595	21,551,357
1811	24,109,931	2500	91 6	26,798,085	We have not been able to obtain correct Returns for these Years.	65,309,100	23,655,075
1812	51,213,362	2223	125 5	18,658,693		64,752,025	34,700,287
1813	32,000,000	1953	108 9	22,381,935		68,502,859	50,806,275
1814	33,200,580	1612	73 11	26,110,285		70,240,312	36,078,048
1815	41,712,002	2284	64 4	27,072,032		71,203,141	50,569,859
1816	34,774,520	2731	75 10	26,255,135	Average.	62,426,506	8,939,803
1817	39,233,397	1927	94 9	17,136,020		52,133,759	None.
1818	41,963,527	1245	84 1	26,162,933		53,937,218	28,560,400
1819	32,923,575	1499	73 0	22,546,259		53,238,913	18,756,087
1820	37,818,036	1381	65 7	24,535,155	22,512,000	55,122,077	24,292,545
1821	40,194,893	1238	56 6	28,697,057	22,656,822	55,530,072	13,828,784
1822	13,558,490	1191	43 3	25,151,508	25,912,044	54,974,245	11,708,617
1823	..	..	..	22,641,828	....	..	4,428,589

*. The Accounts of Malt are made up on the 5th of July in each year; but the Account for 1823 is only to the 5th of April.—The consumption of Tea is not given prior to 1798, as it was not an article of great importation long prior to that period; there is an actual decrease of consumption since 1807-10.

TABLE (C) of the AMOUNT of the SUMS of MONEY EXPENDED ON PAUPERS in each County of England and Wales, in the Year ending March 25, 1815, the Counties arranged in Order of Total Population; showing the Number of Families in each County; the Number receiving Parochial Relief, distinguishing those who received Permanent Relief from those who received Temporary Relief, and the Rate each Family receiving Permanent Relief received per Annum; the Number of Persons in Friendly Societies, and the Amount of Real Property assessed for Property-Tax in 1814, in each County.

COUNTIES, arranged in Order of Total Population.	Sum expended on Paupers in the Year 1814-15.	PAUPERS RELIEVED, Exclusive of Children.			Total No. of Families in 1821.	Proportion out of 1000 receiving permanent relief			Rate per Family receiving Relief.	No. of Persons in Friendly Societies.	Amount of Real Property Assessed for Property-Tax in 1814.
		Permanent		Received Tempo- rary Relief.							
		Out of Work- house.	In Work- house.								
	£	No.	No.	No.		No.	£	s.			£
Middlesex ..	505,601	18,241	16,026	83,988	261,871	131	14	15	67,186	5,595,537	
Lancashire ..	213,047	19,811	3,655	15,126	203,173	115	9	2	117,029	3,087,774	
York, W. R.	257,624	22,126	2,548	15,803	161,466	153	10	9	80,684	2,392,406	
Devon	183,646	18,600	2,980	10,573	90,744	238	8	10	53,022	1,897,513	
Kent	295,280	14,114	8,275	20,295	85,939	264	13	0	17,538	1,644,179	
Surrey	201,646	8,603	6,224	8,207	88,806	167	13	12	26,530	1,579,173	
Somerset ...	150,258	15,265	1,835	9,682	73,537	233	8	16	26,428	1,900,651	
Norfolk	199,192	15,927	3,231	12,182	74,497	257	10	8	14,080	1,540,932	
Stafford	111,642	10,152	1,562	11,015	68,780	175	9	6	42,305	1,150,285	
Gloucester ..	135,580	12,610	1,576	10,715	72,156	196	9	11	26,066	1,463,260	
Essex	226,252	13,010	3,065	16,616	59,629	271	14	1	20,531	1,556,836	
Southampton	163,150	9,462	3,689	9,822	57,942	227	12	8	11,611	1,330,951	
Lincoln	128,360	7,925	1,406	6,829	58,760	160	13	15	8,755	2,061,850	
Warwick ..	127,684	12,148	1,718	6,334	60,124	230	9	4	26,856	1,236,727	
Suffolk	155,289	10,932	3,624	11,659	55,064	264	10	13	13,814	1,127,404	
Chester	100,689	8,422	609	8,924	52,024	152	11	3	22,292	1,083,084	
Cornwall ..	78,090	7,430	578	4,321	51,202	151	9	15	22,911	916,060	
Sussex	230,865	13,058	4,163	7,928	43,565	400	13	8	4,958	915,348	
Wilts	137,626	13,355	1,090	11,405	47,684	303	9	10	16,240	1,135,459	
Derby	72,179	6,415	523	7,104	42,404	163	10	8	23,034	887,659	
Durham	78,726	8,727	691	4,058	45,940	205	8	6	13,525	791,359	
Salop	90,839	7,917	2,701	7,821	41,636	255	8	11	21,774	1,037,988	
Northumb..	69,236	8,874	748	3,204	43,128	223	7	4	16,367	1,240,594	
York, E. R.	75,438	5,449	817	4,149	40,499	155	12	1	11,941	1,190,326	
Nottingham	71,119	4,814	1,024	5,478	38,603	152	12	3	19,421	737,229	
Worcester ..	83,510	6,128	1,049	4,865	39,006	191	11	5	13,641	799,605	
York, N. R.	65,536	6,123	611	3,341	38,731	172	9	14	9,697	1,145,252	
Leicester ..	95,200	7,345	997	6,092	36,806	227	11	9	17,217	902,217	
Northampton	123,038	8,365	954	6,373	35,372	263	13	4	10,124	942,161	
Cumberland	40,915	4,039	657	1,748	31,804	147	8	16	9,917	705,446	
Dorset	75,678	7,278	1,053	5,579	30,312	275	9	2	6,209	698,395	
Oxford	106,493	7,134	841	7,056	28,841	276	13	7	6,150	713,147	
Bucks	101,814	6,586	1,292	6,946	28,867	273	13	0	6,434	614,130	
Berks	100,297	7,175	1,322	8,048	27,700	307	11	10	3,933	652,082	
Hertford ..	77,991	4,324	1,416	5,648	26,170	219	13	12	10,928	571,107	
Cambridge ..	65,951	4,579	729	5,359	25,603	207	12	9	4,739	655,221	
Hereford ..	67,063	5,560	330	4,001	21,917	270	11	8	2,870	604,614	
Bedford	56,370	2,875	849	2,953	17,473	214	13	10	3,840	343,683	
Monmouth ..	27,050	2,314	87	1,587	14,122	170	11	5	8,401	295,097	
Westmorela.	20,320	2,105	236	866	10,442	224	9	0	1,502	298,199	
Huntingdon	31,470	1,838	346	2,730	10,497	208	14	10	2,509	320,186	
Rutland	10,843	619	125	511	3,936	190	14	12	6375	153,187	
England	5,202,931	378,709	87,274	387,113	2,340,717	199	11	3	877,777	49,744,622	
Wales ..	215,915	28,039	841	13,360	146,706	196	7	10	47,487	2,153,801	
	5,428,856	406,748	88,115	400,473	2,493,123	198	11	0	925,264	51,898,423	

TABLE (D) of the NUMBER of INHABITED HOUSES and of the TOTAL POPULATION in each County of England, according to the Population Return of 1821, the Counties arranged in Alphabetical Order, with Numbers of References to their Order of Total Population, and of Agricultural Population; the Total Amount of Parish Assessments in each County in the Year ending March 25, 1822, according to the Account printed by Order of Parliament, July 1823; the Number of Parishes, and of Select Vestries and of Assistant Overseers, in each County; and the Rate per head of the Parish Assessments, divided on the Total Population.

COUNTIES, arranged in Alphabetical Order.	No. in Order of Total Population.	No. in Order of Agricul- tural Population.	No. of Inhabited Houses in 1821.	Total No. of Persons in 1821.	Total Amount of Parish Assess- ments in 1821.	No. of Pa- rishes	No. of Se- lect Vestries	No. of Assistant Overseers.	Rate per head.
					£				s. d.
Bedford	34	36	15,412	85,400	83,798	125	12	17	19 7
Berks	34	28	24,705	131,700	124,401	151	31	41	18 6
Buckingham	33	21	21,786	136,800	159,101	202	51	46	20 4
Cambridge	36	25	20,869	124,400	103,380	167	23	25	17 9
Chester	16	18	47,094	275,500	136,768	90	113	86	10 0
Cornwall	17	14	43,873	262,600	125,770	203	51	22	9 7
Cumberland	30	35	27,246	159,300	64,096	104	53	48	8 0
Derby	20	29	40,054	217,600	107,793	139	61	57	10 0
Devon	4	1	71,416	347,900	246,606	465	82	70	11 0
Dorset	31	27	25,926	147,400	98,896	271	36	45	13 5
Durham	21	37	32,793	211,900	111,419	75	73	44	10 6
Essex	11	4	49,978	295,300	298,907	406	41	60	20 0
Gloucester	10	11	60,881	342,600	182,869	339	44	59	10 8
Hereford	37	31	20,061	105,300	74,168	219	43	39	14 0
Hertford	35	52	23,178	132,400	105,546	132	17	24	16 0
Huntingdon	41	39	8,878	49,800	47,223	103	11	15	19 0
Kent	5	7	70,507	434,600	427,166	411	50	89	20 0
Lancaster	2	12	176,419	1,074,000	423,185	70	176	126	8 0
Leicester	28	33	34,775	178,100	151,103	216	63	35	17 0
Lincoln	13	3	53,818	288,800	221,473	630	129	111	15 5
Middlesex	1	38	152,969	1,167,500	706,195	197	14	35	12 0
Moumouth	39	40	13,211	72,300	32,567	125	15	18	9 0
Norfolk	8	2	62,274	351,300	301,157	731	70	61	17 0
Northampton	29	15	32,503	165,800	165,710	306	50	38	20 0
Northumberland ..	23	34	31,526	203,000	90,631	88	41	38	9 0
Nottingham	25	30	35,022	190,700	102,566	212	32	34	10 9
Oxford	32	22	25,594	139,800	153,705	217	48	39	19 1
Rutland	42	42	3,389	18,900	15,026	52	35	6	16 0
Salop	22	16	58,863	210,300	113,003	216	44	51	10 9
Somerset	7	6	61,852	362,500	186,385	475	98	85	10 3
Southampton	12	10	49,516	289,000	220,997	296	43	52	15 3
Stafford	9	17	63,319	347,900	178,454	145	47	54	10 3
Suffolk	15	8	42,773	276,000	276,616	510	48	70	20 0
Surry	6	25	64,790	406,700	290,200	132	19	23	14 3
Sussex	18	13	36,223	237,700	297,130	310	57	39	25 0
Warwick	14	19	55,012	280,000	191,947	205	56	52	13 8
Westmorland	40	41	9,243	52,400	32,615	32	35	13	12 6
Wilt	19	9	41,702	226,600	129,400	300	31	50	16 8
Worcester	26	26	34,734	188,200	101,480	171	52	50	10 9
York { East Riding ..	24	24	34,930	191,300	107,549	237	67	26	11 0
York { North Riding ..	27	20	33,765	187,400	98,489	183	105	41	10 6
York { West Riding ..	3	5	154,514	815,400	348,327	193	116	112	8 6
Total of England ..	..	..	1,951,973	11,486,700	7,455,647	9860	2284	2065	13 0
Wales ..	..	..	136,182	731,800	305,794	833	220	123	8 4
England and Wales ..	..	..	2,088,156	12,218,500	7,761,441	10693	2504	2188	12 8
Scotland .....	..	..	341,474	2,093,156					

TABLE (E) EXHIBITING the COUNTIES of ENGLAND, arranged in ORDER of TOTAL POPULATION, distinguishing the Number of Families returned as employed in Agriculture from those employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft, and those not included in either of those two Classes, according to the Population Return of 1821; and showing the proportion of the Parish Assessments for the Year ending March 25, 1822, expended on Paupers, from the proportion expended for other Purposes than the Relief of Paupers; and the Rate per head per Annum of the Amount expended on Paupers, divided on the Total Population.

COUNTIES, In Order of Total Population.	No. in Order of Agri- cultural Population.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES, According to the Population Return of 1821.			PAYMENTS OUT OF THE PARISH ASSESSMENTS, Year ending March 25, 1822.		Rate per head expended on Paupers.
		Employed in Agri- culture.	In Trade, Manufac- tures, or Handicraft	Not in- cluded in either of the preceding Classes.	For other Purposes than the Relief of the Poor.	Expended on Paupers.	
1 Middlesex	38	9,393	161,356	91,122	£139,844	£582,035	10s 0
2 Lancaster	12	22,723	152,271	28,179	163,576	249,585	4 8
3 York, W. R.	5	31,613	108,841	21,012	73,237	273,301	6 8
4 Devon	1	37,037	33,985	19,692	29,706	207,686	9 3
5 Kent	7	30,869	30,180	24,890	64,862	370,711	17 0
6 Surrey	25	14,944	46,811	27,051	47,464	242,921	12 0
7 Somerset	6	31,448	27,132	14,937	27,480	153,906	8 6
8 Norfolk	2	36,368	26,201	11,928	41,535	256,044	14 7
9 Stafford	17	18,285	42,435	8,060	41,467	133,701	7 9
10 Gloucester	11	23,170	35,907	13,079	28,741	152,994	8 11
11 Essex	4	33,206	17,160	9,263	39,556	254,837	17 3
12 Southampton	10	24,303	19,810	13,829	25,734	193,294	13 4
13 Lincoln	3	34,900	15,845	8,015	51,400	168,786	11 7
14 Warwick	19	16,780	39,189	4,155	43,347	146,185	10 5
15 Suffolk	8	30,795	17,418	6,851	35,268	240,384	17 5
16 Chester	18	18,120	27,105	6,799	32,640	104,081	7 6
17 Cornwall	14	19,302	15,543	16,337	17,861	104,178	8 0
18 Sussex	13	21,920	15,463	6,182	30,583	265,246	22 0
19 Wilts	9	24,972	16,982	5,730	20,914	163,168	14 3
20 Derby	29	14,582	20,505	7,317	20,871	86,756	8 0
21 Durham	37	9,427	20,212	16,301	18,841	91,182	8 7
22 Salop	16	18,414	17,485	5,737	19,459	92,907	8 10
23 Northumberland ..	31	11,567	20,565	10,996	12,160	77,505	7 7
24 York, E. R.	24	15,480	16,637	8,382	17,166	97,522	10 0
25 Nottingham	30	13,664	21,832	3,107	27,630	73,315	7 8
26 Worcester	26	14,926	18,566	5,514	15,289	83,761	9 0
27 York, N. R.	20	16,737	11,570	10,424	13,207	87,638	9 0
28 Leicester	33	13,028	20,297	3,481	26,443	124,244	14 0
29 Northampton	15	18,794	11,695	4,883	19,239	145,093	17 6
30 Cumberland	35	11,297	13,146	7,361	10,202	52,352	6 7
31 Dorset	27	14,821	10,811	4,680	10,119	85,647	11 7
32 Oxford	22	15,965	8,971	3,905	16,457	115,647	16 9
33 Bucks	21	16,640	8,318	3,909	16,791	117,477	17 2
34 Berks	23	14,769	8,773	4,158	16,142	104,338	15 5
35 Hertford	32	13,485	7,935	4,750	13,526	89,129	13 6
36 Cambridge	23	15,536	6,964	3,103	14,375	87,872	14 1
37 Hereford	31	13,558	5,633	2,726	11,461	62,729	11 11
38 Bedford	36	10,754	4,827	1,792	13,066	68,826	16 1
39 Monmouth	40	6,020	6,147	1,955	- 6,395	27,207	10 4
40 Westmoreland	41	5,096	3,801	1,545	4,505	39,429	16 0
41 Huntingdon	39	6,435	2,937	1,025	6,794	10,575	11 2
42 Rutland	24	2,410	1,034	492	4,400		
Total England ..	..	773,732	1,118,295	454,690	1,289,722	6,102,253	10 8
— Wales .....	..	74,225	41,680	36,801	46,811	256,450	7 0
England and Wales	..	847,957	1,159,975	485,491	1,336,533	6,358,703	10 4
Scotland .....	..	130,700	190,261	126,997			
Eng. & Wales, 1811	..	770,199	959,632	412,316			

TABLE (F) EXHIBITING the COUNTIES of ENGLAND, arranged in ORDER of AGRICULTURAL POPULATION, with the Number of Families in each, stated in the Population Return of 1821, as employed in Agriculture; the Territorial Extent of each County in Statute Acres, deduced from the Trigonometrical Surveys; the proportions in a State of Tillage and Pasture, by which the Wastes and uncultivated Lands in each County may be ascertained; the Annual Rental of Land in each County, deduced from the Property-Tax Returns for the Year ending April 1811.

COUNTIES, In Order of Agricultural Population.	No. in Order of Total Population.	No. of Families as em- ployed in Agriculture. 1.	TERRITORIAL EXTENT.		Annual Rental, accord- ing to Property-Tax Returns, 1811. 5.	Amount of Real Property Assessed for Property-Tax, 1815. 6.	
			In Statute Acres. 2.	Proportions : In Tillage. 3. In Pasture. 4.			
1 Devon	4	37,037	1,650,560	*400	*800	1,217,547	1,897,515
2 Norfolk	8	36,368	1,338,880	730	263	931,842	1,540,952
3 Lincoln	13	34,900	1,758,720	400	1,100	1,581,940	2,061,830
4 Essex	11	33,206	980,480	380	520	994,615	1,556,836
5 York, W. R.	5	51,613	1,568,000	350	700	1,555,608	2,392,106
6 Somerset	7	31,448	1,050,880	330	534	1,355,108	1,900,651
7 Kent	5	30,869	983,680	400	200	868,188	1,614,179
8 Suffolk	15	30,795	979,200	250	500	694,078	1,127,404
9 Wilts	19	24,972	882,560	150	250	810,627	1,155,459
10 Southampton ...	12	24,303	1,041,920	380	620	594,020	1,130,951
11 Gloucester	10	23,170	803,840	300	450	805,133	1,463,261
12 Lancaster	2	22,723	1,171,840	450	350	1,270,344	3,087,774
13 Sussex	18	21,920	936,320	280	345	549,900	915,348
14 Cornwall	17	19,302	849,280	250	255	566,472	916,060
15 Northampton	29	18,797	648,880	290	235	696,637	942,161
16 Salop	22	18,414	858,240	300	500	738,495	1,037,988
17 Stafford	9	18,285	734,720	500	100	756,635	1,150,285
18 Chester	16	18,120	673,280	200	450	676,864	1,083,084
19 Warwick	11	16,779	577,280	200	308	645,139	1,236,727
20 York, N. R.	27	16,737	1,311,187	273	596	1,056,010	1,145,252
21 Bucks	33	16,640	477,600	353	170	498,677	644,150
22 Oxford	32	15,965	485,280	150	230	497,625	713,147
23 Cambridge	36	15,556	549,120	140	160	453,215	653,221
24 York, E. R.	24	15,480	819,200	150	350	500,000	1,190,326
25 Surrey	6	14,944	485,120	80	400	369,901	1,579,173
26 Worcester	26	14,926	466,560	200	150	516,203	799,605
27 Dorset	31	14,821	643,200	250	130	489,025	698,595
28 Berks	34	14,769	483,840	260	120	405,150	652,082
29 Derby	20	14,582	656,640	100	100	621,693	887,659
30 Nottingham	25	13,664	535,680	200	100	534,992	737,229
31 Hereford	37	13,558	556,100	300	250	553,607	604,614
32 Hertford	35	13,465	337,920	225	50	342,350	571,107
33 Leicester	28	13,028	514,560	65	450	702,102	902,217
34 Northumberland ..	23	11,567	1,197,140	150	650	906,789	1,240,594
35 Cumberland	30	11,297	945,920	..	..	469,250	705,446
36 Bedford	38	10,754	296,320	40	168	272,621	313,681
37 Durham	21	9,427	679,010	300	200	506,063	791,359
38 Middlesex	1	9,393	180,480	40	100	342,142	5,595,537
39 Huntingdon	41	6,435	236,800	100	60	202,076	320,188
40 Monmouth	39	6,020	318,720	100	215	203,576	295,097
41 Westmoreland ..	40	5,096	488,320	30	130	221,556	198,199
42 Rutland	42	2,410	95,560	..	..	99,174	133,487
Total England ..	..	773,752	32,332,400	10,500	14,200	27,890,354	49,744,622
— Wales .....	..	74,225	4,752,000	900	2,600	1,586,498	2,153,801
England and Wales	..	847,957	37,084,400	11,400	16,800	29,476,852	51,898,423
Scotland .....	..	130,700	26,460,000	..	..	..	..

* In these two columns, the three right hand places of figures have been dispensed with, for the sake of abridgment.

TABLE (G) of COLONIAL and FOREIGN PRODUCTIONS IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN, from all Parts of the World (except Ireland), in each of the Years 1814-22, stated at the *Official* Rates of Valuation, which implies Quantity rather than Value.

	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.
Borax	10,620	59,245	103,301	32,373	75,665	215,391	209,673	51,651	23,268
Camphire	13,730	10,498	8,674	6,700	9,421	4,623	5,133	4,030	165
Cassia Lignea	13,497	30,516	63,741	36,746	14,232	25,396	15,161	25,172	40,465
Cinnamon	55,405	76,345	83,340	78,695	114,640	78,457	66,823	83,327	24,326
Cloves	77,353	204,607	97,844	87,472	6,500	700	2,301	8,379	26,736
Mace	66,174	160,617	21,266	51,318	5,379	11,239	4,542	8,683	10,393
Nutmegs	64,929	148,792	73,109	73,037	11,914	38,757	18,370	7,017	9,114
Pepper	108,938	213,921	199,761	67,862	98,339	83,331	10,316	13,476	119,756
Gum, Lac, &c.	9,150	26,586	27,018	29,706	37,673	37,170	62,640	62,142	53,853
Indigo	974,832	774,745	999,266	706,784	777,036	521,948	688,611	555,807	380,780
Piece Goods	919,013	985,724	766,190	716,392	767,324	665,360	704,539	490,386	283,655
Rhubarb	14,281	24,065	55,290	65,216	69,368	107,140	132,567	75,515	36,652
Saltpetre	87,988	84,672	96,400	102,107	80,727	93,221	141,057	143,445	87,047
Tea	2,611,055	2,560,221	5,623,438	3,146,707	2,006,373	2,373,041	3,014,800	5,073,110	2,736,277
East Indies and China	5,026,985	5,360,534	6,221,958	5,201,555	4,096,692	4,260,024	5,075,355	4,597,640	3,714,117
Sugar	5,485,657	5,439,967	5,141,192	5,188,636	5,417,780	5,768,737	5,552,769	5,738,737	4,976,861
Molasses	89,893	77,619	1,071	5,041	20,354	35,347	26,182	37,509	50,826
Coffee	6,405,043	5,303,493	3,323,270	2,520,218	2,803,349	2,450,979	2,973,943	2,771,411	2,672,097
Cocoa	111,054	50,492	28,848	20,280	37,144	35,694	53,385	52,382	56,470
Rum	776,009	605,594	548,275	536,641	482,343	562,788	618,633	690,481	367,470
Pimento	33,144	59,670	44,241	35,313	47,966	66,967	32,220	73,769	42,222
Dyewoods	281,223	286,460	247,745	211,917	249,440	208,710	92,334	151,905	221,337
Fishery, Oil	469,855	393,244	410,598	325,127	425,450	416,777	508,076	519,406	426,060
Fins	147,368	97,257	106,932	91,049	110,590	99,417	150,908	145,507	72,028
Fish: Cod, &c.	35,749	26,819	19,461	28,510	23,857	26,901	41,120	50,480	27,560
E. & W. Indies, & Fishery	18,861,970	17,631,139	15,895,501	15,184,307	13,715,365	13,724,240	15,124,915	14,739,027	12,627,148

TABLE (G) continued.

	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.
<i>Brought forward:—</i>									
East & West Indies	18,861,970	17,651,139	15,895,501	15,184,307	13,715,365	13,724,240	15,194,915	14,753,027	12,687,148
Rice	183,410	76,727	64,989	179,494	313,174	347,362	209,452	96,457	89,097
Silk, raw	702,782	601,807	364,989	598,545	708,365	621,385	993,157	985,040	943,966
Thrown	774,867	429,287	230,490	294,711	548,365	343,175	398,548	406,837	391,113
Wool, Cotton	1,989,742	5,318,211	3,151,604	4,158,275	5,763,081	4,866,538	4,953,736	4,347,258	4,735,252
Sheep's	744,568	654,527	316,100	617,216	1,016,592	695,546	375,494	671,754	695,725
Flax	947,673	632,586	434,825	817,837	844,079	793,078	763,479	1,013,147	1,197,290
Hemp	463,569	620,403	312,750	386,659	561,343	402,326	355,493	205,493	509,034
Linen Yarn	272,502	250,737	52,266	126,755	255,697	129,668	111,191	134,178	229,325
Linen	216,644	136,981	57,213	32,915	31,760	21,550	29,080	20,371	20,136
Iron	213,988	208,130	82,743	96,883	162,193	136,373	96,428	99,219	124,192
Bacon and Hams	39,809	359	259	200	7,034	1,881	2,634	3,268	3,649
Butter	161,976	173,382	88,924	28,780	116,623	90,698	95,641	160,449	163,187
Cheese	225,615	160,472	113,347	39,601	167,891	120,786	118,191	125,510	111,992
Corn, Grain, and Flour	1,909,677	395,572	405,545	2,196,113	3,913,590	1,615,024	1,587,504	272,992	115,913
Seeds of all sorts	291,098	186,596	90,381	219,352	376,714	199,538	204,382	181,076	198,297
Tallow	631,833	695,745	446,369	415,783	580,787	625,938	856,638	660,716	828,731
Asbes	62,670	171,268	201,968	256,154	241,901	232,753	192,041	226,424	198,589
Barilla	70,492	41,169	120,897	108,327	104,781	106,786	103,846	113,032	95,932
Bark	37,163	41,539	30,428	61,364	121,277	85,309	74,782	85,250	139,225
Brimstone	24,209	88,291	47,494	39,989	71,714	63,500	43,691	52,035	42,232
Brittles	27,805	33,171	12,797	28,028	31,629	18,603	28,194	25,005	37,121
Cochineal	154,007	89,135	122,114	113,211	177,607	59,485	129,552	95,969	105,638
Copper	8,552	15,609	2	709	800	8,108	5,785	31,774	50,056
Cork	33,827	52,825	25,050	22,016	25,306	22,427	34,181	26,061	33,082
Curran	120,066	191,090	85,592	96,240	135,653	70,220	145,992	102,736	108,393
Elephant's Teeth	16,399	22,207	16,516	12,500	14,174	15,361	18,520	22,679	13,235
Figs	9,769	13,275	5,636	8,851	15,785	6,635	13,052	6,718	9,911
Gums, Senegal, &c.	28,658	27,331	25,800	22,896	26,699	23,567	22,317	36,007	18,951
Hides	297,844	381,585	297,473	130,987	333,401	240,585	231,058	341,409	515,683

(To be concluded in our next Number.)

ON THE CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF THE
EAST AND WEST INDIANS.

WE do not intend to trace the history of the controversy between these two powerful bodies, from its origin up to the present time. It would not only be a "weary," but an "unprofitable" occupation; for nothing could be gained to the cause of conviction on either side, by merely recapitulating what those on both have already written without producing the effect desired. It appears to us that if the same writers had been exerting their reasoning powers on any other subject, in which neither the interests of the one nor the other were concerned, they would long ere this have arrived at some conclusion in which both could concur. But the strong influence of party seems to have so clouded the understandings of men otherwise able and intelligent, as to make even those who wish to be considered the real friends of freedom, plead the cause of injustice and oppression; and this, too, without appearing to be conscious of the striking delusion under which they labour.

For many of the East Indians as *individuals*, (by whom we mean the Proprietors of East India Stock) we entertain the highest respect. This does not, however, prevent our seeing that as a party contending for the continuance of a joint-stock trade and monopoly, they are commercially and politically *wrong*. We have, on the other hand, good reason to be dissatisfied with the East India Company as a *governing body*; but this does not prevent our seeing that in claiming to be put on the same footing with the West Indians, as it regards the importation of sugar on equal duties, they are commercially and politically *right*. In the same spirit of impartial observation, uninfluenced by interest on either side, we discover some things that are true, and others that are false, in the reasonings of the West Indians, as to the pretended importance of their particular claims; and though we respect them as highly as their opponents in this contest, we shall state our opinion of the pretensions of each, without regard to the favour or displeasure of either.

The East Indians at present enjoy, to the great detriment of the millions over whom their rule is extended, an exclusive monopoly of the government in Hindostan; and they also enjoy, to the great injury of the mass of their fellow-subjects at home, an exclusive monopoly of the commerce of China, from which all British subjects but such as they think proper to license, are entirely shut out. There might have been a period, in the earliest stage of their history, when a trade to the more distant countries of the East, from its requiring armed ships and fortified posts, could not have been carried on but by joint-stock companies: but the very practice of limiting the charters of such companies to a moderate period, is grounded on the conviction that such a necessity must be of short

duration; and that when the time limited by the charter has expired, it is just that exclusive privilege should be at an end, so that all the subjects of the country might equally participate in the advantages of such a commerce, each to the extent of his means. The first adventurers in these splendid speculations are sufficiently remunerated for their enterprise, by the brilliant fortunes which are made by those who are foremost to brave the danger and win the prize. It is well that it is so; for without this stimulating hope of reward, the progress of discovery and improvement would be more tardy in its march. That this was the case with *individuals* who embarked in the earliest speculations of the East India Company, and who went out to their possessions as merchants, factors, &c. the enormous fortunes brought home from thence by their civil, military, and commercial agents, sufficiently prove. That such success did not uniformly attend the operations of the Company as a *trading body*, is satisfactorily accounted for from a fact which forms the strongest argument against their existence at all, namely, that no joint-stock company can, either in economy, despatch, or vigilance, compete with private individuals, let the nature of the commerce in which they are opposed to each other be what it may. Notwithstanding their perpetual failures, however, as a body, and the entire cessation of the cause to which they owed their origin—the incapacity of individual private traders to carry on so expensive and distant a trade—they have contrived, by the influence of wealth and subserviency to ministerial interests, to procure from time to time a renewal of the charter giving to them the exclusive possession of a commerce to which every British subject ought, years ago, to have been freely admitted. If the commerce with India and China be *valuable*, it is the strongest reason that could be offered for the injustice of confining it to a mere handful of men, and these too possessing no one distinguishing feature of merit to entitle them to such a privilege before other men; while the great mass of British wealth, skill, enterprise, and industry, is excluded from this rich and ample field, which the Company neither cultivate to the extent it would admit, nor permit others to sow or reap in. If this commerce be of *no value*, as they sometimes pretend, it is the strongest reason that could be offered for the folly of their retaining it in opposition to the wishes of those who would gladly rid them of their unprofitable embarrassment.

This is briefly the case of the East Indians, considering that name to designate the body of those who as Proprietors and Directors constitute the East India Company. They are already in possession of an exclusive trade with China, one of the most populous countries under the sun; they already possess power over millions of men in India, for whom they make what laws they please, without the people having a voice to complain; they already concentrate within their own grasp advantages of the most

valuable kind, which ought to be equally open to the enjoyment of all their fellow-subjects; they are, as they themselves often boast, in entire possession of the most splendid jewel of the British crown; and yet, after all this, they are not satisfied, but entreat the British Legislature, by prayer and petition, to equalize the duties on East and West India sugar, and put them, the rulers of an extensive empire, on the same footing with the planters of a few scattered islands. If the Legislature were to do their duty, when so petitioned, they might reply to the prayer of these petitioners, "First cast the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye:" but, unfortunately, in this case the blind literally lead the blind, and no wonder that the predicted consequence ensues. The Legislature might answer a deputation from Leadenhall Street by saying, "Gentlemen of the India House, you who are so desirous of equalization, and who are so horror-struck at the bare idea of a monopoly of sugar, and an encouragement of slavery in the West, will you have the magnanimity to give a proof of your sincerity in desiring the equalization you advocate, by abandoning your own monopoly of tea, and your encouragement of slavery in the East?" The West Indians, it is true, occasion some evil to the community, in causing sugar to cost more by slave cultivation than it would if raised by free labour; but the East Indians cause a much greater evil to the community, not simply by the monopoly of tea, which is at least as great an evil as the monopoly of sugar, but by a far more important hindrance to the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, by acting literally the part of the dog in the fable, being determined neither to improve the resources subject to their will themselves, nor to suffer any other persons to settle upon their soil to do it for them! There is nothing that the West Indians do, which is to be compared to this in the injurious nature of its effects. The West Indians keep some thousands of negroes in a slavery that is a reproach to them and to the age in which we live; and which indeed, were half of those who profess to be Christians really so, would have been long since swept from the earth. But the East Indians keep in a subjection still more humiliating, millions of human beings of a higher character, a nobler intellect, men whose country the fathers of these East Indians took from them by force; men accustomed not long since to reign in splendour, and to enjoy all the advantages belonging to the comparative state of civilization to which they had arrived; men from whom these East Indians draw immense wealth in tribute and taxes; men to whose fathers theirs paid homage, when they first entered their territories on sufferance, but progressively wrested from them every inch of their extensive dominions! Who, then, can give a moment's ear to the complaints of the East Indians, when they affect to regard as an act of injustice the protecting monopoly granted to their rivals in

the West? Who can for a moment believe them sincere, when they pretend to feel horror at the state of slavery which, bad as it is, is not so humiliating as that in which they keep their own subjects of the highest rank and character, including kings and princes, in the East? Who does not see, indeed, that such advocates of free competition in trade, and free enjoyment of personal liberties, are truly "painted sepulchres,"—and regard their outcry for equal rights and equal duties with the indifference it deserves?

The West Indians, indeed, are in some degree objects of commiseration, because they have but little, and are on the point of losing even the little that they have: unlike the East Indians, who, to verify the contrast, seem to think that because they have much, still more should be given to them. The claims of the West Indians are, however, also grounded in error. They possess immense estates of landed property, which are chiefly valuable for the sugars they produce. Cruelty and oppression first established, and custom and injustice still sanction, the cultivation of these estates by slaves. The unwilling and constrained task-work of the degraded negro is so inferior in its effects to the cheerful operations of the free and happy labourer, that in consequence of the sugar of the West Indies being raised by slaves, its cost of production is much greater than it would be if raised by free men. The produce of these estates is brought to the English market, where it is met by the sugar from the East; and notwithstanding the greater distance of the voyage, with all its concomitant expenses, this Eastern sugar, from the superior fertility of the Indian soil, and the cheapness of labour in that country, though the labourers are deprived of all the advantage of British skill and machinery in the preparation, is so much cheaper than the other, that the West Indians claim and procure a duty to be laid on the cheaper commodity, to make it equally dear with their own. The loss which the West Indian planter would sustain, if he came into the English market on equal terms with the East Indian grower, would be certain; but the true remedy for this would be, not the placing a duty on his rival's produce, to increase its price, by which the West Indian will be encouraged still to continue cultivation by slaves; but by abstaining from all interference in a matter of commercial competition, and making the slave cultivator feel that his system is unprofitable, thus obliging him by the most useful of all teachers, self-interest and self-preservation, to become an advocate for the abolition of a system which has been the source of more misery and suffering than any other single scourge that has hitherto afflicted the world. The pretences set up by the West Indians, that their islands are of more value to England than the East Indies, that they afford a wider market for British industry, and constitute a better nursery for British seamen, are the most ground-

less that can be imagined. Even under our present relations with India, beneath the paralyzing influence of the Company's monopoly, there is a greater amount of British manufactures consumed in the East than in the West, and an equal number of seamen employed in voyages to and from that country, as well as in the country itself. But if the unjust restrictions which still fetter British intercourse with that rich and fertile quarter of the globe were removed, we should see the consumption of British manufactures increased tenfold; and the number of ships and seamen so augmented as to furnish a navy, when required, without any material detriment to the continued activity of an increased mercantile marine.

But there is a third party, of more worth and importance than either, though apparently entirely forgotten by these contending factions. This is the great body of the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, to whom the East and West Indians are but as nothing. It is *they* who want a voice to represent their true interests in the British Parliament. It is *they* who should petition the Legislature of their country for a real and general equalization of duties, which should at once lay the foundation of a gradual abolition of the monopolies of the East and the West, and all their evils of arbitrary rule over white men, and misery and slavery of black men together, by opening the fair field of competition to all who are disposed to enter it, making India and the Colonies integral parts of the British dominions, and governing them by equal laws. This would be doing equal justice to all parties. It would be consistent with the principle on which the East Indians claim the abolition of the duty on their sugar; it would accord with the principle on which the West Indians seek to put themselves, as they conceive, on a footing with others in point of actual advantage; and, above all, it would be of incalculable benefit to the great mass of the commercial and manufacturing community of England, and to society at large, who are unheeded and forgotten amid the clamours of these contending parties. On the ground of general interest, and as a question affecting the public weal, it is deserving the serious attention of the people of England as well as of the government which professes to have the general welfare of that people at heart, and to rule only for the common good.

We must hastily conclude this brief sketch, but shall revert to it again; and be glad to encourage the thoughts and discussions of others, to whom our pages will be ever open on these important subjects, however opposite to our own may be their opinions. The time is fast approaching, when the abolition of all monopolies, and the general emancipation of slaves, will unavoidably happen. It behoves us, therefore, to inquire before it is too late, how these can be best met, so as to lessen, as much as possible, the pecuniary sacrifices, which all great changes are sure to demand,

POETRY.

ON THE BURNING OF WIDOWS IN INDIA.

I.

Is it the only proof of love *to die*—
 To pass off like a shadow when the form
 Which gave the semblance life no more is nigh,
 Companion for the funeral-pile or worm?
 Is there no keeping fond affection warm
 By living solely for the hallow'd dead?
 Cannot the heart beat still amid the storm
 And coil of life, for him whose narrow bed
 Nor warm'd nor soften'd is by laying head to head?

II.

'Twas the fierce breathing of the savago state,
 Whose dim ideas pierce not through the grave,
 Which made the gentle bride pursue her mate
 Beyond the windings of the Stygian wave:
 She knew nor life nor death, and so was brave
 By simple instinct of a fiery soul;
 And hasten'd dull oblivion's aid to crave,
 Not having lived to feel the wise control
 Of mother's cares, perchance, that calm the passions' roll.

III.

But no vain precedent from hence should spring,
 No law, to force the more reflecting mind.
 All cannot feel the insufferable sting
 Of lonely after-being left behind,—
 The sole link snapp'd that to the world did bind,—
 Nor can this blight seize many hearts on earth:
 The greater part deliver to the wind
 Their cares and sorrows; and from rosy mirth
 Invoke bland smiles to cheer the bright domestic hearth.

IV.

And naught in truth but ignorance and crime
 Can deem self-sacrifice the test of love;
 Or stain the ever-rolling wheels of time,
 Whose vast circumference conveys above

The blots on earth contracted as they move
 On the broad highway of eternity,
 With blood of murder'd innocence, that strove
 The meditated deed perchance to flee,
 To breathe heaven's blessed air, full happy but *to be*.

V.

But when fast bound to earth by thousand ties
 The friend, the daughter, and the mother stands ;
 When the frail pledges of their sympathies
 Implore her yet to live with lifted hands ;
 When none but Superstition's cursed bands
 Stand round and urge her to the flaming pile,
 Forging of angry heaven the dire commands
 Her fluctuating spirit to beguile—
 Though none but basest ends incite their hearts the while ;

VI.

Who can repress his scorn of priestly trade,
 The scourge for many an age of Asian land,
 The mark which those who traffic or invade
 Her gems and perfumes suffer aye to stand ;
 Though one mild effort of the conquering hand
 Might free the earth from this detested blot,
 And lead in bless'd Religion to withstand
 By her meek statutes what has dimm'd the lot
 Of man, and wrought such deeds as may not be forgot.

VII.

Who can behold the unwilling victim led
 In sad and mocking pomp to meet her doom,
 That few short years before her bridal bed
 First saw—ah ! little dreaming of the tomb !—
 And not feel rage and bitter anger come
 Troubling his spirit, spreading to his kind,
 And closing life's short vista with a gloom
 That hangs its heavy pinions on the mind,
 Making it loath its state, unhappy, unresign'd ?

VIII.

But Knowledge, slowly rising, like the sun
 In early spring upon the Lapland plain,
 Gives forth faint light, but, lengthening days begun,
 Its growing rays do gather strength again ;
 And clouds spring up and interpose in vain—
 The living principle asserts the sky—
 Driven back, or scatter'd wide in driving rain,
 To furthest corners of the heavens they fly,
 Shunning for aye the glare of day's all-lightening eye.

BION.

ON BEHOLDING THE SHORES OF ENGLAND, AFTER AN
ABSENCE OF MANY YEARS.

Hail! loveliest gem that studs the sea,
Isle of the brave, the just, the free,
Whose surge-lash'd cliffs at length arise
To greet once more my longing eyes.
Though Time my brow has silver'd o'er
Since last I trod thy happy shore,
And every change of weal or woe
That heart can feel, or man can know,
Has checquer'd thick the devious way
Through which my weary wanderings lay;
Yet, while by Fortune driven to roam,
My bosom knew one only home,
And ever, as my course might range,
Still turn'd to thee, and knew no change.

Fair Lusitania's hills embrown'd,
And Spain's proud peaks with deep snow crown'd,
Sicilia, breathing love and smiles,
And Greece with all her sea of isles,
Have seen my bark's progressive way
Along their coasts, by cape and bay.

Old Egypt next, and Nile's great stream,
Whose wonders yet appear a dream,
Where Cleopatra's 'witching power
Still seems to haunt each grove and bower,
Where pyramids and temples rise
To mock the earth and brave the skies,—
Allured my hopes of promised gain,
By visions, like its glories, vain.

Then Palestine's renowned vales,
And Lebanon's soft balmy gales,
Jordan's clear brook, 'dewed Hermon's mountain,
Zion's high hill, and Siloa's fountain,
With scenes revered in every age,
Repaid my anxious pilgrimage;
Till Syria's fertile regions came,
Watered by rich Orontes' stream,
And Tigris and Euphrates flow'd
Fast by the varied paths I trod;
Where Nineveh of old was placed,
And Babylon's ruin'd heaps are traced,
Where Bagdad's minarets still show
The Crescent—of the Cross the foe.

From thence through Persia's land of song
I led my lengthen'd way along,

Where Ispahau's imperial halls,
 Her verdant bowers and mirror'd walls ;
 And gay Shirauz, where Hafiz strung
 His orient pearls, and sweetly sung
 Of Rocknabad and Mosellay,
 While wine and love held sovereign sway ;
 Arabia's gum-distilling trees,
 And famed Ceylon's rich spicy breeze,
 With golden India's ample field *
 Of wealth, and all that wealth can yield—
 Charm'd every sense, and would have won
 Less ardent bosoms than my own ;
 But that dear Albion's freer sky
 Rose ever to my memory,
 And bade me turn from lands enslaved
 To that loved rock, by ocean laved,
 Where, though by storms and tempests riven,
 Man can erect his front to heaven,
 And where the Monarch on the throne
 Rules for the many—not for one.

Hail! then, again, bless'd Island, hail!
 Speed, speed our flight, propitious gale ;
 Bid lazy Time's slow lagging wheel
 Fly like the lightning with our keel,
 Till I shall touch my native earth,
 And tread the land that gave me birth ;
 Escaped from Slavery's tainted air,
 To plead the wrongs of Freedom there :
 (For there at least, her holy cause
 May claim an ear) till equal laws
 Extend o'er Asia's vast domains,
 Now fettered with degrading chains,
 Where Britons, elsewhere free and brave,
 Must tremble like the abject slave,
 Desert their country's dearest pride,
 And lick the dust, when tyrants chide.

Oh! never, never, while the glow
 Of health around my heart shall flow,
 While my warm pulses freely beat,
 And Reason still retains her seat,—
 Never shall that best gift of heaven,
 Which God to man has freely given
 For nobler ends than war or strife,
 Be yielded up—but with my life :—
 A willing victim, then, I come,
 Though to a less luxurious home,
 And ever, when the choice shall be
 'Twixt Exile, Death, or Slavery,
 O God! do thou the firmness give,
 Still to be free,—or not to live.

B. M.

SONG OF AN ARABIAN GIRL.

Ah! would I were in Araby!
 For every splendour here I see,
 Is far less lovely—far less fair
 Than Nature's simplest treasures there.

There, mid the burning Desert's waste,
 The chrystal fount how sweet to taste!
 The cooling shade of palmy tree
 How welcome in bright Araby!

There the fierce sun shoots from his ray—
 A blaze of glory o'er the day;
 And moon and stars at soothing night
 Shed beams of softer, holier light.

But ah! beyond e'en charms like these,
 An Arab maiden's heart to please,
 My love is there!—to him I'd flee,
 And live and die in Araby.

R. R.

THE INDIAN LOVER'S SONG.

Hasten, love! the sun hath set,
 And the moon, through twilight gleaming,
 On the mosque's white minaret
 Now in silver light is streaming.

All is hush'd in soft repose,
 Silence rests on field and dwelling,
 Save where the bulbul* to the rose
 A tale of love is sweetly telling.

Stars are glittering in the sky,
 "Blest abodes of light and gladness:"
 Oh! my life! that thou and I
 Might quit for them this world of sadness.

See the fire-fly in the tope†
 Brightly through the darkness shining,
 As the ray which heavenly hope
 Flashes on the soul's repining.

Then haste! bright treasure of my heart!
 Flowers around, and stars above thee,
 Alone must see us meet and part,
 Alone must witness how I love thee.

H. M. P.

* Indian nightingale.

† Grove, or thick cluster of trees.

SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN AND COLONIAL JOURNALS.

To commence from the close of Lord Hastings's administration, as Governor General of India, we shall first place on record the several Official Documents issued by his Lordship's temporary successor, Mr. John Adam, to destroy the benefits which India had reaped from the more liberal views of his predecessor: and when these are disposed of, we shall continue, in succeeding Numbers, to include in this portion of our Work, a selection of the most interesting articles contained in the Indian and Colonial Journals, so as to place before the English reader, matters that would not otherwise be likely to meet his eye, while confined to the publications intended principally for local circulation.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.—1.

A Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation, for the good order and civil government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, made and passed by the Honourable the Governor General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1823.

WHEREAS matters tending to bring the Government of this country as by law established into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Calcutta: for the prevention whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printing and publication within the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, of newspapers, and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets and other printed books and papers, in any language or character, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever:

1. Be it therefore ordained by the authority of the Governor General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, at and within the said settlement or factory of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, by and in virtue of, and under the authority of a certain Act of Parliament, made and passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An Act for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe," and by a certain other Act of Parliament made and passed in the fortieth year of the reign of His said Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An Act for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the British territories in India, and the better administration of justice within the

same," that fourteen days after the registry and publication of this rule, ordinance and regulation in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, with the consent and approbation of the said Supreme Court, if the said Supreme Court shall in its discretion approve of and consent to the registry and publication of the same, no person or persons shall within the said Settlement of Fort William, print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any newspaper or magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper whatsoever in any language or character whatsoever, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever, without having obtained a licence for that purpose from the Governor General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person officiating and acting as such Chief Secretary.

2. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that every person applying to the Governor General in Council for such licence as aforesaid, shall deliver to the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person acting or officiating as such, an affidavit, specifying and setting forth the real and true names, additions, descriptions, and places of abode, of all and every person or persons, who is, or are, intended to be the printer and printers, publisher and publishers of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper in the said affidavit named, and of all the proprietors of the same, if the number of such proprietors, exclusive of the printers and publishers, does not exceed two, and in case the same shall exceed such number, then of two of the proprietors resident within the Presidency of Fort William, and places thereunto sub-

ordinate, who hold the largest shares therein, and the true description of the house or building wherein any such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet or other printed book or paper, as aforesaid, is intended to be printed, and likewise the title of such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper.

3. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that every such affidavit shall be in writing, and signed by the person or persons making the same, and shall be taken, without any cost or charge, by any justice of the peace acting in and for the town of Calcutta.

4. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that where the persons concerned as printers and publishers of any such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, together with such number of proprietors as are herein-before required to be named in such affidavit as aforesaid, shall not altogether exceed the number of four persons, the affidavit hereby required shall be sworn and signed by all the said persons, who are resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta; and when the number of such persons shall exceed four, the same shall be signed and sworn by four of such persons if resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta, or by so many of them as are so resident.

5. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that an affidavit or affidavits of the like nature and import shall be made, signed and delivered in like manner, as often as any of the printers, publishers, or proprietors, named in such affidavit or affidavits, shall be changed, or shall change their respective places of abode, or their printing house, place, or office, and as often as the title of such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be changed, and as often as the Governor General in Council shall deem it expedient to require the same, and that when such further and new affidavit as last aforesaid, shall be so required by the Governor General in Council, notice thereof, signed by the said Chief Secretary, or other person acting and officiating as such, shall be given to the persons named in the affidavit, to which the said notice relates, as the printers, publishers, or proprietors of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper, in such affidavit named, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered at the place at which the newspaper, ma-

gazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed; and in failure of making such affidavit in the said several cases aforesaid required, that such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be deemed, and taken to be printed and published without licence.

6. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that every licence which shall and may be granted in manner and form aforesaid, shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Governor General in Council, and from and immediately after notice in writing of such recall, signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such, shall have been given to the person or persons to whom the said licence or licences shall have been granted, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered, as the place at which the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed, the said licence or licences shall be considered null and void, and the newspapers, magazines, registers, pamphlets, printed books, or papers to which such licence or licences relate, shall be taken and considered as printed and published without licence: and whenever any such licence as aforesaid shall be revoked and recalled, notice of such revocation and recall shall be forthwith given in the Government Gazette for the time being, published in Calcutta.

7. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that if any person within the said settlement of Fort William, shall knowingly and wilfully print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, or shall knowingly and wilfully, either as a proprietor thereof or as agent or servant of such proprietor, or otherwise, sell, vend or deliver out, distribute or dispose of, or if any bookseller or proprietor, or keeper of any reading room, library, shop, or place of public resort, shall knowingly and wilfully receive, lend, give or supply, for the purpose of perusal or otherwise to any person whatsoever, any such newspaper, magazine, register or pamphlet, or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, such licence as is required by this rule, ordinance, and regulation, not having been first obtained, or after such licence, if previously obtained, shall have been recalled as aforesaid, such person shall forfeit for every such offence a sum not exceeding sicca rupees four hundred.

8. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all offences committed, and all pecuniary forfeitures and penalties had or incurred under or against this rule, ordinance and regulation, shall and may be heard and adjudged and determined by two or more of the aforesaid justices of the peace, who are hereby empowered and authorized to hear and determine the same, and to issue their summonses or warrant for bringing the party or parties complained of before them, and upon his or their appearance, or contempt and default, to hear the parties, examine witnesses, and to give judgment or sentence according as in and by this rule, ordinance, and regulation is ordained and directed, and to award and issue out warrants under their hands and seals for the levying of such forfeitures and penalties as may be imposed upon the goods and chattels of the offender, and to cause sale to be made of the goods and chattels if they shall not be redeemed within six days, rendering to the party the overplus, if any be, after deducting the amount of such forfeiture or penalty, and the costs and charges attending the levying thereof; and in case sufficient distress shall not be found, and such forfeitures and penalties shall not be forthwith paid, it shall and may be lawful for such justices of the peace, and they are hereby authorized and required by warrant or warrants under their hands and seals to cause such offender or offenders to be committed to the common gaol of Calcutta, there to remain for any time not exceeding four months, unless such forfeitures, and penalties, and all reasonable charges, shall be sooner paid and satisfied; and that all the said forfeitures when paid or levied, shall be from time to time paid into the treasury of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and be employed and disposed of according to the order and directions of His Majesty's said justices of the peace at their general quarter or other sessions.

9. Provided always, and be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this rule, ordinance, and regulation contained, shall be deemed or taken to extend or apply to any printed book or paper, containing only shipping intelligence, advertisements of sales, current prices of commodities, rates of exchange, or other intelligence solely of a commercial nature.

(Signed) J. ADAM,
EDWARD PAGET,
JOHN FENDALL,
JOHN HERBERT HARRINGTON.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.—II.

Fort William, the 5th of April, 1823.

THE Governor General in Council, with reference to the bye-law passed on the 14th ultimo, and registered in the Supreme Court on the 4th instant, deems it proper to notify to the proprietors and editors of newspapers and other periodical works, as specified in the aforesaid bye-law, that the publication in any such paper or periodical work of matter coming under any of the following heads, will subject them to be deprived of the licence under which such paper or other periodical work may be conducted.

1. Defamatory or contumelious reflections against the King or any of the members of the Royal Family.

2. Observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India; or the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Indian governments, impugning the motives and designs of such authorities or governments, or in any way tending to bring them into hatred or contempt; to excite resistance to their orders, or to weaken their authority.

3. Observations or statements of the above description, relative to allied or friendly Native powers, their ministers or representatives.

4. Defamatory or contumelious remarks, or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor General, the Governors or Commanders-in-chief, the Members of Council, or the Judges of His Majesty's Courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta, and publications of any description, tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy or contempt; also libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against the public officers of Government.

5. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the Native population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects.

6. The republication from English or other papers of passages coming under the foregoing heads.

7. Defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society.

8. Anonymous appeals to the public relative to grievances of a professional or official nature, alleged to have been

sustained by public officers in the service of His Majesty or the Honourable Company.

The foregoing rules impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest, relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum which the Government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community.

It will be the duty of the Chief Secretary to the Government, and that officer is hereby enjoined to bring to the notice of Government without delay, any infringement of the foregoing rules by the conductors of newspapers, or other periodical works published in the English language; and the same duty is assigned to the Persian Secretary to the Government with relation to newspapers and other periodical publications in the languages of the country.

The editors of the newspapers or other periodical works in the English language are required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, regular or extra, and of every other periodical work published by them, respectively, in the office of the Chief Secretary to the Government, and the editors of newspapers, or other periodical works in the languages of the country, are in like manner required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, or other periodical work, published by them, in the office of the Persian Secretary to the Government. For these copies they will receive payment at the usual rate paid by regular subscribers to such publications respectively.

Published by order of the Honourable the Governor General in Council.

W. B. BAYLEY,
Chief Sec. to the Gov.

It is hereby notified that individuals wishing to apply for licences under the provisions of the bye-Law, will be furnished with forms of the necessary affidavits on application to the magistrates of the Police Office.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.—III.

A regulation for preventing the establishment of Printing Presses without Licence, and for restraining, under certain circumstances, the circulation of printed Books and Papers: passed by the Governor General in

Council on the 5th April, 1823, corresponding with the 24th Chyete, 1229, Bengal era; the 10th Chyete, 1230, Fausly; the 25th Chyete, 1230, Willaity; the 9th Chyete, 1880, Sumbut; and the 22d Rujab, 1238, Higerree.

WHEREAS it is deemed expedient to prohibit, within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, the future establishment of printing presses, and the use of any such presses, or of types or other materials for printing, except with the previous sanction and licence of Government, and under suitable provisions, to guard against abuse; and whereas it may be judged proper to prohibit the circulation, within the territories aforesaid, of particular newspapers, printed books, or papers of any description, whether the same may be printed in the town of Calcutta or elsewhere;—the following Rules have been enacted, to be in force from the date of their promulgation within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William.

2. No person shall print any book or papers, or shall keep or use any printing press, or types, or other materials, or articles for printing, without having obtained the previous sanction and licence of the Governor General in Council for that purpose; and any person who shall print any book or paper, or shall keep or use any printing press, or types, or other materials, or articles for printing, without having obtained such licence, shall be liable, on conviction before the magistrate or joint magistrate of the jurisdiction in which such offence may be committed, to a pecuniary fine not exceeding one thousand rupees; commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment without labour, for a period not exceeding six months.

3. The magistrates and joint magistrates are further authorized and directed to seize and attach all printing presses and types, and other materials or articles for printing, which may be kept or used within their respective jurisdictions without the permission and licence of Government, and to retain the same (together with any printed books or papers found on the premises,) under attachment, to be confiscated or otherwise disposed of as the Governor General in Council (to whom an immediate report shall be made in all such cases) may direct; and if any magistrate or joint magistrate, shall on credible evidence, or circumstances of strong presumption, have reason to believe, that

such unlicensed printing presses, or types, or other materials, or articles for printing, are kept or used in any house, building, or other place, he is authorized to issue his warrant to the police officers to search for the same, in the mode prescribed in the rules for the entry and search of dwelling-houses, contained in clauses fifth, sixth, and seventh Section xvi. Regulation xx. 1817.

4. Whenever any person or persons shall be desirous of keeping or using any printing press, or types, or other materials, or articles for printing, he or they shall state the same by a written application to the magistrate or joint magistrate of the jurisdiction, in which it may be proposed to establish such printing press. The application shall specify the real and true name and profession, cast or religion, age and place of abode of every person or persons who are (or are intended to be) the printers and publishers, and the proprietors of such printing press, or types, or other materials, or articles for printing, and the place where such printing press is to be established; and the facts so stated in the application, shall be verified on oath, or on solemn obligation, by the persons therein named as the printers, publishers, or proprietors, or by such of them as the magistrate, or joint magistrate may think it expedient to select for that purpose.

5. The magistrate or joint magistrate shall then forward a copy of such application (with a translation, if it be not in the English language) to the Governor General in Council, who after calling for any further information which may be deemed necessary, will grant, or withhold the licence, at his discretion.

6. If the licence shall be granted, the magistrate or joint magistrate will deliver the same to the parties concerned, and will apprise them, both verbally and in writing, of the conditions which Government may in each instance think proper to attach to such licence.

7. The Governor General in Council reserves to himself the full power of recalling and resuming any such licence, whenever he may see fit to do so. Such recall will be communicated by the magistrate or joint magistrate, by a written notice to be delivered at the house, office, or place named in the application, as that at which the printing press was to be established, or at any other house, office, or place to which such printing press may, with the previous knowledge and written sanction of the magistrate or joint magistrate, have been intermediately removed.

8. Any person or persons, who, after such notice being duly served, shall use, or cause, or allow to be used, such printing presses or types, or other materials or articles for printing, shall be subject to the penalties prescribed in Section ii. of this Regulation; and the printing presses, types, and other materials or articles for printing (together with all printed books and papers found on the premises) shall be seized, attached, and disposed of, in the manner prescribed in Section iii. of this Regulation.

9. All books and papers which may be printed at a press duly licensed by Government, shall contain, on the first and last pages, in legible characters, in the same language and character as that in which such book or paper is printed, the name of the printer, and of the city, town, or place, at which the book or paper may be printed; and of every book and paper printed at such licensed press, one copy shall be immediately forwarded to the local magistrate or joint magistrate, who will pay for such books or papers the same prices as are paid by other purchasers. All such books and papers, if printed in the English or other European language, shall be forwarded by the magistrate or joint magistrate to the office of the Chief Secretary to Government, and if printed in any Asiatic language, to the office of the Secretary to Government in the Persian department.

10. If the Governor General in Council shall at any time deem it expedient to prohibit the circulation, within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, of any particular newspaper, or printed book, or paper of any description, (whether the same may be printed in the town of Calcutta or elsewhere,) immediate notice of such prohibition will be given in the Government Gazette in the English, Persian, and Bengalee languages. The Officers of Government, both civil and military, will also be officially apprised of such prohibition, and will be directed to give due publicity to the same, within the range of their official influence and authority.

11. Any persons subject to the authority of the Zillah and City Courts, who, after notice of such prohibition, shall knowingly and wilfully circulate, or cause to be circulated, sell, or cause to be sold, or deliver out and distribute, or in any manner cause to be distributed, at any place within the territories subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, any newspaper, or any

printed book, or paper, of any description so prohibited, shall, on conviction before the magistrate or joint magistrate of the jurisdiction in which the offence may be committed, be subject for the first offence to a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees; commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment, without labour, for a period not exceeding two months: and for the second, and each and every subsequent offence, to a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees; commutable to imprisonment, without hard labour, for a period not exceeding four months.

12. If the person who may commit the offence described in the preceding Section, shall not be amenable to the authority of the local magistrate or joint magistrate, the Governor General in Council will adopt such measures for enforcing the prohibition notified in pursuance of Section x., as may appear just and necessary.

13. All judgments for fines given by the magistrate or joint magistrate, under this Regulation, shall be immediately reported, (with a copy and abstract translation of the proceedings held in each case,) for the information and orders of the Governor General in Council, who reserves to himself a discretion of remitting or reducing the fine in any instance in which he may judge it proper to do so.

By order of the Honourable the Governor General in Council,*

W. B. BAVLEY,

Chief Sec. to the Gov.

Fort William, 5th April, 1823.

* To show how the spirit of intolerance operates in all countries where the press is denied, we subjoin the following. The reader cannot fail to discover the resemblance.

Official.—Department of the Affairs of Justice.—Lisbon, Nov. 14, 1823.

DECRETE.

It having come to my knowledge that some Portuguese, who are ruined in public opinion and overpowered by remorse, left their native land and emigrated to foreign countries, where they intend to write, in their mother tongue, journals or pamphlets of some kind, with the criminal intention of again spreading among my faithful subjects irreligious and subversive doctrines and principles, and it being agreeable to my Royal service, and to the good of the people whom Divine Providence has committed to my paternal care, to prevent so pernicious and ruinous an evil, I have thought fit to order as follows:—

1. All the inhabitants of my dominions, whether natives or foreigners, are forbidden to give orders for any journal or pamphlet printed in a foreign country, written in the Portuguese language, unless the author has previously obtained my licence for its circulation.

2. If any such journal or pamphlet should happen to fall into the hands of any of the above-

THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.

"The rights of Nature, that is to say, of the free exercise of our faculties, must not be invidiously narrowed to any single form or shape. They extend to every shape, and to every instrument, in which, and by whose assistance, those faculties may be exercised. In this manner the Liberty of the Press may be regarded as a natural right, and in the language of our best lawyers, and the daily acceptance of the Constitution, it is, under this notion, invested with a corresponding sacredness. Such is one of the reasons of the partiality of the English Law and Constitution towards this right."—*Holt's Law of Libel.*

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

SIR,—That it should be debated in a British Court of Justice, whether to forbid the exercise of a natural right, on pain of fine and imprisonment to be summarily awarded by two Justices of the Peace, be repugnant to the law of England, will ever be regarded as one of the most extraordinary events in the annals of British India, and in the history of British law. The liberty of the press in England is coeval with its earliest use. The first book printed in that country has no *imprimatur* or *cum privilegio*. And so far is this liberty from being the last result and elaborate refinement of her free Constitution, that, by the avowal of Holt, "our Constitution, in fact, as it at present exists in a Church reformed from the errors of superstition, and in a system of liberty equally remote from feudal anarchy and monarchical despotism, is almost entirely, under Providence, THE FRUIT of a Free Press." So mistaken are they who argue, that it would be premature to introduce

mentioned inhabitants, they are bound to deliver it in this city to the Intendant General of Police; and in the other cities, towns, and places, to the Delegates of Police, who will send it by the first post to the office of the Intendant General of Police.

3. Any inhabitant who shall receive and not immediately deliver up such journal, &c., as hereby ordered, shall pay, on its being found in his possession, a fine of 480 milrees; and besides this, if he be a native, shall suffer six months' imprisonment, and, if a foreigner, be immediately expelled my dominions.

4. The above fine of 480 milrees shall be given to the informers who shall give notice of the existence of any of the said journals or pamphlets, in the possession of the person with whom they are found.

5. The information shall be received in secret, and the name of the informer shall not be known, unless he give permission in writing.

The Councilor of State, Minister and Secretary of State for the Affairs of Justice, Manoel Marinho Talcão de Castro, shall attend to this, and cause the necessary orders to this effect to be issued, any laws or regulations to the contrary notwithstanding.

(Signed by his Majesty.)

Palace of Demposta, Nov. 13, 1823.

unlicensed printing into this country, that it should be made to *follow* the acquisition of those personal acquirements and corporate institutions which it slowly creates and fashions; and that, in the mean time, the protection of Trial by Jury should be withheld in those cases where it is precisely most necessary.

It was one of the articles of impeachment against Chief Justice Scroggs, in the reign of Charles the Second, that he, with other Judges, had signed a declaration, that "to print any news-books, or pamphlets of news whatsoever, was illegal; and that it was a manifest intent to a breach of the peace, and might be proceeded against by law." The House of Commons stigmatized this proceeding, "in condemning not only what had been written, without hearing the parties, but also what might for the future be written,"—as an open invasion of the right of the subject, and an assumption to themselves of a legislative power and authority. Observe, however, that notwithstanding this declaration, neither Scroggs nor Jeffries could devise any expedient for controlling, or in the least degree interfering with, the liberty of unlicensed printing, *if Juries did their duty*. The criminal intent charged in the indictment or information was always a question of fact to be determined by the Jury; so that, in the worst of times, whatever oppressions might be committed through ignorance or corruption, the power of the Crown over the press was not *legally* greater than it is at this day.

Let us hear how Lord Chief Justice Coke speaks of the only Act that ever gave power to Justices of the Peace, without a Jury, "to hear and determine all offences and contempts committed or done by any person or persons, against the form, ordinance, or effect of any statute made and not repealed," &c. He says—"By colour of which Act (2 Hen. VII. c. 3.), shaking this fundamental law (Trial by Jury), it is not credible what horrible oppressions and exactions, to the undoing of multitudes of people, were committed by Sir Richard Empson, knight, and Edward Dudley, esq. (being Justices of the Peace), throughout England; and upon this unjust and injurious Act, as commonly in like cases it falleth out, a new office was erected, and they made Masters of the King's forfeitures." But the proposed regulation is even more "unjust and injurious," inasmuch as the Justices of the Peace are not to act *judicially* under it in cases of libel, but only *ministerially*, in levying fines and

committing to prison for *unlicensed* publications, however innocent. The judgment on the quality of the publication is not intrusted to their partiality, which would of itself be intolerable; but, by a shorter and surer process, is pronounced by the *accuser* himself: and the pecuniary penalty is so far from being guarded with a *salvo contentimento suo*, that it at once deprives the defendant of his entire means of subsistence! All his paper, ink, and types; all his gum, wax, sand, and tape, are swept away at one fell swoop. On the very day of the revocation of the JOURNAL's licence, (the same being notified in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE,) a fine of 400 rupees for each of its thousand copies would exactly swallow up its capital of four lacks of rupees. So well have the framers of this regulation studied Cocker!

To me, and to all with whom I have conversed on the subject, both Whigs and Tories, it has appeared that the only question which can be raised on this regulation, is, not whether it is repugnant to the law of England, but whether it is possible to imagine any thing *more* repugnant. But if, against all probability, our learned and respected Judge, having found in Littleton that tenure which Coke said he could never find, that a man should be tenant at will for his liberty, should consider the regulation consonant to the law of England, and incorporate it with that hitherto venerated, though not faultless code—

—Humano capiti cervicem equinam
Jungere s' vult, et varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atum
Desinat in pisceum mulier formosa superne;

if so deplorable a result should crown the debate on Monday, there can be little doubt what it will become us to do in vindication of our rights and characters. If this regulation shall be registered, Government may expect to be exempt from those petty annoyances which it has gone out of its way to encounter; it may expect to be protected against those little aspersions of popular petulance which have spouted in its face only, because it attempted forcibly to interrupt and direct the current of public opinion, and because it stooped to be conquered, instead of looking down from a higher region on the salutary strife and clamour below;—but it will generate feelings of deep dissatisfaction and impatience, which will be pregnant with far more serious evils.

A MERCHANT.

Calcutta, March 28, 1823.

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NATIVE MEMORIAL.

*To the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten,
Sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court
of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal.*

MY LORD,

In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by his Excellency the Governor General in Council, regarding the publication of periodical works, your Memorialists consider themselves called upon, with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship various proofs given by the natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to, and unlimited confidence in, the British Government in India; which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony and good order of society in this country being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above rule and ordinance.

1. Your Lordship is well aware that the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity have voluntarily intrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith; and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British Power itself; while, on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive rulers.

2. Placing entire reliance on the promises made by the British Government at the time of the perpetual settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the landlords have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase their produce in general very considerably; whereas, prior to that period, and under former Governments, their forefathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands—a pernicious practice, which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government, and reduced their families to want.

3. During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known that the great body of natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms, from a deep conviction that, under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion, and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property, to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence; considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success their own happiness and prosperity depended.

1. It is manifest as the light of day, that the general subject of observation, and the constant and familiar topic of discussion among the Hindoo community of Bengal, are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former rulers.

Under these circumstances your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction, that whoever charges the natives of this country with disloyalty, or insinuates ought to the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments of its inhabitants, as above stated, or, on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting the people and misleading the Government, both here and in England, for unworthy purposes of his own.

Your memorialists must confess that these feelings of loyalty and attachment, of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government, in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition, by the establishment of colleges, schools, and other beneficial institutions in this city; among which, the creation of a British Court of Judicature, for the more effectual administration of justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

A proof of the natives of India being

more and more attached to the British rule, in proportion as they experience from it the blessings of just and liberal treatment, is, that the inhabitants of Calcutta, who enjoy in many respects very superior privileges to those of their fellow subjects in other parts of the country, are known to be in like measure more warmly devoted to the existing Government; nor is at all wonderful they should in loyalty be not at all inferior to British-born subjects, since they feel assured of the same civil and religious liberty which is enjoyed in England, without being subjected to such heavy taxation as presses upon the people there.

Hence the population of Calcutta, as well as the value of land in this city, have rapidly increased of late years; notwithstanding the high rents of houses, and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country; as well as the inhabitants being subjected to additional taxes, and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suits before the Supreme Court.

Your Lordship may have learned from the works of the Christian Missionaries, and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the natives of Calcutta, numerous publications have been circulated in the Bengallee language, which by introducing free discussion among the natives, and inducing them to reflect and inquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorate their condition. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four native newspapers, two in the Bengallee and two in the Persian language, published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English newspapers or other channels.

Your memorialists are unable to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony and good order of society, that has arisen from the English press, the influence of which must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly; but we are quite confident that the publications in the native languages, whether in the shape of a newspaper or any other work, have none of them

been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved as far as can be ascertained by the strictest inquiry, in the slightest degree injurious, which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most respectable English Missionary works. So far from obtruding upon Government groundless representations, Native authors and editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the interior of the country, as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While your memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of Government, that they might furnish the supreme authorities in Calcutta, with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of judicial proceedings, they have the misfortune to observe that, on the contrary, his excellency the Governor General in Council has lately promulgated a rule and ordinance imposing severe restraints on the press, and prohibiting all periodical publications even at the Presidency and in the native languages, unless sanctioned by a licence from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure, whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained any thing of unsuitable character.

Those natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character, have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings, and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this rule and ordinance shall have been carried into execution, your memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe, that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge, and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign

publications. And the same cause will also prevent those natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British nation, from communicating to their fellow subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just ruler is, that it will also preclude the natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of this extensive country; and it will also preclude the natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their gracious sovereign in England and his council, the real condition of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions, and the treatment they experience from the local government. Since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translations from the native publications inserted in the English newspapers printed here and sent to Europe, or by the English publications which the natives themselves had in contemplation to establish, before this rule and ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the establishment of the British power, a right which they are not and cannot be charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British nation; or that the King of England and his lords and commons are their legislators; and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your memorialists are persuaded that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to history, it is found that this was but a short-sighted policy, which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that, as often as an ignorant people, when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their rulers, all

sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequence; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good government, from which they experience just and liberal treatment, must become the more attached to it in proportion as they become enlightened, and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessings they enjoy under its rule.

Every good ruler who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established law of the land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of government, which are effectually guarded by the same laws to which individuals must look for the protection of their reputation and good name.

Your memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this memorial into your gracious consideration; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above rule and ordinance, to permit the natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence they are not aware of having done any thing to forfeit.

CHUNDER COOMAR TAGORE.
DEWAR KUNATH TAGORE.
RAM MOHUN ROY.
HER CHUNDER GHOSE.
GOWRIE CHURN BONSERGEE.
PROSSNA COOMAR TAGORE.

NEW LAWS FOR THE PRESS.

*Supreme Court, Calcutta, Monday,
March 31, 1823.*

Mr. Fergusson reminded the Court, that this was the day fixed by his Lordship for a further hearing of the objections against the rule of the Honourable the Governor General in Council.

Sir Francis Macnaghten said, that he had not the least objection to hear the learned counsel or any other gentle-

man on the subject. He was happy to take this opportunity of observing that some blame had been imputed to him for the resolution he had come to on a former occasion, as to granting leave for a rule, but he thought the subject ought to be discussed before all the world, and that any man whether aggrieved by it or not, so long as he thought himself aggrieved, had a right to come into the court to do so.

Mr Fergusson then said, that in furtherance of his instructions, he had to enter a protest against the rule on the part of Mr. Scott and Mr. Read, and to present a memorial on the subject from certain native inhabitants of Calcutta. That memorial (which is inserted in the preceding pages, and which was signed by six of the most respectable native inhabitants of Calcutta,) was then put in and read.

Mr. Fergusson then proceeded to argue against the rule of the Governor General, in a speech replete with eloquence, of which we regret that our limits will only permit us to give a mere outline. The learned counsel began by stating, that so convinced were the people of Calcutta of the injurious tendency of this rule, that he was satisfied had they been aware of it, they would one and all have come forward to petition against it. The learned counsel insisted upon the right of every individual to petition against every thing affecting his right and interests, and observed that there could be no use in that part of the Act which required that twenty days notice should be given, previously to the registry of any act, if that right did not exist. He then contended, that this was the most important measure that for the last century, or ever since British law had existed here, that had been brought before the Court. It professed to be for the purpose of regulating the periodical press; but if once a power were granted for this purpose, no one knows with what it may be followed up. It may afterwards affect works not published periodically, and in the end entirely suppress every kind of publication that did not coincide with the precise views of the Government. The learned counsel here referred to the preamble of the rule, after which he continued nearly as follows:—If the liberty of freely publishing his sentiments be the right of every individual, the Government must satisfy every one of the necessity of an infringement of that liberty. But is it necessary for the Government in this case to do as it has done? It is incumbent on them to

show that the ordinary means are inefficient for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity, before they have recourse to extraordinary ones. Of this they ought to have satisfied the Court, before they required the registry of an act so seriously affecting the liberty of the subject as the present.

If a libel were published in a newspaper, those who brought it before a jury deserved the public applause. It has been said, that publications have found their way into the papers tending to bring dissatisfaction among the army; but if the public prosecutor had brought this matter before a jury, he had no doubt but that the jury would have done their duty according to the law established in the country. But transmission had been resolved on. Every means ought to have been tried before that dire one. Every man brought with him from England the right of trial by jury, and a right to publish without any restraint, his sentiments upon any question.

The learned counsel observed, that it was not sufficient that it should be expedient to impose restrictions upon the liberty of the press, it was necessary also that they should be legal. In the present instance the power attempted to be exercised, was repugnant to the British Constitution, for the modesty, and the moderation of the Indian press had been exemplary. Nothing had been done by any one connected with it, to bring down upon it this visitation. It was impossible to travel through the country without seeing the native population every where satisfied with the government of the country, and indeed they ought to be so, for no doubt could be entertained that the Government did every thing to promote their happiness that laid in their power. It was repugnant to the law of the land, and 13 George III. only authorized acts according to the law of England, and the 17th only confirmed that power. The Governor General can make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of England. If this regulation passes this Court, he could see no reason why any offence not definable should not be punished. The authority exercised by the Governor General on this occasion is no new authority; for by the Charter of George I., power was granted to the Governor General to pass bye-laws and regulations for the government of the country; but it was necessary that these should not be contrary to the law of England, and those passed by the Governor General in Council were not to have effect until approved of by the

Supreme Court, who were to be judges of the legality of the rules in question. The Charter of George II. gives similar powers to the company, and authorizes them to pass laws for the good government of Fort William. Where the law has not provided, they were authorized to institute laws, but even in doing this, nothing must be contrary to the law of England. The law of England abhors the restriction of the press. Here the learned counsel read an extract from Blackstone, which he observed said all that could be said on the subject. "My Lord, (he continued,) I require no more than the words of this great author; for if the words which I have quoted be correct, I contend, that the restraint on the press is most odious to the British law; and I have no hesitation in saying that a censorship would be far preferable for the preservation of good government, than the rule now attempted to be established. Let us only see the extent of the power vested in the hands of the Governor General by this rule.—This was unlimited. And what does it publish to the people of Europe and of India? Why, that two or three papers published here, had the effect of bringing the Government into contempt.—This was not the only consequence, for it went the length of saying to every person connected with the periodical press—'You shall not write against Government without its permission.' This is certainly the meaning of it, or it has no meaning at all. Let us suppose the effect of such an act at home: what would it be entitled there? what would be the effect of it? If it were to be established there, no Morning Chronicle would have existed, and the life of Mr. Perry, one of the most useful in the world, would have gone by without any thing beneficial or interesting. But such a law could not exist at home. It was the periodical press which had made the British Constitution what it is. It was unnecessary to say any thing on the good effects of free discussion when confined within proper bounds, showing proper respect to Government, but not going the length of servility. Nothing can be more absurd, than the idea of vesting a power in one individual, of saying to another, 'you shall say nothing against me.'

"The effect of such a rule must be, that nothing will be said of Government except by one side of the question, and papers like the ministerial ones in England alone will exist. What merit can it be to a government to be spoken well of by papers under its own lash, and

with that before them, which forces them to write in its favour? If this power is to be vested in the Government, we are to be favoured with nothing but shipping intelligence, bills of sale, Kedgerree reports, &c. The Government turn round and say, take care, we do not intend to infringe upon you so far as to say that you shall not publish that the Sir David Scott is come from England, or the Anne and Mary from the Eastward, you may also publish the prices of indigo, rice, dhal tobacco and Kedgerree, aye, Kedgerree, my Lord, Kedgerree—but you must not publish public news. Not publish news! Oh, then we may publish private news I suppose, tittle tattle! Which must surely be very refreshing after the fatigues of the day. You must not publish the victories of the Greeks over the Turks without licence, lest the Government should take the part of the Turks. Suppose I publish a work—if I publish the first number—well and good—I may do so; but if I publish a second, I must get a licence. Is this the law of England? No! it is the law of Constantinople or St. Petersburg, but not even of France? What has formerly been the course of English law upon such an occasion? Every thing but the course pursued upon this occasion. When England was engaged in the revolutionary war with France, what measures were adopted?—They were very salutary ones. The 38 Geo. III. enacted, that no paper should be published without the name of the publisher and printer, and obliging securities to be given for the payment of any fines to the king in case of prosecution. Every man who puts pen to paper is answerable for what he writes, and the public has a right to know who is the author of any thing that comes before them. No attempt has been made for a century to impose any thing like a censorship upon the British press, or to license it. By the 39 Geo. III. it was enacted, that any one establishing a printing press, shall give notice of his having done so to the clerk of the peace, and he is then obliged to grant such an individual a licence. He is only amenable to the law for what he publishes. The Court is not prepared to go beyond the law of England. No man has ever yet been found, either in the House of Commons or of Peers, who recommended to place the press under such restrictions at home, as this regulation, if registered, will subject it to here. Even at home, so many attempts have been made to impose restrictions upon the press, that

it cannot be supposed that if this bill were in unison with the law of England, it would not have been thought of there. Every one exclaims against the inquisitorial power of a court which in England would have established the licensing system, and which did so for a short time, but which was condemned by all our constitutional writers. Against this the voice of the immortal Milton was raised, who implored the Parliament not to pass that act, which would be a disgrace to the cause for which they had done so much." The learned counsel contended, that even this inquisitorial act did not infringe so much upon the liberty of the press, as the rule which it was attempted to pass to-day. When Europe was agitated by the works of Voltaire—priests, monks, the profligate courtiers, all entered into a crusade against them; but the short way would have been, to have said that they should not have been published without the licence of the King of France, but this was never thought of. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was limited to one year, and if not then renewed, it returned to its old course again. But here was a rule, endeavoured to be established for an indefinite time, which most materially affected the rights of the public. With the exception of the rule which was now attempted to be registered, nothing had ever been attempted to prevent a man from publishing what the Constitution had given him a right to do, for the last century. Having examined all the acts of Parliament, which had passed for the last 120 years, connected with the press, the learned counsel observed, that he had found nothing similar to the present proceeding. Something like it had been attempted in France, which was the origin of this, but that was nothing like this in severity. The learned counsel trusted that those who executed the law, would not suffer the Constitution to be thus infringed upon. "But the act in France did not refer to journals, published before the 1st of January, 1822, the date of the act. But after this period, all others were obliged to be licensed by the King. The editors of the journals of France, that devoted country, may be suspended or suppressed. The effects of the present rule served only to destroy the publication of any paper; for if the proprietors were to be obliged to procure a fresh editor and a fresh printer every day, what else could be the effect of it? What! Shall the Government have it in its power to say that no paper shall be cir-

culated without its licence? But this is not the utmost extent to which this power may be stretched; they may grant a licence to one paper, and withhold it from another, and thus have it in their power to ruin the parties engaged in any periodical publication, and entirely to destroy their hopes. Mr. Buckingham had been an instance of this. When he had by the utmost perseverance, and the most splendid talents established himself in this country, the Government exercised the power with which they were vested, and sent him away, obliging him to leave his property behind him. The rule in question put the property of the subject too much at the mercy of the Government, and although I am convinced from my personal knowledge of the members of it, that the present Government is very unlikely to abuse the power, yet no one can answer for the acts of a future Government. By the 13 Geo. III., power is given to the Company to make regulations for the administration of justice, but these are all referred to the 33rd of the same reign, which does not give power to them to make law or create misdemeanors. If this power existed, the power also exists in the hands of the Government to transfer the power of this Court to the Justices of the Peace. By the 53 Geo. III., persons selling arrack and spirituous liquors are obliged to take out a licence; and if like this, the Government has a power to license newspapers, they have also a right to license the houses of agency. A person landing in this country with permission to trade, has a right to carry on a fair, free, and unincumbered trade. The Governor General has it not in his power to make that crime which is not crime, nor to change the English law in any particular. In England it is quite sufficient that an affidavit should be made as to the proprietor of a newspaper; and if such affidavit be found to be false, the person making it might be prosecuted for perjury. But here it was not so, because the Governor General in Council had no right to make such a regulation. If there be licensed journals here, there will be unlicensed ones in Serampore, and what will the Government do then? Will they establish a *cordon sanitaire* here to prevent their introduction into Calcutta, as France has done to prevent the introduction of moral poison from Spain. These papers will be purchased with more avidity, on the very account of their prohibition. It was true that a power did exist, that rendered British subjects responsible to

the Mofussil courts, but there was none that could prevent them from publishing newspapers on the other side of the Murratta Ditch. In Bobannapore, for instance, any one could publish a newspaper, and introduce it into Calcutta in defiance of any existing law." The learned counsel then observed that this Rule was inexpedient because unnecessary. The only unpleasant feeling introduced into society by the newspapers of Calcutta was not so much occasioned by the attacks they made upon Government, as by those which the editors made upon each other; "But let them tear each other in pieces, (said the learned counsel,) this only has the happy effect of sending me to sleep. The loyalty of the native population was undoubted, but it could not be answered for, if regulation were to succeed regulation until every vestige of the British constitution were lost." Mr. Fergusson then concluded a most eloquent and animated speech, by observing that he could not quit the subject without expressing his gratitude to Mr. Turton for the able assistance he had received from him. That gentleman, he observed, had been an honour to the bar, since his arrival in this country, and he trusted that he would continue to be so, and he entreated the attention of the Court to the observations which he would offer.

A burst of applause followed the speech of Mr. Fergusson, upon which Sir F. Macnaghten said that he would commit any man to jail who should repeat it, until he knew how to behave better in a court of justice.

Mr. Fergusson.—"My Lord, I am sure that no friend to the liberty of the press would have committed himself in that manner."

Sir F. Macnaghten.—"Certainly not. Certainly not."

Mr. Turton then commenced by observing, that he had no pretensions to be so eloquent or so entertaining as his learned friend who had just concluded; but it was his duty to inquire as a dry matter of law, whether the Government had a right to pass such a decree, and whether such a decree were repugnant to the law of England? He was speaking in favour of a right which was the pride of a free country, and which was calculated to consolidate every class of the natives of this.

The first power granted to the Company was given to them to be exercised in the island of Bombay according to the forms and customs established "in our realm of England." The 13th Geo. III. invests this power in the Company,

and authorizes them to make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of the realm, and states that certain abuses in the administration of justice required correction. The object of this was to take care that all ranks should have the same rights, immunities and liberties as the people of England, and among others the liberty of the press. It may not be out of the way to advert here to the first introduction of printing into England, which took place during the wars of York and Lancaster, at the expense of the king. From that time to this no one has dared to utter a word in favour of the application of printing to the furtherance of any particular views of the sovereign. During the arbitrary reign of Henry VIII. the power was claimed of licensing the press, which will not be wondered at, when the imperious character of that sovereign is considered. This claim was occasionally urged, down to the time of the Commonwealth. In the reign of Charles II. an Act of Parliament first found its way into the records for this purpose. This was not then considered as a prerogative of the king, but as an object of public care. Even when troubled with the long civil war, it appears, that it was not claimed as a prerogative. The effect of this act was that every thing was to be submitted to the licensor, but it did not prevent a printer from carrying on his business, but prevented dangerous subjects from getting abroad. In this case the punishment was not in the hands of the licensor, but in those of a jury, and was suspension for three months; and when again convicted, then only was the full power of this act to be exercised. This act was continued by James II., the veriest tyrant who ever reigned in England, and who, although beloved in private life, was expelled from the throne on account of his tyranny. Even he only continued it for four years. It was removed again in 1692, for one year, at the time when the expedition from La Hogue was preparing to invade the country. [The learned counsel here referred to the opinion of De Lolme on a free press.] "The power of the Chief Secretary is to control those actions which cannot be tied down by any precise rule of law. What! is there no constitutional check for the abuse of the liberty of the press, but are the Government to say, 'No; I insist upon the power of crushing you, and destroying your property?' I believe that the Government are anxious to secure a power which they could not secure at home, and that too, from this motive, that when any

thing comes home to our own bosoms, we feel ourselves very deeply interested. Sir Thomas More, in his description of Utopia, seems to have entertained a notion of the same kind with the Government of this country; for, he makes it, by the laws of his imaginary country, a crime worthy of death even to speak of the government. Every man at home has a right to present a petition to the King or Parliament, and not only that, but to bring his grievances before the public in any way he likes. I do not believe that the natives of this country have any desire to return to their old form of government, because I believe that the interests and feelings of men always go hand in hand. Arbitrary power may keep the people quiet, but it is not the quiet of composure, but of the charnel house; and the object of stopping the pens and presses of individuals is to prevent their inquiring into those corruptions which ought to be exposed to public scrutiny. Government may be as pure as unsullied snow, but its ministers may not be so; and can it be supposed, that in this extensive country, there is no corruption, no abuse which ought to be laid before the public? Let every man be answerable for what he writes and publishes. I have no objection to this, but I have an objection to that being introduced here which is in utter violation of the rights of British subjects. I hope that it is not because they fear examination, that the Government have enforced this regulation; and this is the very reason why they should not press the Court to register it. I believe that they have been misled, and that they have been taught to believe that a state of things exists in this country which does not exist. Is it the recommendation of the British Parliament that the natives of this country should be kept without the means of obtaining knowledge? No! that very Parliament in the act of 53 George III. says differently. Look at the conduct of the government of any of those countries where despotic power has lately been overthrown, and there restrictions on the press have been done away with. Another authority I will quote, and that too, of a man whom I know, and who is not very nice in his principles of liberty any more than De Lolme, and who is indeed called, in the part of the country from which I came, a rank Tory. But let us hear what a rank Tory says upon the subject. [Here the learned counsel read a quotation from the works of Mr. Holt, connected with the liberty of the press.] If this rule has been published

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for the purpose pretended, I would ask, has the Government been sleeping that it did not enact it before? I cannot think that the executive part of the Government has been so careless, and I believe they are now anxious to bring this matter about, that they may prevent their own conduct from being brought before the public, a right which I hope will exist wherever I draw breath. I sincerely believe that every government which is administered properly is more likely to gain than lose by free discussion. It is a rule of the Constitution, that the liberty of the subject shall not be abridged, repealed, or infringed, without sufficient cause shall be shown for it. The inquiry has no longer the power to control the press in Spain or Portugal, and shall it be received into a colony, or province, I think I may call it, of the British empire, after being expelled from those countries? Is it pretended that the executive power here shall be independent of this Court? If they can do this in one case, why can they not do so in another? Why did they not institute the acts of the 53d George III? Why not pass the acts for the better regulation of Calcutta, with regard to the dealers in spirituous liquors? On the 24th December, 1783, a rule for restricting the sale of arrack, and other spirituous liquors, was refused to be registered. This was because it was wished to restrict the sale of these articles to a certain number of shops, who no doubt all of them supplied the Government. So it is with us, the Government do not come to our shop, but to the one that is on the opposite side of the way."—Mr. Turton here concluded a speech highly distinguished for legal knowledge and deep research.

Sir F. Macnaghten then proceeded to deliver his opinion on the question.

His Lordship commenced by saying, that perhaps he ought to apologize for so readily and immediately giving his opinion; it might be said that he ought to have deliberated more on the subject, but his mind was completely made up, and, therefore, he had no hesitation whatever in at once fully expressing his sentiments. He would premise what he had to say, by stating that he had no concern whatever in the original framing of the regulation. It had hitherto been the custom for an arrangement to take place, whenever the Court was required to register a new rule. In this case he had been applied to twice, but he had both times refused to give any opinion on the subject. He was again applied to with a request that he would look at

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it after it was drawn out, to inspect it as a mere matter of form, and, if he thought proper, to suggest any alterations or corrections which might appear to him to be necessary—accordingly he did read it, and having made a slight alteration of six words, he had returned it, and declared it was a regulation of which he most cordially approved. Having thus given it his decided sanction, he was perfectly ready to take to himself all censure and blame, which might be supposed to attach to its enactment.

In the address of the learned counsel, it was assumed as a fact, that this was a free country, and that all Englishmen who found their way here, were in the full enjoyment of all the liberties to which they were entitled in England; with this he could not agree. As to the expediency of its being so, that was not a point with which, at present, he had any thing to do, and he should not therefore touch upon it, further than to observe, that Sir W. Jones thought this country not in a state to receive that full measure of liberty which obtained in England under far different circumstances; so far from it indeed, that he declares that the introduction of liberty here, would be far worse than the most complete despotism. So much for the expediency; as to the actual existence of the same extent of liberties in this country and England, he did not know where to look, either for the text or comment, which maintained that an Englishman here has the same rights as an Englishman in England, nor could it be maintained.

One observation he was about to make, in which he firmly believed every individual who heard him, as well as those who had heretofore resided in the country, would agree with him. He did not mean to say that this, or any other government, should have the power of doing wrong without an adequate remedy being provided; but this he would say, in full conviction of carrying his hearers with him, that he firmly believed, that there was not on earth any town, city, or place, where more practical liberty existed than in Calcutta. During the many years he had resided here, and occupied his present seat, he never heard any man produce a single case of just complaint of infringement of any political liberty. As for the theory of this political liberty, he cared little or nothing about it, it was of no consequence; in practice he never saw any place in his life where men were more truly independent, and free to exercise their talents in all lawful pursuits.

“If this is a state requiring to be altered, if this is a situation requiring improvement, let it be done; but do not allow it to be done by a free press. If we are to have a free constitution, which we have not, let a free press follow, not precede it. With respect to the transmission of Mr. Buckingham, I shall offer no opinion. It is an act for which the Government alone are responsible, nor, sitting here, am I entitled to give any opinion on the subject; but I have no right whatever to suppose that in the exercise, in their discretion, of the power vested in them by law, that they have acted wrong. But since Mr. Buckingham has been sent out of the country for conduct which the Government deem to be opposition to their authority, and has appointed a successor who tells us that he cannot be controlled by the supreme authority, but is superior to it, it is necessary that things should be brought to their proper level. No government could successfully stand against such a press.

“I know nothing whatever of the present editor, but I believe him to be a highly respectable man, belonging to one of the most respectable classes of the community;—but when they place their right of controlling the Government through the press, on the ground of their freedom from the power of transmission, consequent upon the locality of their birth, I must say I think they place it on the worst possible ground; and without meaning any reflection on, or disrespect towards them, I must say that their right is no other than that of every Sircar, Cooly and Mater.

“In the memorial which has just been read to the Court, it is stated that an infringement on the right of property will ensue from the registering of this Regulation. But is such the case? Are the petitioners prepared to say that at any time, any compact or agreement whatever took place between them and the Government, which would be affected by the proposed Regulation? Cannot the Government in this case say—

‘*Non hæc in fœdera veni?*’

They most assuredly can, and, therefore, as there was no compact, there can be no infringement; moreover, if this property in a newspaper is to rise and fall, like the stocks, on the triumph over, and defeat of an enemy, and that enemy is the Government of the country, I for one say the sooner it falls the better; and I must add, that had I been placed in the situation of supreme power, when the bold defiance to the

authority of the Government, consequent upon the transmission of Mr. Buckingham, appeared in the Calcutta Journal, I would not have suffered a single Number to have left the precincts of Calcutta by the Dawk.

"It has been averred, that the Regulation, which is the subject of the petition presented this day, is repugnant to the laws of the realm; I do not know to what law it is repugnant, on the contrary it assimilates with the statute law. By the 39th of Geo. III. every man who establishes a press in England is compelled to register it; if he neglects to do this, any magistrate, on an affidavit being made before him of the fact, may authorize a constable to *break open the house* in the day time, and carry away the press and all its appendages; in the same way that an exciseman may seize an unlicensed distillery, and all its contents. There is yet another law which prevents nineteen-twentieths of the people of England from establishing presses at their mere will and pleasure. The 60th of Geo. III. compels previous securities to be entered into by persons, who publish newspapers of certain size and value, for the purpose of securing fines on convictions for libel. Moreover the system of licensing pervades almost every department of life. Barristers, attorneys, clergymen, trades in corporation towns, are all under the influence of this system, and are all liable to be deprived of their licences—licences too, to which they were entitled from a peculiar education, and on which depends their subsistence. It cannot, therefore, be said, that the new Regulation is repugnant to the laws of the land, since its principle enters into almost every situation in life.

"For these reasons I am most decidedly of opinion, that it is not repugnant to the laws of the realm: it is what most trades and professions are subjected to in England; nor is it more severe on the liberty of the native subjects, than is the power of transmission in the case of British-born subjects, which the Legislature has specially given to this Government."—His Lordship then stated his determination to register the Rule.

SUPREME COURT.

Calcutta, Monday, 7th April, 1823.

Sir Francis Macnaghten having taken his seat on the Bench, before any motions were made, said that he was surprised at the appearance of an article in the Calcutta Journal of Friday last, under the head of "Licensing the

Press," which he said was a gross contempt of Court, and which he desired should be read immediately.

Mr. Hogg having read it, Sir F. Macnaghten said that he thought it proper to hand this over to be read in the Court, in order that he might express the objection he had to it. It was false and insolent; and he had no doubt but that he possessed the power to commit the printer of that article to prison until he knew better how to behave. He was quite positive that he had the right, but he did not like to exercise it, although he knew very well that many people who were present, would highly approve of his doing so. This much he must say, that the only recommendation it possessed, was its complete stupidity; and although he did possess the authority of punishing the parties engaged in publishing this article, as they already had enough to answer for, he should refrain from doing so. Speaking personally, he had no hesitation in saying that it was false, and he believed, malicious. He had the same liberty as another man, to bring a civil action; whether he should do so or not he had not yet decided. At present, however, he should only say, that it was the interest of the community that the dignity of that Court should be maintained in preference to the profits of the Calcutta Journal.

The following is the article which the learned Judge thought so false, insolent, malicious and stupid,—and yet so dangerous withal!

LICENSING THE PRESS.

Notwithstanding the rumours that were current during the last week, we confess we could hardly believe that it would be declared from the Bench, that confiscation of property for unlicensed printing was consonant to the law of England. As the speeches of the learned counsel proceeded, our incredulity increased; and this feeling we believe pervaded the crowded audience, who listened so anxiously to what they considered rather a legislative, than a forensic proceeding. But what was their amazement, when they heard fundamental articles of the law of England sacrificed to a political theory, and its most sacred muniments declared to be inapplicable to this country; because they were inconsistent with one anomalous enactment respecting the liability to transportation without trial, of the most favoured portion of the community! It is an undisputed maxim, that penal statutes ought to be construed strictly; and no statute can be conceived more

penal than that which gives the power of banishing a man, against whom no crime has been, or can be established ! From that foul, but temporary blot in the law, no analogies to the prejudice of other descriptions of his Majesty's subjects should be drawn ; because no limit could be assigned to the operations of so injurious a principle. Let it be for ever shunned, as unholy ground. Let the "shameful parts of the constitution" be concealed from our view ; and let us gaze, with true filial piety, on "the beauteous countenance of British Liberty."

A British-born subject, who in the judgment of the Governor General forfeits his claim to the protection of the Government, may be apprehended and sent to England. Does it follow that it is, therefore, lawful to visit with arbitrary penalties, any Native of India, who shall, in the opinion of the executive power, forfeit his claim to its countenance and protection ? Because he may *not* be summarily banished, is it to be inferred that he may be ruined with fines, or thrown repeatedly into prison ? Because he has been tacitly excepted from the letter of the severest enactment in the statute-book, is he to be killed by its spirit ? The native of Calcutta, who has hitherto rejoiced in the protection of British law, will feel that this is slavery—"that it should be held *legal* slavery, will be no compensation either to his feelings or his understanding."

That it should be considered derogatory to the dignity of the Government that the meanest inhabitant, the most abject Cooly or Mater should be able to defy their power to attack his property or person, but through the instrumentality of the law—for no other sort of defiance has ever been heard of—is a strain of obsolete Toryism, that sends us back to the reign of the Stuarts for a precedent. Thus in the great case of the monopolies between the East India Company, plaintiffs, and Thomas Sandys, defendant, the following passage occurs in the judgment of the Chief Justice Jeffries :—

"But it hath been too much practised at this and other bars in Westminster-hall, of late years, to captivate the Lay-gens, by lessening the power of the King, and advancing, I had almost said, the prerogative of the people : and from hence comes the many mischiefs to the King's subjects in parts abroad, by making the power of the King thought so inconsiderable, as though he were a mere Duke of Venice, being absolutely dependent upon his Parliament. Would

it not be mightily for the honour and dignity of the crown of England, think ye, that the emperor of Fez and Morocco, or any prince of the remote parts of the world, should be told, that Mr. Sandys, one of the king of Great Britain's subjects, came into the emperor's territories against his prince's consent, and that he had no power to hinder him, unless he would consult with all his nobles, and the representatives of all his common subjects, to assist therein ? Would not the emperor believe Sandys to be the greater prince of the two ?"

Not the least singular thing in this matter is, that the name of Sir William Jones should be associated with hostility to the freedom of the press in India. When Sir William said, he would not communicate his ideas of "liberty" to the people of India, he meant that he would not teach them the principles of representative Government, as he does in his dialogue between a gentleman and a farmer. But it would be a most unwarrantable conclusion to suppose, that he would have admitted it to be consonant to law or reason, that neither Englishmen nor Natives should be permitted to publish any thing, except *shipping intelligence*, without a licence first had and obtained. On the contrary, Sir William Jones did witness the existence of a free press in Calcutta, without the slightest alarm or objection. When the proprietors of the *Mirror* were prosecuted for a libel on Sir Paul Joddrell, the counsel for the defendants, Mr. Burroughs, now Sir William Burroughs, expatiated on the value of a free press exactly as counsel for the defence are used to do in England, but without having occasion to obviate a single objection on the score of its incompatibility with the frame of government in this country. Nor did Sir William Jones, or his colleagues, suggest a doubt that the English law of libel did not obtain within the Mahratta ditch as fully as the English law of treason or felony. It is true, that there was no native newspaper in those days : but if the natives had then begun to exercise their nascent faculties, in that kind of literature, with the same modesty and docility which they now display ; can it, for a moment, be imagined, that Sir William Jones would not have fanned the rising flame, rather than have quenched the smoking flax ? If he thought them disqualified from benefiting by the political organization of the British constitution, can we suppose that he would have withheld from them the means of adapting themselves, however gradually, to better

forms of civil government; and assuming a higher station in the scale of civilized nations? No apprehension can be more absurd than that illiterate natives can, if they were inclined (which we deny), shake the stability of Government by their pens; nor any scheme more unjust, than that they should never be permitted, by the absence of previous restraints on printing, to capacitate themselves for participating more largely in the administration of public affairs.

It is argued, that nineteen-twentieths of the people of England are, by their inability to furnish the prescribed securities, precluded from establishing printing presses; and, therefore, it is not repugnant to the spirit of that law to disable ALL from doing so, except under licences revocable at pleasure! It may as well be said, that nineteen-twentieths of the people of England cannot drink champagne, and, therefore, Government may select whom among its richest functionaries and others it may think fit, to indulge with licences to drink that precious vintage. The tendency of the restrictions on the British press, is to throw it into the hands of men of capital and respectability; but then, the property when once invested, is inviolably secured against the inroads of arbitrary power. The licence possessed by such a press, bids defiance to Chief Secretaries, and Under Secretaries, and to the King himself. Nothing can touch it, but the verdict of a Jury. But the security thus required for the good conduct of a press, is naturally afforded by every periodical work of great circulation and influence. This sort of security is afforded by the proprietors of the Journal to a greater extent, than by those of any other press of Calcutta. We would therefore not only gladly submit to that restriction, but we would esteem servitude to all the restrictions on the press of England, perfect freedom; so infinitely do we consider them removed in principle and effect, from those which have been devised for the enthralment of the press of this country.

OPERATION OF THE NEW LAWS.

It was a subject of well-founded congratulation both in Europe and in Asia, that some of the natives of India had begun to use the press, as the means of enlightening their countrymen; and when newspapers started up in the Persian, Bengallee, and other languages, our predecessor, ever eager to encourage the means adopted for the diffusion of information, employed a translator for

the purpose of republishing in the English language, the most useful portions of the intelligence they might contain. A person of this kind is still attached to the Calcutta Journal establishment with this view; but the article which follows, will show the public that the hopes entertained of the native press may now be abandoned.

The great utility of the native press would have been, to make Government and the public intimately acquainted with the real situation and sentiments of the whole population; but it is to be lamented that, apparently from the natural timidity of the native character, it did not answer this purpose, even with the cheering indulgence of the Marquess of Hastings. A true picture is given of it in the Native Memorial, as follows: "Native authors and editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government." If such was the case at the time it was thought necessary to establish new Regulations for restraining the press, it is not to be supposed that a native newspaper will now venture to publish any truth at all, if there is the most distant chance that it may be unpleasant either to Government, or to any of its servants. We regret that this should be the case for the reason expressed in the Memorial—a conviction of the manifold advantages of Government being put in possession of an impartial account of what is passing in all parts of the country, that it may be acquainted with whatever requires its interference; and also from a conviction of the salutary influence of public opinion, and that it is the press alone—not crippled in its exertions by fear, but cherished and free—that can do any thing towards dispelling the darkness which envelopes so many millions of our fellow subjects. The following is the translation we have alluded to, from the Persian newspaper, styled the "Mirat-ool-Ukhbar," established above twelve months ago, and now discontinued in consequence of the new laws regarding the press:—

MIRAT-OOŁ-UKHBAR.

Friday, April 4, 1823. (Not included in the regular Numbers.)

It was previously intimated, that a Rule and Ordinance was promulgated by his Excellency the Honourable the Governor General in Council, enacting, that a daily, weekly, or any periodical paper should not be published in this city, without an affidavit being made by

its proprietor in the police-office, and without a licence being procured for such publication from the Chief Secretary to Government; and that after such licence being obtained, it is optional with the Governor General to recall the same, whenever his Excellency may be dissatisfied with any part of the paper. Be it known, that on the 31st of March, the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, Judge of the Supreme Court, expressed his approbation of the Rule and Ordinance so passed. Under these circumstances, I, the least of all the human race, in consideration of several difficulties, have, with much regret and reluctance, relinquished the publication of this paper (*Mirat-ool-Ukhbar*). The difficulties are these:—

First. Although it is very easy for those European gentlemen, who have the honour to be acquainted with the Chief Secretary to Government, to obtain a licence according to the prescribed form; yet to an humble individual like myself, it is very hard to make his way through the porters and attendants of a great personage; or to enter the doors of the police court, crowded with people of all classes, for the purpose of obtaining what is, in fact, already in my own option. As it is written—

Abroo kih ba-and khoun i jgur dust dihad
Bu oomed-i kurum-e, kha'juh, ba-durban mu
surosh.

The respect which is purchased with a hundred
drops of heart's blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favour, commit to
the mercy of a porter.

Secondly. To make affidavit voluntarily in an open court, in presence of

respectable magistrates, is looked upon as very mean and censurable by those who watch the conduct of their neighbours. Besides the publication of a newspaper is not incumbent upon every person, so that he must resort to the evasion of establishing fictitious proprietors, which is contrary to law, and repugnant to conscience.

Thirdly. After incurring the disrepute of solicitation, and suffering the dishonour of making affidavit, the constant apprehension of the licence being recalled by Government, which would disgrace the person in the eyes of the world, must create such anxiety as entirely to destroy his peace of mind. Because a man, by nature liable to err, in telling the real truth cannot help sometimes making use of words and selecting phrases that might be unpleasant to Government. I, however, here prefer silence to speaking out:

Guda-e goshuh nusheene to Khatiza mukhurosh
Roo mooz maslubut i khesli khoos-rowan danund.
Thou, O Hafiz, art a poor retired man, be silent:
Palaces know the secrets of their own policy.

I now entreat those kind and liberal gentlemen of Persia and Hindoostan, who have honoured the *Mirat-ool-Ukhbar* with their patronage, that in consideration of the reasons above stated, they will excuse the non-fulfilment of my promise to make them acquainted with passing events, as stated in the introductory remarks in the first Number; and I earnestly hope from their liberality, that wherever and however I may be situated, they will always consider me, the humblest of the human race, as devoted to their service.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES.

The following are the leading objects of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Cropper, and the other philanthropic individuals who have interested themselves in the state of the blacks in the West Indies:—

To remove all obstructions to the manumission of slaves;

To cause slaves to cease to be *chattels* in the eye of the law;

To prevent their being sold from colony to colony, or otherwise transferred, except with the land to which they belonged;

To give them a REAL Sunday, and to allot them consequently, time in some other part of the week, sufficient to cultivate their provision grounds;

To give them a legal power of acquiring and transmitting property;

To enable them to purchase their

liberty, either by the payment of their value at once, or by a day at each time, on the payment of the fifth of that value;

To provide for them religious instruction;

To make their testimony available in courts of law;

To institute, and protect from violation, marriages;

To abolish the whip, and to place the person of the slave under the protection of the law;

To provide that all children, born after a certain day, shall be free, and to provide them with education and maintenance till they can take care of themselves;

To bar any Colonial Governor, or other officer, from possessing, or being directly interested in slave property.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 17th of December, a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held at the Company's House in Leadenhall Street.

Since the last Court was held, a statue of Warren Hastings has been placed in the niche to the right of the Chair.

At 12 o'clock the Chairman took his seat.—The minutes of the proceedings of the last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN laid before the Court a resolution of the Court of Directors, that the dividend on the capital stock of the Company for the half year, from the 4th of July 1823 to the 4th of January 1824, be $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He then moved that the Court do agree to the resolution of the Court of Directors, and that the said dividend be declared.

The motion was agreed to.

HAYLEYBURY COLLEGE.

The HON. MR. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD, addressing the Chairman, said—Before you proceed to the business for the consideration of which this Court is made special, I wish to ask you a question in reference to something which passed at the last Court, at which I was not present. I have learned that my honourable friend (Mr. Hume) asked you upon that occasion, whether any Report was likely to be made by the Court of Directors to the Court of Proprietors on the subject of Hayleybury College; and that you stated, in reply, that the matter had been under investigation by a Committee who had made their report, but that you had received no directions to make any communication to the Court of Proprietors. It may be recollected that, on a former occasion, I acceded to the request of the Chairman, not to agitate this question, because it was then under the consideration of the Court of Directors. I now ask the Chairman, whether it is the intention of the Court of Directors to bring the subject before this Court.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have a perfect recollection of the question which the hon. Proprietor has described being at a former Court. I then stated, that in consequence of what had fallen from several hon. proprietors, a committee had taken the subject of Hayleybury College into consideration, and had reported their proceedings, but that I was not authorised to communicate

any thing further. I also had the pleasure of adding what I now repeat, namely, that I believe the College to be going on very satisfactorily.

MR. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—I will then read a motion, which it is my intention to submit to the Court on a future day, and afterwards hand in the necessary requisition. The hon. Proprietor then read the following motion:—

“That application be made to Parliament, in the ensuing Session, for the repeal of the 46th Clause of the Act of the 53d of Geo. III. cap. 155, by which the Court of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the capacity of a writer, any person who shall not have resided during four terms at the Hayleybury College; and for introducing into the said Act a clause appointing a public examination, at such times and under such regulations as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Control, may direct; to which examination all persons shall submit their acquirements and qualifications for approval, previous to their being permitted to proceed in the capacity of writers to either of the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay.”

The CHAIRMAN.—Does the hon. Proprietor intend to give notice now?

MR. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—I understand that it is necessary for every person who signed the requisition to be present when I give notice, which is not the case on the present occasion.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is not necessary that they should be present now, but only when the ballot takes place.

The CHAIRMAN subsequently observed that the requisition was informal, because only seven names were attached to it instead of nine; and it was returned to Mr. Kinnaird in order that the defect might be remedied.

THE LATE CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

The CHAIRMAN then stated that the Court had been made special for the purpose of considering a proposition for erecting in the parish church of St. George, Bloomsbury, at the Company's expense, a Monument to the memory of the late Charles Grant, Esq., with an Inscription expressive of the deep sense entertained of the loss which the East India Company had sustained by

his death, and of the high estimation in which his character and services were held.

Mr. JOHN SMITH then rose, and addressed the Court as follows:—I rise for the purpose of making a motion in pursuance of the notice which has been given. In doing so I am perfectly willing to avow, that there are a great many other persons in this Court by whom the task which I have undertaken would have been better performed. But in my own justification I ought to state, that during a great many years I have not been altogether inattentive to the proceedings of the East India Company; and that perhaps no man is more intimately acquainted than myself with the character and merits of the late Director. It is not my intention to enter into much detail respecting the services of that individual. By pursuing such a course I should consume the time and exhaust the patience of the Court; but I am anxious to ground the motion which I am about to offer on certain great and pre-eminent features in Mr. Grant's character, which I think have distinguished him as a just, active, zealous, and faithful servant of the Company. With this view, I trust I may be indulged in giving a short narrative of Mr. Grant's public life. Mr. Grant, I believe, went to India in 1773. I will not enter into a detail of his early services in that country, but confine myself to one observation of high importance. When the Marquess Cornwallis went first to India, he selected Mr. Grant for a great number of services, and honoured him with his friendship and confidence, which remained uninterrupted until the death of the Marquess. That nobleman, though not possessed of brilliant talents, was distinguished by a sound judgment and pure integrity; and with few exceptions, I know of no man who has performed more important services to his country. It was no slight evidence of Mr. Grant's merits at that time, that he had the good fortune to be selected by the Marquess Cornwallis for his friendship and confidence. I cannot refrain from mentioning a circumstance which perhaps the Court may think trifling, but which I cannot myself consider in that light. The Marquess, in speaking of Mr. Grant, was in the habit of using a very extraordinary phrase; he was accustomed to call him "honest Charles Grant." The known integrity of his Lordship, coupled with his

situation, made his approbation of Mr. Grant a very high testimony in favour of that gentleman. Mr. Grant was employed as a member of the Board of Trade, in which situation he performed services which obtained the approbation of the Local Governments; but I will not enter further into this subject. In 1790, Mr. Grant returned from India, bringing with him as high recommendations as ever were possessed by any individual. In 1791, he became a candidate for a seat in the Direction, and he succeeded in obtaining that honour with unparelled celebrity. I think I am right in stating, that not more than two months intervened between the publication of his first advertisement, and the period of his election. One of the first acts which Mr. Grant performed after he was elected, was of high importance; and in touching on this point, I beg it to be understood, that nothing is further from my intention than to allude to any subject which would revive ancient animosities long since extinguished, and afford a pretence for interrupting that union which I so much desire to prevail on the present occasion. Shortly after his election, Mr. Grant signalized himself in a question which was of vital importance to your interests,—I mean the shipping question. As a proprietor of India stock, I have a right to my opinion, and I consider that the system of open competition which was then established, and in a great degree by the head and pen of Mr. Grant, has done important service to the Company. (*Hear!*) I mean to detract nothing from the character of the other Directors who took a part in the discussions on that question. I know that he was ably supported by many honourable men; but I also know, from Mr. Grant himself, that the subject was near his heart, and that he used his most active endeavours to lay the basis of the system now in practice. In 1797, on the appointment of the Marquess Wellesley to his high office in India, Mr. Grant received an offer from a noble Lord (Melville) then at the head of the Board of Control, of one of the greatest offices in India, namely, to be made a member of the Supreme Council. The love of money was one of those things for which Mr. Grant was not remarkable; I may add, that Mr. Grant never possessed that great wealth which is usually possessed by those who have

been in India. On that occasion, Mr. Grant was of opinion that it was in his power to be more useful to the public at home than abroad; and he therefore refused the flattering offer which had been made to him. (*Hear!*) I believe that there never was a man who was a more sincere friend to India than the noble Lord to whom I have alluded; and his selection of Mr. Grant to fill so high an office, was a striking proof of the estimation in which the character of my late friend was held. Another circumstance occurred some years after, in which Mr. Grant took a considerable part; I mean the inquiry into the abuses of patronage. The Court of Directors behaved on that occasion in a very honourable manner, and Mr. Grant was most ardent and anxious for inquiry, which never can do harm to those whose cause is good. In 1803, I believe, Mr. Grant was first elected Chairman of the Court of Directors, a situation which he held three several times. It is impossible that any individual could be selected to fill so responsible and important a situation who did not possess the entire confidence of those by whom he was appointed. There is another point on which you owe obligations to Mr. Grant, although this is a subject on which I well know that various opinions are entertained in this Court. The establishment of a seminary of education in this country for the civil servants of the Company, about to go to India, is a subject on which I have very strong opinions, which opinions have regulated the greater part of my life. I believe that education is every thing to man: (*hear, hear*) It is his only hope, —the only means by which he can escape from endless evil. I always considered that system of education for young men who are hereafter to be intrusted with power, and that of no small extent in India, as most wise and excellent. Mr. Grant was the person who laboured most assiduously in this cause, and laid the basis of the system of education in this country. Sure am I that your Indian territories will never be well managed, unless those persons who go out there officially be well grounded, not only in knowledge, but in moral excellence; and I am equally convinced that the education of those individuals can be much better conducted here than in Asia. If I were called upon to state which of the services that Mr. Grant had performed

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stood forward most prominently, or on which point the Court of Directors were most entitled to your gratitude, I should say it was the establishment of that system of education. But let it be understood, that I offer no opinion with respect to the system of education at present pursued in the College, with which I am not well acquainted; but I may say, that if that seminary be free from fault, it is the only seminary in the kingdom that is in such a desirable situation. I now come to Mr. Grant's conduct in Parliament, of which no man has a more distinct recollection than myself. I remember the long debates which took place in 1807 or 1808, when the Company were under the necessity of applying to Parliament for relief—on that occasion, I may say, that the real champion of the Company was Mr. Grant. (*Hear.*) I have reason to believe, that certain accounts of very great importance, which were laid before Parliament at that time, were prepared either by his own hand, or under his immediate inspection; and I am convinced that the successful result of the Company's application was mainly owing to his personal exertions. At a subsequent period, when a similar application was made to Parliament, I remember Mr. Grant to have stated that the difficulties of the Company were only temporary, which has since proved to be correct. I have already stated that Mr. Grant distinguished himself by promoting an inquiry into the abuses of patronage; in 1798 or 1799 another inquiry was proposed. I think that a motion was made by an hon. Director, my relative, which was seconded by Mr. Grant in a long and able speech. He was most anxious that the fullest investigation should take place. An inquiry was instituted. I remember the whole of the transaction; and I think that you are very much indebted to Mr. Grant, as well as to the Court of Directors, for their conduct on that occasion. Soon after, that occurred which many persons consider the brightest part of Mr. Grant's history,—it certainly was an occasion when he laboured most ardently, and in which his labours were more conducive to the interests of the Company than perhaps in any former instance,—I need hardly say that I refer to the last negotiations on that intricate and difficult question, the renewal of the Charter of the Company. (*Hear.*) His extensive knowledge of

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Indian affairs enabled him to give to his arguments a degree of force which no other man possessed. I distinctly remember the debates on that subject; and though I do not, perhaps, consider that the brightest part of Mr. Grant's life, there is no hon. Proprietor but must be of opinion, that it was an instance of most faithful, able, and honourable discharge of duty. (*Hear, hear, hear!*) I am desirous not to be misunderstood, because, though nobody can surpass me in the respect which I entertain for the character of that excellent man, I do not mean to say that Mr. Grant was always right in the view which he took of Indian affairs; but in honesty of intentions he had no superior, and in rapidity of execution he had few equals. I have my own opinion on certain subjects; and though perhaps not entitled to much weight, it has been founded on inquiry. On one occasion, when Mr. Grant exerted himself with peculiar zeal, I did not agree with him; but he then exhibited his usual jealousy of the rights of the Company, and his determination to support them. I allude to the question of the right of opening the trade. I am one of those who consider that a great and important measure; and I think that the nation at large has been benefitted, at the same time that the Company has not suffered, by the change which has been effected. (*Hear.*) But whether that opinion be right or wrong, I shall not easily forget the exertions which Mr. Grant made to oppose what he thought affected your rights. Perhaps the jealous feelings which he possessed on this subject may have carried him a little too far; but you are indebted to those feelings, and are bound to give him credit for them. There are other points of Mr. Grant's conduct to which I might refer; but I am unwilling to touch upon any thing respecting which there may be a difference of opinion, though I protest that, with the exception of the instance which I have mentioned, I think there was not a question on which Mr. Grant was not right. I consider the proceedings which have been adopted relative to the shipping of the Company, of high importance; and what was done on that point, was done after Mr. Grant had come into the Direction in 1794. We all know that no man was more ready with his pen than Mr. Grant. It was not saying too much to

assert, that many of those papers which emanated from the Court of Directors proceeded from his pen. But he lived, as it were, with the idea of the Company ever present to his mind; and to maintain their interest, was always the object dearest to his heart. A more honest or able man never existed. The purity of his character, and the integrity of his whole life, never were surpassed, so help me God. (*Hear, hear.*) I understand that some objections to the proposed mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Director have originated with gentlemen in this Court, for whom I have a high respect; but I hope for the indulgence of the Court whilst I express my sentiments on this subject. Permit me to remark, that in this country there is a power which, though neither legislative nor judicial nor monarchical, is of paramount weight and importance—public opinion. So long as public opinion preserves its power in Great Britain, so long will the country be the object of the admiration and envy of mankind. But permit me to point out to the Court the sort of influence and effect which public opinion, when converted into public censure, has upon those unfortunate "Individuals who, by their crimes and guilt, have merited blame. The man who violates his trust is crushed by its colossal weight and gigantic force. What can he do? Should he seek solitude—he cannot bear his own reflections. Should he enter the world—he dare not encounter the looks of his fellow men. This is no exaggeration; it is the result of every day's experience. But permit me to ask if such be the rigorous nature of the punishment which we all agree to inflict upon the bad; if such be the unsparing severity of the public voice towards the wicked, is it just to refuse to virtue, fidelity, and talent, its fair and appropriate reward? Far be such sentiments from this Court—sentiments equally unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic, which would take away the highest possible incentive to good conduct. I should be sorry to see this Court, in imitation of some ancient republics, say, "Such a man has done his duty, and he had his share of patronage and honours, and that is a sufficient reward." Such a principle is most unsafe and impolitic. It is your duty and your interest to grant to merit its due; and on that ground I am prepared to defend the object of the motion which

I hold in my hand. I may be told, that by agreeing to my motion the Court will establish a precedent, which will be productive of great inconvenience. I can only say, that when any Director possessing only a portion of the zeal and ability of Mr. Grant, shall by the course of nature cease to exist, I will be the first to give my vote for awarding a fair testimony to his merits. If, like Mr. Grant,* any servant of the Company should devote a long life to honourable services; if, like him, he should carry those services to the very brink of the grave, I trust that you will not be forgetful of such meritorious conduct. It may be said that the services of Mr. Grant did not terminate in your behalf but until almost the last moment of his existence. I understand that only three hours previous to his decease, he was occupied in considering some question of great importance to the interests of the Company. (*Hear, hear!*) I am not afraid of establishing a precedent; on the contrary, I am glad to have an opportunity of making one. (*Hear, hear!*) I have heard it said, that the manner in which I propose to show our gratitude to Mr. Grant, is not the best mode to be adopted. It has been suggested, that a vote of thanks would be more likely to obtain general support. A vote of thanks would certainly be no more than just to Mr. Grant; but I am strongly of opinion, that the erection of a monument in the church where his remains are deposited would be the most simple, natural, and proper mode of testifying our respect for him—at once analogous to the purity of his life and the piety of his character: and, appealing to the imagination of the Court, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say, that if Mr. Grant himself were to rise from the tomb in which he reposes in tranquillity, to give an opinion on the subject, he would think that the erection of a monument in a christian church was the most natural and appropriate tribute to his memory. (*Loud applause.*) I will no longer occupy your time, and have to apologize for having proceeded further than I originally intended—(*hear, hear.*)—I move,

“That this Court, taking into consideration the great ability, inflexible integrity, and unremitting attention displayed by the late Charles Grant, Esq., during nearly thirty years, as a member of the Executive Body, after seventeen years of distinguished service in India, and the many important

benefits he has rendered to the Company by his counsels and experience, and by his constant and strenuous exertions, in Parliament and elsewhere, to preserve unimpaired their rights and privileges, and improve the condition of the vast population under their rule, desire to record their deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of this valuable Director, who to the last day of his life was actively employed in the discharge of his duty, and to testify the high estimation in which they hold his talents, character and services; and to this end do therefore resolve that a marble monument, with an inscription expressing the sentiments conveyed in this resolution, be erected at the expense of the Company, in the parish church of St. George, Bloomsbury, the place of his interment, and that the Court of Directors, be requested to take measures for carrying the same into effect.”

The hon. Proprietor, after handing his motion up to the Chair, sat down amidst loud and general approbation.

SIR CHARLES FORBES.—I can assure the Court that I avail myself of the honour which has been allowed me of seconding the motion just proposed, with mingled feelings of sorrow and satisfaction. No man could more sincerely lament the loss which the Company has sustained in the death of Mr. Grant than I do, and no man can more warmly support any measure having for its object to record the high sense which this Court must entertain of the merits of that honourable individual. After the very able and most interesting manner in which the question has been brought before the Court, I should but waste your time were I to endeavour to recapitulate any part of the services performed by Mr. Grant, which have been already so well stated by my hon. friend. I cannot, however, content myself with simply seconding the resolution, but must beg to be permitted to offer a few, and but a few observations. It was my lot to be opposed to Mr. Grant on a very important question, which has been alluded to in the speech of my hon. friend. We differed on that question it is true; but I never rose to oppose Mr. Grant without being impressed with a sense of my own inferiority, and of his power and abilities. Mr. Grant was a man of whom it might justly be said, that the more you knew of him the more you admired him. Previously to Mr. Grant

entrance into Parliament, I was not so well acquainted with his character as I afterwards became. I always, in Parliament, expressed my just admiration of his talents and eloquence on every occasion on which he spoke. I subsequently, however, had full opportunity of observing his character. I have repeatedly had occasion to speak to him within the walls of this house, and I always found him most accessible, and ready to pay attention to every thing which I had to offer.— I may have left him disappointed, but never dissatisfied. I think that, without exception, he was the most sincere, candid, and down-right man I ever met with. (*Hear.*) He was not a man to amuse you with professions of good intentions, when he did not sincerely entertain them. If his opinion were favourable to a case which was submitted to him, he would speak out fairly, and avow it at once; but he would, at the same time, candidly state any objections which presented themselves to his mind, and conclude by assuring you of his support. No man could say, that when Mr. Grant had given his word, he ever disappointed him. He was, I know, considered a severe man in the performance of his duty. I believe that he was most rigidly severe in the execution of his duty; but it was a just severity. It was his principle to reward every man according to his merits, in order to give a stimulus for the faithful discharge of duty. By his strict adherence to that, he may, on some occasions, have drawn down unimadversions on himself; but no man ever possessed a more feeling heart than Mr. Grant. No man could regret more than he did, the necessity of exercising that severity which his public duty compelled him to use. I speak this advisedly, for I had many opportunities of knowing his kind feelings and benevolent disposition. In proof of this, I need only refer to his conduct in the distribution of patronage, and appeal to the many widows and orphans in various parts of the country, who acknowledge him their benefactor. I am afraid that many will most bitterly feel his loss. I cannot better conclude than by repeating that Mr. Grant was all that my hon. friend has described him to have been: he was—

An honest man—the noblest work of God.*

(*Loud applause.*)

The Hon. Mr. ELPHINSTONE thought

the motion which had been made that day the most invidious that had ever been brought before the Court. He also considered it fraught with inconvenience; for if it were carried, there was no knowing how many more of the same kind they would be called upon to entertain. If their predecessors, who seemed to have been wiser men than they (the present Court) were, had adopted such a motion, there would not by this time be a churchyard within twenty miles of London that would not have been filled with statues in honour of persons connected with the Company. (*Hear.*) The Company had existed about 100 years, and during that time many eminent men had been comprised among the number of their servants; yet there were no statues erected in honour of them. Their predecessors were wiser than those who had succeeded them; they saw the inconvenience which would result from such a course as that which had that day been proposed, and therefore wisely abstained from adopting it. He had, by the favour of the Proprietors, sat in the Court of Directors, for at least thirty-six years, and during that period he had known as able and as honourable men as the late Mr. Grant engaged in the direction of their affairs. He did not mean to cast any reflection on Mr. Grant, but he did think, that if the Court granted honours to him which they had withheld from others equally deserving, they would be drawing an invidious distinction. It had always been considered a great honour to have a vote of thanks from that Court, and even that was never granted but for some special service, not for general merits. No special ground had been shown in support of the proposition which had been made. The hon. mover, however, in his speech had mentioned several circumstances which he supposed to redound to Mr. Grant's honour. The Marquess Cornwallis, it seemed, had patronized Mr. Grant. His Lordship certainly was a very worthy and respectable man, but he could not conceive why the possession of his friendship should entitle any man to have a statue raised to his memory. (*Hear!*) Then it was said, too, that the Marquess was accustomed to call Mr. Grant, "honest Charles Grant." Well, was it so uncommon for one of their Directors to be honest? (*Hear, and a laugh.*) They ought to believe all men honest

until they were proved to be otherwise. Let hon. proprietors look around them, and they would find that all the statues in their Court amounted only to six. They were erected in honour of such men as Clive, Pocock, and Coote, —men to whose services the Company were deeply indebted. They were the very men who had gained them their possessions. To Lord Clive they owed the acquisition of Bengal; his statue very properly stood there. There was likewise the statue of Lord Cornwallis, to whom the Company were indebted for the preservation of their empire. The statue of Warren Hastings was the last which had been placed in that Court, and the services of that individual, under the most arduous and difficult circumstances, rendered such an honour justly due to his memory. But what comparison could be drawn between Mr. Grant, or any other Director, and the men he had just mentioned? They had all performed special services. A good deal had been said respecting Mr. Grant's general services, but no special service had been pointed out. As a Director, he was only one of a body who watched zealously and carefully over the interests of the Company. Some of the members of that body might, perhaps, apply their shoulders to the wheel with greater strength than others, but still it was impelled by the collective force of the whole body. He believed that not one of the gentlemen who had been the means of bringing forward the motion had a greater regard for Mr. Grant than he (Mr. Elphinstone) had, although he often differed with him, but he would nevertheless oppose the motion to the utmost of his power, as inconsiderate, invidious, and very injudicious, and as calculated, if it were carried, to create a great deal of trouble, inconvenience, and dissatisfaction. He felt that by his opposition to the motion he was placed in a very invidious situation, because it would be regarded as a personal question. But, thank God! he had courage to look such considerations in the face, when he knew that he was honestly discharging his duty. No man, he was sure, could have felt a greater regard for Mr. Grant than he did; but at that moment there was a gentleman in that room who was an older Director than Mr. Grant, and there were others who had performed special services, with which the Proprietors were not ac-

quainted. If the motion before the Court were carried, statues must likewise be erected to those individuals.

Mr. DIXON.—Some time hence, I hope. (*Cries of order.*)

Mr. ELPHINSTONE continued. He did not wish to part with any of his friends; perhaps he (Mr. E.) should himself be the first to depart from this life. With many of the gentlemen who had brought forward the motion he had the honour to be acquainted. He would advise them to withdraw the motion; but, at all events, if they refused to do so, he trusted that the Court would consult its future ease and convenience by rejecting it. The friends of the motion might perhaps feel themselves in an awkward situation, if they withdrew the motion after having brought it forward; but he would suggest a course of proceeding which would relieve them from their embarrassment, and without committing the Company, enable them to effect the object they had in view. In the same newspaper in which he had read the requisition for calling the Court, he had seen an advertisement from the first lawyers in the country, calling a public Meeting, to take into consideration the propriety of erecting a statue to the late Lord Erskine, whose memory must be dear to every British bosom. Why did not the friends of Mr. Grant follow so good an example? He would have them call a public meeting, and he was certain that they would get as good a statue as they could expect to obtain from the Company. Such a proceeding would do more honour to the memory of Mr. Grant than the proceeding which had been adopted; for great as the numbers were who were then present, they did not form a tenth part of the Company, and some special service ought to be brought forward to satisfy the absent Proprietors. He was no orator; if he were, he could have said more against the motion than his hon. friend had said for it: but he wished the Court to weigh it well in all its bearings, to consider the many evils which would result from it, and then he was sure that they would reject it. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. HUME was happy that the hon. Director had preceded him, because it had spared him the necessity of making several observations which he had intended to address to the Court; but at the same time, the question was one upon which he felt it necessary to deliver his sentiments.

He could assure his hon. friends, the mover and seconder of the motion, that in what he was about to say, he did not wish to make use of one expression derogating from the respect which they were so anxious to pay to the character of the deceased Director, or that was calculated to give pain to any of his friends. But in saying this, he felt that he had a higher and more important duty to perform, than that of paying respect to the memory of any individual. The friends of Mr. Grant did not seem to have attended to, or given due weight to this circumstance: that it was incumbent on large public bodies, as the hon. Director had just stated, to consider what had been the practice of their predecessors. What had been the practice of that Court during the last century upon similar occasions? If they turned to the records they would not find a solitary instance of any Director having been honoured after his death in the manner now proposed with respect to Mr. Grant. He hoped, therefore, that the Court would consider well what would be the effects of the precedent which would be established by the adoption of the motion. He begged to call his hon. friends' attention to this point: that in describing the character of a public man, no attempt should be made to create a higher opinion of him than his conduct merited. It was as improper unjustly to elevate, as it was to detract from, the character of any man. The gentlemen who had introduced the motion to the Court had broken through this rule, which ought invariably to be observed. His hon. friend had quite mistaken the claims which the late Director had to the gratitude of the Court; but before he touched upon that point, he must observe that, when one member of a corporate body was elevated above his colleagues, by being made the object of particular rewards, a degree of injustice were done to his coadjutors, unless it was for some separate and individual service. Was it right to bestow on Mr. Grant honours which none of his predecessors, though possessing equal claims to such distinction, had received? His hon. friend had stated certain services as the specific grounds for the motion. He would examine separately the statements of his hon. friend, and if he could satisfy the Court that they could not be substantiated, he imagined that the Court

would have little difficulty in rejecting the proposition, or that, at least, they would not come to a hasty decision upon it. He entreated the Court to reflect before they consented to the motion, which would, he was persuaded, be the origin of much evil. He thought that if, as in some other instances, a meeting of Proprietors had been called to consider the proposition which had been submitted to the Court, those who felt themselves called upon by their public duty to oppose the motion might have now been spared an unpleasant task. He would admit that Mr. Grant had performed his duty as a Director faithfully and honourably to the best of his ability; but he would ask his friend whether, by giving particular honours to Mr. Grant, and withholding them from other Directors, he did not leave it to be inferred that their conduct was not equally meritorious? He would now proceed to examine the grounds which his hon. friend had adduced for departing from the usual custom in the case of Mr. Grant, and he would not bring forward one objection, but what arose out of the speech of the hon. mover. First, it was said that Mr. Grant was favourably considered by the Marquess Cornwallis. That was no ground for this Court distinguishing him above other individuals. If the Court were to look over the history of those persons who had served them faithfully in India, they might select the names of fifty gentlemen who had received the highest approbation from Governors-general for services performed to the Company and the country, for whom no statues were asked. With respect to the next ground which was stated, he must say that his hon. friend had quite misunderstood the proceedings which took place respecting the shipping affairs of the Company. He would show that it never was in the contemplation of this Court, that Mr. Grant had any claim to their thanks on that account. He would show, by the records of the Court, who were the individuals who reformed the shipping system. He would show, that those individuals received a vote of thanks for their exertions, whilst Mr. Grant's name was not mentioned; from which it might be inferred that his services were not then considered worthy of that honour. His hon. friend seemed to consider that Mr. Grant was the individual who brought

about that important change in the shipping department—a most important change he agreed it was. But it might be seen by documents on the table that in 1790 it was proved, that if the change afterwards effected had then taken place, there would have been a saving up to that year, in freight alone, of 10,200,000*l*. If such a calculation had been made, so far back as 1790, without Mr. Grant having any thing to do with it, the friends of that gentleman had no right now to demand exclusive honours for him. Indeed so far back as 1773 the shipping affairs of the Company attracted considerable attention, and great abuses in the system were brought to light by a secret committee, at which Mr. Dundas presided. In 1781 the shipping committee reported that such had been the combination of the ship owners, that the Company were compelled to pay whatever they pleased to demand for freight: and in 1786 Mr. Anthony Brough offered to supply all the shipping the Company might want, at about three-fourths the amount which they then paid. In 1790, the calculation to which he had before alluded was laid on the table by Sir David Scott, who received but a poor return for his labours. That calculation attracted the attention of his honourable friend, Mr. Randle Jackson, who first moved for the printing of all the papers relative to the shipping question, and that was the commencement of the successful struggle to put down the shipping combination. The motion for the printing of the papers was carried; and those documents disclosed a scene, he would not say of fraud, because the ship owners had a right to get the best price they could, but of extravagant expenditure, for which the Company was severely censured. The success of Mr. Jackson's motion was the first step towards the accomplishment of that reform for which they were now called upon to reward Mr. Grant. In 1792 Mr. Flot made a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Jackson, and to his (Mr. Hume's) surprise, considering the state of the Court, carried, to the effect, that, owing to the improper manner in which the affairs of the Company were carried on, a higher price was paid for freightage than was necessary. In 1793 a similar motion was carried. In the same year a communication was made to the Company by Mr. Dundas, then in the

Board of Control, pointing out the necessity of some reform in the shipping affairs. At length, on the 6th of April, 1793, Mr. Henchman moved, and the Court adopted a resolution declaratory of the advantages resulting from a system of public contract. Mr. Grant did not enter into the Direction until 1794, therefore it was evident that he had no share in the change which was effected, of which, however, it was now attempted to give him the exclusive honour. Mr. Grant's rapid elevation to a seat in the Direction had been alluded to. His progress was certainly much more speedy than was the case at present with others in a similar situation. There was not then so much canvassing, so much party work; parties did not then unite to get a certain set of men in, to the exclusion of all others. (*Loud applause.*) But let his election have been ever so rapid, that was no reason for this Court erecting a statue to him. On the 10th of March, 1796, Lord Kinnaird, who took a warmer interest in the affairs of the Company than my honourable friend (Mr. D. Kinnaird) at present takes, though not I hope warmer than he will hereafter take, moved at a General Court of Proprietors a vote of thanks to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Flot, and Mr. Henchman, for their zeal and perseverance in promoting the change in the shipping system, which had so essentially advanced the interests of the Company. This was two years after Mr. Grant had been in the Direction, and yet no man stood up in Court and said that Mr. Grant deserved to be included in the vote of thanks; a circumstance which was the more remarkable, as the name of Mr. Flot was added to the vote in Court, the vote originally having extended only to Mr. Jackson and Mr. Henchman. If Mr. Grant had been known to have used those exertions in the reform of the shipping, on which his claim to the honour now proposed to his memory was stated to rest, would not some proprietor have proposed to include him in the vote of thanks in 1796? But that not having been done, it was fair to infer that he took no part in the business, and therefore that the Court ought not now to be called upon to grant the motion upon that ground. At the same time he was willing to admit, that after Mr. Grant gained a seat in the Direction, he ably assisted Sir D. Scott in opposing the efforts made by the ship

owners; for they did not die easily. (*A laugh.*) For that opposition he deserved credit, but he only acted in conjunction with other Directors. The next point upon which it was proposed to rest the motion was, that when Lord Wellesley went out to India some person offered Mr. Grant a seat in the Supreme Council. It was impossible that the Court could form any opinion of that transaction, unless they were put in possession of the reasons which caused that offer to be made to Mr. Grant. Why were they not stated? The fourth ground was, the part which Mr. Grant took in the inquiry into the abuses of patronage. He admitted that Mr. Grant had done his duty in that instance. But was he the first to move for the investigation in that Court? No. It was another honourable Director now in the Court who first brought the subject before them, and who never abandoned it till the abuse was done away. But had the zeal of the late Director extended so far as to induce him to set his face against those persons who had been connected with those abuses? Quite the contrary. He could name a Director who, upon being asked some questions in the course of the investigation, refused to answer, on the ground that by so doing he would criminate himself; and yet, when the next annual election came, Mr. Grant signed the House-list, recommending that very individual for re-election. He could say a great deal more on that subject, but he would purposely abstain from doing so. The next ground upon which the Court was asked to bestow a mark of their approbation of Mr. Grant's conduct really surprised him: it was because he had been chiefly instrumental to the establishment of the Home College. That Mr. Grant was the principal author of that undertaking he would admit. But was Mr. Grant the origin of the system of educating the servants of the Company to be employed in India? By no means. It was Lord Wellesley who first commenced that useful work, by establishing a college at Fort William; and the college in England was very generally believed to have been established rather in opposition to that founded in India by Lord Wellesley. He assented to all that could be said as to the benefits of education; and by promoting that, he believed the Company took the surest means of promoting the interests of all con-

cerned with India. But was it necessary to have a college to furnish instruction except in those branches of Oriental literature, with which it was necessary that persons about to proceed to India in the service of the Company shall be acquainted? Opinions were divided on that point, but he thought that the balance was against the college. And whilst he admitted that a moral and pious education was the only foundation of the happiness of man, he would still ask, whether morality and piety had been much attended to in the college? (*Hear, hear.*) It would have been better if that point had not been touched upon by the honourable mover; for if any person was answerable for the election which had led to all the disturbances in the college, it was the late Director. The sixth ground which had been stated for the motion, was the exertions of Mr. Grant on the occasion of the application to Parliament for pecuniary relief to the Company; and, the whole credit of the successful issue of that application was also given to Mr. Grant. In his (*Mr. Hume's*) opinion, the Company, upon that occasion, did not ask a favour, but a right, from the Government. The Court might fairly have said, "We have made exertions to extend the power of Great Britain, we have been successful, but by our efforts we have brought ourselves into temporary difficulties, and we call upon you to come forward and assist us." At the time that that application was made to Parliament, Mr. Grant was either chairman or deputy-chairman; and it was usual for those officers to manage all such affairs of the Company. That accounted for Mr. Grant's activity on the occasion. Had he not been in that situation, he would probably have had as little to do with the question as himself. (*A laugh.*) Viewing Mr. Grant's conduct in that light, he had done no more than his duty. The same observations would apply to all Mr. Grant's conduct in Parliament. It was expected that as a member of the Direction, he should take a part in all discussions relative to the Company. He now came to the subject of the renewal of the Charter; and he wished that he could hide from himself the conviction that Mr. Grant's conduct on that occasion had increased the difficulties with which the Company had to contend. He might refer to every speech and paper which then proceeded

from Mr. Grant, to prove that the view which he took of his conduct was fully warranted by facts. Government, in the first instance, offered to the Company the whole of the China trade—all that they required was, that the Company should allow British merchants to participate in the trade to the Indian Presidencies, which experience had proved that they (the Company) could not keep, and of a great part of which the Americans had possessed themselves. Every thing worth having was conceded by Government to the Company, and yet he (Mr. H.) stood almost alone in the support which he gave to the reasonable proposals of Government. (*Hear.*) He invited hon. Proprietors to look back to the debates which took place at that period, both in that Court and in Parliament, and to decide whose predictions had been verified. Mr. Grant had prognosticated that the opening of the trade would ruin India. The commerce of India had increased; British merchants had driven the Americans out of the trade, who before carried on one-half of it; and the benefits of the Indian trade were now enjoyed by England alone. (*Hear, hear.*) The opposition which Mr. Grant formed on that occasion, was fortunately not successful; but it created all the unpleasant feeling which at that time existed between the Government and the Company. How unfit did the conduct of Mr. Grant appear to be selected as it had been for distinguished approbation, when compared with that of Sir Francis Baring or Sir Hugh Inglis. In 1793, Sir F. Baring was thanked for his services; and so high was the opinion which his brother Directors entertained of his character and abilities, that when he was going out of the Direction by rotation, they asked him to continue to afford them his assistance. Perhaps the Court might recollect that he (Mr. H.) had the honour to pay a similar mark of respect to Sir Hugh Inglis, when he was about to leave the chair, by moving, that as he was so well acquainted with the transactions of the Company, he would continue to give them his assistance. That motion was unanimously agreed to. Why should a statue be raised in honour of Mr. Grant, who, to say the most, did no more than those celebrated men to whom no such mark of respect had been paid? (*Hear.*) It was said that Mr. Grant was an honest man. He did not mean to deny the

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correctness of that description; but if the motion were agreed to on that ground, it would be declaring that he was the only honest man in the service of the Company. (*Hear, and cries of No.*) If he (Mr. H.) were to agree to the motion, he should consider that he was inconsistent if he did not propose that monuments should also be raised in honour of Sir F. Baring and Sir Hugh Inglis. There would, however, be this difference between the case of Mr. Grant and that of his predecessors, namely, that they possessed the recorded thanks of the Court in their favour, whilst no honour of this kind could be pointed out in support of Mr. Grant's claim. It was said, that Mr. Grant had faithfully and ably discharged his duty. He believed that Mr. Grant had acted honestly for the good of the Company; but when he accorded that, he would maintain that the Court, by giving honours to him which they had not bestowed on other persons in a similar situation, would leave it to be inferred that those persons had not faithfully performed their duty. Much had been said about Mr. Grant's honest intentions and pure motives. But there were individuals at present in the Direction whose honour and integrity could not be surpassed. How then could the Court refuse statues to them if they voted one for Mr. Grant? (*Hear.*) He trusted that the good sense of the Court would reject the motion. If it were carried, it would be casting a firebrand into the Court. (*Hear, hear.*) It would open a door to perpetual disputes. Statues would be voted to this or that individual, accordingly as one party or another obtained predominance. (*Hear, hear.*) He (Mr. Hume) had often been considered a firebrand in public meetings (*a laugh*); but it was never his wish to throw a bone of contention amongst public men. (*Hear.*) He would, however, always interfere where he could, to prevent improprieties; he did so then, and he was content to take upon himself all the odium such a line of conduct might excite. An allusion had been made to the productions of Mr. Grant's pen. He was sorry that his hon. friend had rested any part of Mr. Grant's merits on his publications. He (Mr. H.) could not approve of the object of most of his papers. He would, however, leave it to time to decide upon those productions. His hon. friend had spoken of the power of public opinion; it

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was indeed powerful, and operated as a check where laws could not control. But public opinion was a double-edged weapon, and his hon. friend had used it only in one way. He had said, that it would be an act of severity to refuse to Mr. Grant his just reward. All the acts of that Court should be impartial, and proceed on public grounds; but could that be said to be the case, if they heaped honours upon one individual which they had withheld from others, at least equally deserving? He could name persons who had been treated with more severity, by having withheld from them rewards to which they were entitled. Had a noble Marquess, who had lately returned from India, received those rewards which even public opinion had assigned to him? (*Hear.*) He could, if it were necessary, show that great injustice had been done on other occasions. To draw an invidious comparison between Mr. Grant and other individuals, would beget feelings which he should regret to see introduced into that Court. With respect to precedent, who could tell what might be the consequences, if the motion were carried? If it were agreed to on the ground of Mr. Grant's faithful and honourable conduct, the Court could not refuse to erect a statue to every future Director; for he trusted that they never would have one who would not discharge his duty honourably and faithfully. (*Hear.*) In that case the practice would lose its value as a mark of distinction, because every Director would expect to have his monument as a matter of course, and all the niches of the Court would soon be filled with statues. On the whole, he was of opinion that the best course which could be pursued with respect to the present motion, would be to postpone it. The Court would be placed in an unpleasant situation, if it were compelled to meet the proposition with a direct negative. The wording of the motion was very singular: it was proposed to give the thanks of the Court to Mr. Grant, for his "strenuous exertions in Parliament and elsewhere," &c. Why not mention particularly his services in that Court? When the matter was so generally stated, it was impossible for any man to form an accurate opinion of Mr. Grant's conduct in all the capacities in which he had acted, without having the necessary documents before him. If it were intended to found the motion on his conduct as a Director, the Court were destitute of facts upon which to form

their judgment. In that case the motion should have originated with the Court of Directors, who had the best means of knowing Mr. Grant's conduct whilst among them, and had documents to proceed upon; but the Court of Proprietors possessed not such advantages. On all those grounds he was of opinion that there was no just reason for the motion. He had accordingly prepared an amendment, which pointed out what appeared to him by far the safest course of proceeding. He did not think that the character of the deceased Director had been properly consulted in the motion submitted to the Court. He had heard many doubts expressed as to the policy and prudence of the proceeding. Many gentlemen, he knew, intended to give a direct negative to the question; but in his opinion the adoption of his amendment, would be the most delicate mode of getting rid of the motion. The hon. Proprietor concluded by moving the following amendment:—

"That whilst this Court willingly recognise and record the zeal and assiduity with which the late Mr. Charles Grant performed, during twenty-nine years, the duties of a Director of this Company, they consider it a question requiring more mature consideration, whether there are sufficient grounds for distinguishing him from his honourable coadjutors, or whether it be expedient to establish a precedent of granting posthumous honours to all who shall faithfully fulfil the duties of that important station. That therefore, this Court deem it expedient to postpone to a future day, the consideration of the proposition, now submitted to them."

Mr. GAHAGAN seconded the amendment.

Mr. TWINING felt some hesitation in offering himself to the notice of the Court, not because he experienced any wavering of opinion with respect to the subject which they were summoned to take into consideration, but from a very different reason; namely, mistrust of his own ability to do justice to so important and delicate a question. He regretted that it was not in his power to offer such observations as were worthy the attention of so numerous and respectable an assembly as he then had the honour to address; but he was encouraged to submit a few observations by several circumstances. He could not forget that the hon. Director whose loss they lamented, was the approved and beloved friend of one

whose opinions had always been the guide of his (Mr. Twining's) conduct through life. Before he proceeded further, he felt it necessary to declare that it never was in the contemplation of any gentleman who signed the requisition for making the Court special, that in proposing to give a testimony of their approbation of Mr. Grant's conduct, they were doing any thing in the shape of drawing an invidious comparison between his talents and services, and those of any other individual who preceded or was coeval with him. Without intending to draw any comparisons whatever, it was supposed that a fair examination of Mr. Grant's conduct, was sufficient to warrant the proceeding which had been that day proposed. The Requisitionists considered that the best memorial which a man could enjoy, was the approbation of those with whom he had acted. But although the virtues of an individual might be engraven on the hearts of his surviving friends, such a record was but temporary. The time would soon come when all those who knew the virtues of Mr. Grant, would be no more. But by erecting a monument, the Court would hold up to future ages the example of a man having received that flattering mark of distinction for the important and honourable services which he had performed for more than half a century. (*Hear, hear.*) It was that consideration which had caused the present proposition to be submitted to the Court. Without entering on the consideration of particular services, which might give rise to difference of opinion, sufficient had been done by Mr. Grant, to justify the adoption of the proposition. It was useless to expect a unanimous opinion to prevail respecting every act of an individual in a situation in which he has to perform important services. But he was of opinion, that in contemplating the general character of Mr. Grant, and his conduct on the leading points of his life, there will be found ample ground for consenting to the motion. If the Court be of opinion, that Mr. Grant's general conduct was zealous and upright, and that he was devoted to the interests of the Company, they could have little difficulty in satisfying themselves, that by acceding to the motion, they would do honour not only to the Company but to the country at large. That which perpetuated the memory of honest exertions, in what-

ever situation of life, has a beneficial effect on the whole of the community. He thought that there was much of feeling as well as judgment in the motion, which afforded them an opportunity of expressing their attachment to the late Director. He might say with the poet—

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.

His death was almost sudden; the most awful manner in which death, at all times awful, could approach. Death visited mankind under various circumstances; sometimes it snatched away youth in the first dawn of hopeful genius—some were stricken by it in the midst of a course of folly and profligacy, whilst others it swept away in the midst of crime. Happily, the case of the individual whom they lamented was not like any of those; he died mature in years and ripe in virtue; that circumstance ought to soften the pangs which his friends could not but feel for his loss, but it was also a consideration which should endure him to their memory. The motion, if carried, would not cause any great expense to the Company, and it did not pledge those who supported it to the approval of any particular act which Mr. Grant had committed. It was natural that there should be some difference of opinion with respect to some points of his conduct, but he should have hoped that there was sufficient prominent good to have secured unanimity on that occasion. He deeply regretted the opposition which had been offered to the motion. It had been suggested that the motion should be withdrawn: he suggested that the amendment should be withdrawn. (*Applause.*)

Mr. GAHAGAN said that the observations which had fallen from the hon. Proprietor who spoke last induced him to rise, for the purpose of saying a few words in support of the amendment, which he would not consent to have withdrawn. He gave the hon. Proprietor credit when he stated, that those who had brought forward the motion never contemplated the idea of instituting an invidious comparison between Mr. Grant and other Directors; but he (Mr. G.) maintained that such would be the effect of the motion. The hon. Proprietor said that it was impossible to expect unanimous approbation of a public character; but that there was a sufficient quantity of prominent good in Mr. Grant's conduct to justify the erection of a statue in his honour,

What would the hon. Proprietor say, if he were to produce Mr. Grant's authority to refute that argument? He would do so, if it were only to justify the vote which he intended to give. It was singular, that the first occasion on which the Court was called together since the statue of Warren Hastings had been placed in that room, was to vote a monument to an individual who had opposed the erection of that very statue. He did not wish to excite unpleasant feelings, but if the motion before the Court were carried, and the two statues could be placed face to face and become animated, what could Mr. Grant say for having opposed the honour which was offered to Warren Hastings? (*Hear, and a laugh.*) He would now state to the Court what Mr. Grant had said on the motion for erecting a statue to Warren Hastings. Mr. Grant had himself committed his observations to paper. Mr. Grant had spoken as follows: "Mr. Chairman—With the opinions I have long held respecting various measures of the administration of Mr. Hastings, the motion, Sir, which you have now proposed imposes a painful task upon me. It is painful to differ from many gentlemen with whom I live in friendship—painful to stand perhaps singular on such an occasion as this; but I feel that I have no fair alternative. I have not sought this occasion; the question comes to me at my post; I cannot deny my sentiments; I cannot abandon that post; for I hold it not allowable for a public functionary to desert his place, and shrink from the performance of what he deems his duty, because it may be an unpopular one. Although my opinion of many of Mr. Hastings's measures has been long settled, I have never been forward to express it—never have, I believe, expressed it in public till now. I never had any personal difference with that gentleman, nor any feeling of personal hostility towards him. I am far from meaning to deny his talents, his good qualities, or his services in various instances; and, now that he is no more, I would rather not allude to his name, unless conformably to the old adage of saying nothing that is unfavourable of the dead. But here I am not left an option; the measure now proposed is to decree, by a public act, the erection of a statue in honour of Mr. Hastings. Thus to decree a statue in honour of any person, goes to hold up that person to the ad-

miration of the world, and to transmit a solemn testimony of his pre-eminent excellence to all future ages. On the present occasion, the terms in which this act is proposed, 'long, zealous, and successful services,' will sanction at least the more prominent measures of an administration; and to be truly honourable to Mr. Hastings, must be supposed to sanction also, as wise and just, the principles, political and moral, involved in them. In such a testimony and such an act I feel myself utterly unable to join; and as silence might imply concurrence, I am obliged expressly to declare my dissent." This was as powerful an argument as could be urged against the erection of a statue to Mr. Grant, and it was from Mr. Grant's own mouth. It appeared to him that the supporters of the motion were conscious of the weakness of the cause which they had undertaken, when they endeavoured to mix up Mr. Grant's private virtues with his public services. The Court had nothing to do with his private life; the place to record his private virtues was on the tablet of his tomb, and the hands which should inscribe them ought to be those of his own family. With respect to his public services, in many of the instances which had been alluded to he was simply a participator; and in others, perhaps, public opinion was now against him, as in the case of the opening of the trade. If the hon. Proprietor who had brought the question forward, founded Mr. Grant's claim to the honour proposed on his public services, it was necessary, according to Mr. Grant's own standard, that they should be pre-eminent. Mr. Grant's services were useful, he admitted, but not pre-eminent. He was of opinion, that the hon. mover had first begged the question, and then argued upon it. He said that public opinion had a greater influence than judicial, legislative, or even monarchical power—that a person who misconducted himself would be crushed by its colossal weight, and be equally unable to bear his own thoughts or the looks of his fellow men. The language there was very good, but the argument was false. Did the hon. Proprietor recollect how many common-place ill-doers (if he might use the phrase) there were, who were never dragged before the bar of public opinion; and who, because they do no pre-eminent evil, avoid having a monument raised to their misdeeds. Then

to take the argument in the other way, had ordinary merit, consisting in the mere observance of domestic duties, and the performance of services in the common routine of business, any claim to be distinguished by the erection of a statue? If that were the case, he (Mr. G.) was of opinion, with an hon. Director, that we should have so many mural monuments, that no poet would ever again be able to write a beautiful "Elegy in a Country Churchyard!" (*A laugh, and Hear.*) It was very rarely that Parliament decreed posthumous honours to individuals. They had voted a monument to be erected in honour of the immortal Pitt. But let the Court consider the difference between the case of Mr. Pitt and that of Mr. Grant. The former was Prime Minister—the *fons, caput and origo* of the Administration. But was Mr. Grant all this? Was he the *origo* of the Company's system? Certainly not. It was confessed that he was only the coadjutor of others who perhaps deserved a greater share of praise than himself. When the monument was proposed to be erected to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wyndham opposed it, and said, that although he would not hesitate to give a monument to Nelson, or any other hero, respecting whose merits there could be no question, yet he would not award that honour for political services, which must always be a matter of dispute. When the Marquess of Londonderry proposed the erection of a monument to Lord Cornwallis, he observed, that it was a thing which ought not to be generally asked, but only on the ground of some extremely distinguished service, respecting which there could be but one common opinion. Was that the case in the present instance? On the contrary, some honourable members differed from the mover of the question upon every point which he had brought forward in support of his proposition, and particularly in the instance of Hayleybury College. But if the motion were carried in its present form, there would be something so extremely incongruous in the result, that it would neutralize the intended effect. Was it proper that an honour which a great Company, like that to which Mr. Grant belonged, conferred upon one of its faithful servants, should have to be sought for in a parish church? He did not mean to detract from the sanctity of a parish church. Far from it. He hoped that his remains might lie in a parish

church, as peaceful and undisturbed as those of the individual whose merits they were then discussing. But at the same time he was of opinion, that if a statue were to be given, a more appropriate place for its reception might be found than a parish church. A place should be selected to secure its durability, in which it would be co-durative, (if he might use the phrase) with the nation itself.

*Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.*

There was no precedent for such a proceeding as that proposed. He would ask the supporters of the motion to produce an instance in which a great public body had raised a monument to one of its members in a parish church. If there must be a statue, why not place it in the quadrangle of Hayleybury College? He trusted, however, that there would be no occasion to select a place for the reception of the monument, but that none would be granted. He considered the motion the result of amiable weakness and public imprudence. He would advise the supporters of the question to withdraw it, and to raise a monument by private subscription, and get Chantry to ornament it. The members of that Court, he was sure, would contribute munificently to the undertaking, on account of the private worth of Mr. Grant, but not on account of his having performed great services.

Mr. TRANT said, he was induced to rise in order to correct an error which the hon. mover of the amendment had fallen into, respecting an important fact connected with the life and services of Mr. Grant. That hon. Proprietor had asserted, that Mr. Grant had proved himself the foe, rather than the friend, of education and improvement in India. (*Cries of No.*) The hon. Proprietor had certainly said, that Mr. Grant was adverse to the College established by Lord Wellesley in India, and that his motive for proposing a college in this country was to subvert the former institution. He (Mr. T.) had the honour of being one of the members of the College founded by Lord Wellesley; and he could state most positively, having attended to all that had taken place in that Court respecting Hayleybury College, that it could not fairly be attributed to Mr. Grant, or any other member of the Direction, that hostility to the plans of Lord Wellesley for improving the minds of the individuals in the Company's service in India, was the cause

of the foundation of Hayleybury College. He would be guilty of an egregious breach of his duty, if he did not attempt to vindicate the character of that eminent individual (Mr. Grant) so far as regarded that point, and to offer his humble tribute of applause and admiration of his conduct, in every thing connected with the moral and intellectual improvement of the population of India. Forty years ago, Mr. Burke said, that if "the British Empire in the East were shaken to the ground by a sudden convulsion in India, no trace would remain there of civilized man except the tracks of his desolating wars." There was a time when the only reply they would have made to this reproach was,

— Padet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et potuisse dici, et non potuisse refelli.

Now, however, Mr. Burke's observation was no longer applicable to the state of India. Happiness, education, and improvement, marked the growth of the British power in India. That important change was chiefly to be attributed to the exertions of Mr. Grant. On his (Mr. T.'s) quitting India, he was instructed to seek for the co-operation of persons in this country in the work of education. He knew that Mr. Grant was alive to the interests of the people of India, and he applied to him for his assistance, which was granted most cordially and most readily. He agreed with Mr. Grant, in thinking that it was better for young men to be completed in what was called their English education before they went to India; and that they should not commence their college education in Bengal, except for the purpose of instruction in the native languages. He did not, however, mean to say, that he approved of every thing which had been done on the subject of education; but so far from Mr. Grant having been opposed to any plan for improving the intellectual condition of the Company's servants, he was, throughout his whole life, a most active, zealous, and efficient friend of that object. With respect to the general question before the Court, he thought that, if there were no precedent for the motion, it was quite time that one should be established. He agreed that other persons had deserved the mark of distinction which was proposed to Mr. Grant, equally with that individual; but if they had neglected to do justice to those persons on former occasions, they might still do justice, though tardy, to them. The Court might

follow the example which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had set last Session, in moving for a monument to Lord Duncan. He (Mr. T.) would have no objection, if the present motion were carried, to move for a monument, for Sir Francis Baring, or any other individual whose merits deserved that honour. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) He thought the proceeding would be a wise one. The eyes of the nation were upon them, and he was glad to find that they were. Many persons who, a short time back, hardly knew where India was, now took a warm interest in the affairs of that country. He did not know whether the motion pointed out the best mode which could be adopted of testifying the respect of that Court for the character of Mr. Grant; but he did think, that the case of a person who for 50 years had devoted himself—with talents of no ordinary description, and with an unusual degree of activity—to the promoting of the interests of the Company, was a fit one to be selected for reward. He did not think the Court would err by holding up such a person to posterity as a man deserving of their admiration. (*Applause.*)

Mr. CARRUTHERS expressed his regret that a proposition, which was calculated to carry a conviction of its propriety to every liberal mind, should have met with opposition instead of being carried by acclamation. It would be his humble duty to endeavour to bring the Court back to a state of reason, from which it had perhaps been deluded by the speeches of the hon. Member for Montrose and the seconder of his amendment. Both those gentlemen had dwelt on the want of a precedent for the motion, and the danger of establishing a bad one. He could only say, that if those who preceded them in that Court had possessed the advantage of so much talent, zeal, and integrity as Mr. Grant displayed in the course of a long life, spent in the service of the Company, and did not give those brilliant qualities their just reward, he did not envy them their feelings. But if others had acted wrong, why should they continue in the same error? Why should they, who had enjoyed the advantage of such a rare combination of talent and zeal as Mr. Grant possessed, refuse to bestow the tribute which had been proposed to his memory. An hon. Director behind the bar, to whose opinions he always listened with great respect, had said that there was a gentleman in that Court as fully entitled to

such an honour as Mr. Grant. He did not deny that; and when that individual's hour of death should arrive—which he hoped would be far distant—when he should go to his long last home, he (Mr. C.) would himself bring forward a question similar to that which the Court was then discussing. What had been stated of the proceedings in Lincoln's Inn Hall respecting that great and eminent man, Lord Erskine, did not apply to the case of Mr. Grant. He did not represent the whole body of the Law, and direct their affairs. They had no affairs to direct. It had been remarked that the Court, by bestowing distinction on Mr. Grant, would be casting an implied censure on other Directors. He could not see the force of that argument. Did it ever occur to the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) when his speeches have been applauded at public meetings, that other senators were debased because they were not so honoured? (*Hear.*) The same hon. Proprietor had observed, that if the motion were carried, it would excite feelings of jealousy behind the bar. (*Hear, hear.*) He did not believe that any gentleman at present sitting there, and he hoped none who would hereafter be placed there, would allow such illiberal sentiments to take root in their minds. Let every man be judged of according to his merits:

Qui palmam meruit, ferat.

If at a future time, their successors should be desirous of offering their tribute of gratitude to another Mr. Grant, and should be prevented by being told that they (the present Court) had refused to establish such a precedent, would they not bring down upon themselves the just reproaches of their descendants, for their want of liberality? He trusted that the want of a precedent for the motion would have no influence. The hon. Proprietor concluded by expressing a hope that the Court would accede to the motion, and do justice to the memory of their late Director.

Mr. Dixon was willing to bear testimony to the merits of Mr. Grant, but he was afraid of establishing an inconvenient precedent; admitting the truth of all that had been said of Mr. Grant's virtues and talents, which he was very willing to do, still he could see no difference between his case and that of other Directors. If the present motion were agreed to, it would be impossible to refuse the same honour to any other

Director. On these grounds, he must vote against the motion.

Mr. Sheriff LAURIE said, that he came into Court with the intention of voting for the motion; but the determination to which he had come, in consequence of what he had heard, was to vote against it. He was not acquainted with the customs of that Court, therefore he hoped he should be excused, if he said any thing inconsistent with their rules. Mr. Grant appeared to him one of the best servants which the Company ever had. He did not agree with an hon. Director, who said that they (the Directors) were all alike. He thought it an injudicious proceeding to attach so many names to a requisition. Nobody who read those names could expect to obtain a decision against any measure which was supported by their authority. He hoped that in future requisitions would only have so many names attached to them as were required, and not fill up the columns of a newspaper with a long list of names for the purpose of giving importance to the subject. With respect to the monument, if there was to be one, he would say, let it be placed in that Court, where it might be the polar star of Directors in future. Who would go to look for it in Bloomsbury Churchyard? (*A laugh.*) He would vote for the amendment, which paid as high a tribute to the memory of Mr. Grant as any man could wish. He had been the organ of the Company, and certainly he was the clearest speaker they ever had behind the bar. (*Loud laughter.*) Since it had been said that the other Directors were as deserving of a monument as Mr. Grant, it would not surprise him to find that they all voted for the motion, in order that they might have statues raised to their memory in each of their parish churches. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. IMPEY said that he had never been present at a discussion, in which the real bearings of a question were so little considered, owing to the minds of those who took a part in it being warped by party feelings. How had that happened? Was it because Mr. Grant was no friend to the policy pursued by the Marquess of Hastings and Lord Wellesley? That had nothing to do with the question, and he was sorry that on that account the friends of those two noblemen should shut their eyes to the merits of Mr. Grant. He also regretted that an hon. Proprietor

on the opposite side of the Court had alluded to the conduct of Mr. Grant, on the occasion of the statue to Warren Hastings being proposed. Mr. Grant did certainly make use of the argument which had been stated, but the Court did not attend to it, but voted the statue. Mr. Grant's argument was as bad as any thing could be; he admitted that Warren Hastings was a great man, but because he differed from him in opinion, he would not vote him a statue. He remembered, that on the occasion to which he alluded, an hon. Member of Parliament delivered a speech against Warren Hastings, almost similar to that which he had that day made against Mr. Grant. The hon. gentlemen brought forward, item by item, a variety of circumstances of which the Court knew nothing at all, to impeach the character of Mr. Hastings. Nay, he went further; he revived acknowledged calumnies which had been published in books, that he, (Mr. I.) had supposed were long since forgotten, at the period of the celebrated investigation. That was not the proper mode of considering a man's character. There was something in the hon. gentleman's mind which, like certain optical glasses, distorted every object which it regarded. He did not mean to say that the hon. Proprietor's intentions were not honest: it was the defect of his mind. (*A laugh.*) As Shakespeare said,

"It is his nature's plague to pry into abuses."

(*Much laughter, and Hear from Mr. Hume.*) The hon. Proprietor's mode of handling a man's character put him very much in mind of the fiery ordeal. Formerly, if an individual were accused of any crime, instead of being tried by a jury, he was set to walk blindfold and barefooted over a space of ground on which red hot iron bars were placed, and if he happened to place his foot upon one of them, he was considered guilty. Under this system, it was almost impossible that any could escape. It was equally difficult for a man's character to pass unhurt through the hands of Mr. Hume; for if it escaped from eight of his charges, the chances were that it would stumble at the ninth. Any person who had heard the hon. Proprietor's speech would have imagined that Mr. Grant had not possessed a single merit. His conduct respecting Haylebury College, and the renewal of the charter, was equally the subject of

the hon. Proprietor's reprehension. It was rather unfortunate, however, that one of the gentlemen to whom the hon. Proprietor was of opinion that statues ought to be raised, rendered himself prominent in supporting the views of Mr. Grant at the time of the renewal of the charter. To come, however, more immediately to the question before the Court, it would be necessary that he should be satisfied of two things before he would give his vote for the motion; first, that Mr. Grant was deserving of the honour proposed; and secondly, that it was for the interest of the Company to grant it. He was of opinion that Mr. Grant did merit that honour on the general ground that he had devoted full 30 years of his life to the service of the company. Gifted with great talents and possessed of uncommon industry, Mr. Grant applied himself to obtain an intimate knowledge of commercial affairs, which he afterwards turned to the advantage of the Company. He certainly thought that, on many points, Mr. Grant took an improper view of East Indian affairs, but that, in his opinion, constituted no reason for not agreeing to the present motion. It was only by discussion and the examination of various opinions, that practical plans of real utility could be discovered. He had no doubt that Mr. Grant's opinions were honestly entertained; and not many years ago, similar opinions were held both in India and in England, by some of the servants of the Company. The zeal, industry, talent, and activity which Mr. Grant displayed in the service of the Company could not be sufficiently described. He thought, therefore, that the Company owed a debt to his memory, which would be acquitted if the motion was acceded to. There was another motive, and a much more important one, which influenced his judgment on the subject. The motion was particularly well timed for the interests of the Company. That Court had often been called upon to vote honours to the Governors General and the Commanders of the Forces in the East Indies, but it had never before had to grant honours for services performed in that House. Had such a proposition as the present been made in the case of Sir F. Baring and Sir H. Inglis, it would, he believed, have been agreed to, and he wished that it had. The interests of the Company required that such

men as Mr. Grant was should be brought into that Court. It was said that there was no precedent for such a proceeding; he hoped that the Court would at length establish one. The vote would encourage men of worth and talent to come amongst them. Since the renewal of the charter, the affairs of the East India Company had been almost in a state of quiescence; but they must not expect those halcyon days to last long. The time would arrive when questions of the greatest importance to India would be discussed. If they were wise, they would prepare themselves for those occasions, by drawing all the knowledge and ability they could amongst their body. The period was fast approaching when the Government would call upon the Company to give up many of their old prerogatives, on the principle that private interest must yield to the public advantage. He was sorry to be obliged to acknowledge, that in the elections in that House they were too much accustomed to look to the party to which a candidate belonged, rather than to his talents. (*Loud cries of Hear.*) He did not say that invidiously; but it was the general sentiment out of doors, and more especially amongst the best friends of the Company, that they ought to collect such talents as would raise the East India Company to an eminence from which it would require a great effort to remove it. (*Applause.*) The Company's empire in India had been built up by degrees; it had grown to an amazing size, and, if it were not supported by pre-eminent talents, it would fall. The hon. Proprietor concluded by declaring, that he would vote for the motion on public grounds alone.

Mr. PLUMMER eulogized the character of Mr. Grant, and said, without meaning to give offence to any individual, that he thought there were few men in the Direction capable of performing the services which he had rendered to the Company. He considered it unwise to reserve all their honours for those who wielded the sword and shield, and to pass by unnoticed meritorious civil services. He could see no danger that could arise from the motion, and therefore he would give it his cordial support.

Mr. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD said that he had come into Court with the intention of not taking any part in the discussion, and he would have adhered to

that resolution had it not been for some observations which had latterly been addressed to the Court, and which rendered it necessary that he should state his reasons for the vote which he intended to give on this occasion. He sincerely regretted that the measure had been brought before the Court, because he foresaw that it would give rise to much unpleasant feeling. He was surprised to hear his learned friend within the bar accuse his hon. friend on the right (Mr. Hume) with introducing party feelings into the debate.

Mr. CARRUTHERS observed that he had made no such charge.

Mr. KINNAIRD was glad that what he had said had afforded his hon. friend an opportunity of making that explanation. The hon. gentleman must then have spoken generally, when he said that a difference of opinion with Mr. Grant respecting the Marquess of Hastings and Lord Wellesley would induce some persons to vote against the motion. Lest it should be supposed that such a consideration might influence him, he felt himself bound to declare that it would not have the slightest influence on the vote which he meant to give. He thought that his hon. friend had been rather hardly dealt with. He had never heard a speech more replete with sound argument and less alloyed with personal feeling than that which had been delivered by his hon. friend. Whatever opinion might be entertained by others respecting the grounds for the motion which had been put forth in the mover's speech, and the answer which they had received from his hon. friend, he would offer none. The principal question for the consideration of the Court, was, whether it was admissible to establish a precedent of voting a monument to a Director, unless for some special act performed out of his office of Director. The reasoning which his hon. friend had employed on that point was sufficient to convince every person that the establishment of such a precedent would be productive of the greatest inconvenience. What had taken place proved that it would be so. Not only had statues been promised to the memory of Sir H. Inglis and Sir F. Baring, but one had been for an existing Director. (*A laugh, and cry of No, no.*) The effect of the hon. gentleman's speech, certainly was to hold out hopes that the worthy Director might live in marble. (*Laughter.*) He put it seriously

to the hon. Proprietor who brought the question forward, whether it would not be wise to acquiesce in the amendment which had been proposed by his hon. friend. He believed that there would be no objection to increase the force of any expression in the amendment, if it should be considered necessary. The Court, in the present state of its information, was not competent to decide that one man should be selected from a body, to receive particular honours. Why did not the Directors come forward and state, that in such and such services they had nothing in common with Mr. Grant? It was only some proceeding of that kind which could satisfy him. He was much pleased with the lecture which the hon. Director had read his coadjutors respecting the mode of their election. He might have obtained an excellent illustration of his statement, and asked for the "close list," containing the names of the individuals whom the Directors recommended to the notice of the Proprietors, (*Hear.*) When he heard of the motion, it immediately struck him as being important to know whether the Directors themselves, who know every thing concerning Mr. Grant, had given any testimony of their approbation of the conduct of their late colleague. He made inquiries on this point, and ascertained that they had not. This certainly was not an argument in favour of the motion. He believed that the measure, if carried, would create much dissension and heart-burning. But he should conceive that the vote could not be considered a very flattering honour, if it should be agreed to upon the principles laid down by one of its supporters, namely, that upon such an occasion, differences of opinion should be forgotten, and general merits be the only ground of decision. He admitted Mr. Grant's merits, but he regretted the selection of a measure fraught with particular inconvenience, which the Court would rue if it were to adopt it. He hoped, that, at least, the advocates of the motion would afford time for the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. SMITH replied very briefly. In answer to the remarks which an hon. Proprietor had made respecting the

terms of the motion, he could only say that the resolution was couched in very simple language, and that he was not disposed to alter it. If the hon. Proprietor persisted in his amendment, the Court must decide between that and the motion. He had risen chiefly for the purpose of declaring that nothing was further from his intention than to cast the slightest reflection on any one of the Directors. He was of opinion that Mr. Grant's services were pre-eminent on the particular points to which he had before alluded, and on which he was at issue with his hon. friend. It was hardly fair in his hon. friend to say that the motion cast any reflection on the general body of Directors. According to his hon. friend's doctrine, he ought to consider himself degraded, because he (Mr. Hume) had received votes of thanks from public bodies, whilst he (Mr. Smith) had received none, although he supported his hon. friend in most of his parliamentary measures. He did not feel disposed to acquiesce in the amendment, and he therefore must request the Chairman to put the motion.

The motion and amendment were then read. The question was about to be decided by a show of hands, when a division was called for. Non-Proprietors were ordered to withdraw; the Ayes were directed to proceed to the right, the Noes to the left of the chair. Mr. John Smith and Mr. Hume were appointed tellers. The first question was, "That the words proposed to be left out, stand part of the motion," which was carried affirmatively; the Ayes being 54, the Noes 29—leaving a majority of 25 in favour of Mr. Smith's proposition. The main question, namely, "To agree with the original motion," was then put, and carried.

Mr. HUME, as we understood, then observed, that it was not the intention of him and of his friends to call for a ballot; and he hoped that no person who was present at the day's proceedings, were actuated by any other feeling save that which belonged to the conscientious performance of a great public duty.

The Court then adjourned *sine die*.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES—CHINA—AND NEW
HOLLAND.

Bengal.—The political events which have transpired at the seat of the supreme government in India, since the resignation of the Marquess of Hastings, the late Governor General, have related almost wholly to the alteration of the laws respecting the Press in India. These events will be dwelt on so much at large in other portions of this publication, that we shall content ourselves in this general summary, with merely adverting to them in the order in which they followed each other. Our readers are, perhaps, aware that in the earliest periods of the British Government in India, the press was under exactly the same restrictions and responsibility as in England, subject to a court of law and the trial by jury, but bound by no other fetters. Even in the turbulent and truly dangerous times of Lord Clive's and Warren Hastings's government, and through by far the most difficult and stormy period of the struggles in which our countrymen contended for empire and renown in India, the press was both nominally and actually free: when offenders were tried before a Court of Justice after publication, and condemned or acquitted under due form of law. During the whole of that period, however, no one ever thought of attributing any evil consequences to the freedom of discussion, though many could testify to the benefits it unquestionably produced. It was reserved for Lord Wellesley to impose the first fetters on this useful and salutary engine, which he did by imposing a censorship on the press, during his administration. That this proceeding was unlawful, no man can doubt. The several Acts of Parliament which granted and renewed the Charter of the East India Company, gave no particular powers over the press in that country. The Charter, which erected a Supreme Court of Judicature there, was equally free from the gift of any such power. The first of these authorized the Indian Government, from time to time to make such regulations for the good government of those living under its rule, as the Judges of the Supreme Court might sanction; and the judges were authorized to confirm all such regulations as were not repugnant to the

laws of England. But the censorship was clearly repugnant to these laws; and it being certain, from this circumstance, that English judges could not sanction such a power, it was never brought before them as a regulation, and never embodied into a law. How, then, the reader will ask, could it be binding on any one? We shall answer the inquiry: for on this point the whole question of the Indian press turns.

The Act of Parliament, which gave the East India Company their Charter, though it did not empower the governors to make any regulations but such as were not repugnant to the laws of England, made it a condition for every British-born subject, proceeding to India, to be furnished with a licence from the East India Company: and although that licence stipulates, that the holder of it shall do nothing *contrary to law*, and implies that as long as he conforms to this condition, he will be protected; yet, at the same time, it empowers the Governor General, for the time being, to cancel or annul that licence whenever he may think proper; leaving it to his sole judgment, whether he proceeds on sufficient or insufficient grounds. The unfortunate individual, whenever deprived of this licence, however unjustly, becomes, from that moment, guilty of a misdemeanour, for continuing to reside in a country after his authority for so doing has been taken away from him: and being thus deprived of his licence, he may be seized as a person being in India without leave, and be transported in any ship, and at any time the Government in India may think fit! Where such a power as this exists, it is easy to obtain obedience to any regulation, however absurd, illegal, or unjust. Accordingly, although the censorship imposed by Lord Wellesley was never sanctioned by the Judges, and was most repugnant to British law; it was obeyed by all the English gentlemen connected with the Indian press, as a matter of necessity from which they could not escape. While the censorship was tendered to them with one hand, the threat of banishment by annulling their licence to reside in India was held out by the other: and as all Englishmen lived in India on sufferance, and might be transported from the country whenever the Governor General pleased, he could of course

impose any conditions he might think proper, as the price of his pleasure; and, under the same threat of forcible removal if they did not obey, exact the observance of any regulation he might think fit to pass, in defiance of judges, of laws, or of common sense. It was on this ground that the censorship—as illegal an act, as was ever attempted, and the enforcing an observance of which, was as unlawful as the extorting any other surrender of a man's rights or property by means of threats—was established. It was soon discovered, however, that as none but British-born subjects required a licence to reside in India, none but such persons could be threatened with its withdrawal, or terrified into an obedience to an illegal power. The Baptist Missionaries, who were English gentlemen, to avoid this degrading thralldom, had left the English territory, to reside at Serampore, under the more liberal and enlightened government of the Danes: who were strong enough to feel no alarm from a free press, in their limited settlement, which did not contain a population of more than 100 whites, and about 10,000 blacks, with a military force of less than 50 men: while the weaker English, with nearly a hundred times the white population in their own service, and a military body of sufficient force to acquire and maintain an immense extension of conquered country, pretended to feel alarm at this engine, which had been before free in India in the most critical times, without being even thought of as a source of danger! Foreigners of every description, however, and even the native Indians, or descendants of Englishmen born in India, were all exempt from this power of transportation for not having a licence, as no such document was necessary for them to reside in the country, and, accordingly, they could not be punished for not possessing it. These, therefore, could not be terrified by threats, into a submission to a censorship; and some of the latter class, now called Indo-Britons, being the offspring of English and Indian parents, ventured to publish their writings, without subjecting them to the inspection of a Censor. On one occasion, the Chief Secretary, whose duty it was to exercise the odious office, sent to the Indo-British editor of an Indian paper, on seeing something in it which he disliked, to ask him how he dared to publish any thing without first sending it to his office for approbation? The Indo-Briton desired in

return, to ask how he, the Secretary, dared to assume a power beyond the law, in suppressing any man's opinions by previous restrictions, repugnant in every sense, both to the law and the practice of England? Had an Englishman by birth done this, he would have had his licence annulled, and have been transported without a hearing. But this Indian-born editor was exempt from such a threat, and therefore, as the matter published was not likely to be considered libellous, the Secretary had no wish to bring the Indian editor into court, and remained silent.

During the administration of Lord Hastings, this principle was acted upon to such a degree, that a publication called "THE GAZETTER" was established by an Indo-Briton, for the express purpose of printing what no English-born editor could venture to do; and in consequence of the valuable information it contained, and which would never otherwise have seen the light, it rose into great circulation and popularity. Lord Hastings saw the absurdity of thus leaving the freedom of the press to be exercised by foreigners of every description, natives, and Indo-Britons, most of them but slightly qualified, by the confined state of their education and information and the general current of their prejudices, to wield such an engine with advantage to the state: and to deny this freedom to Englishmen who possessed so many superior claims to it, as well as superior qualifications for its safe and salutary exercise. He accordingly abolished the Censorship, and declared the press of India, under his immediate government in Bengal at least, to be free. The Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, immediately on entering his office in succession to Sir Evan Nepean, followed the example of the Governor General, and abolished the Censorship also at Bombay. At Madras, however, it was still continued. The newspapers in these parts of India, but particularly in Bengal, accordingly increased in value and importance, and more accurate and useful information respecting Asia generally, and India in particular, was made public through the Calcutta press, during the period of its freedom, under the Marquess of Hastings, than had ever transpired in all the newspapers of India put together, since the settlement of the English in that quarter. It is painful to remark, however, that there was a degree of duplicity in the Marquess of

Hastings's conduct, on this occasion, which his warmest admirers must lament, and which his ablest apologists cannot but condemn. While receiving from all quarters the most extravagant, and apparently the most sincerely offered praise and admiration for this act of *restoring* the freedom of the Indian press (for it should be borne in mind that it was originally free, and its freedom was *illegally* restrained), he had reserved a set of secret conditions; which, like Lord Wellesley's act of Censorship, were never passed into a regulation, and never sanctioned by the Judges, because they were clearly repugnant to the laws of England: but these rules, being issued in "Private Circulars" to the English editors of the Indian papers alone, were still enjoined for their guidance, under the implied threat of banishment by withdrawing the licence of residence, for any infringement of their conditions. The very idea of such restrictions, imposed too by such threats, is entirely at variance with the ordinary notion of a "Free Press;" and, it is not the smallest part of Lord Hastings's manifest culpability, in his repeated and open professions of the latter, while he knew the former to exist, and to be reserved for acting on as occasion might serve—that he must have known the two things to be utterly irreconcilable. Be this as it may, we shall not here argue the question, but confine ourselves to a brief narrative of the facts. This non-descript freedom of the Indian press—occasionally subjecting the English editors to indictments and trial by jury, then to letters of remonstrance and apology to the Chief Secretary, afterwards to criminal informations before a court of justice, and then to threats of banishment without trial, or even a hearing in defence,—presenting the strangest and most absurd mixture of law and discretion that can be well imagined,—continued up to the period of Lord Hastings's resignation of the Indian government in the month of January last.

On the departure of his Lordship from India, his successor, Lord Amherst, had not arrived; and according to the ordinary usage of the service on such occasions, the senior member of council succeeded to the temporary government of the country. This gentleman, Mr. JOHN ADAM, son of Commissioner Adam of the Scotch Jury Court, of Whig family and Whig connexions, and a warm admirer also of Whig principles, according to all his

early professions in India, had been Chief Secretary to Lord Hastings, during the early part of his administration; had exercised the office of Censor over the English press in India for several years; and had also drawn up, signed, and issued the "Private Circular" containing the *new* letters forged for the press, when the *old* ones of the Censorship were taken off. He had besides been known, on more than one occasion, to have urged Lord Hastings, not merely to threaten, but actually to banish those who entertained opinions differing from his own: and had written what his friends called an "able" minute, on the danger of a free press in India: but which able production, was never made public beyond the limits of his own admiring circle. These circumstances had given the mind of Mr. Adam such a taint of hatred to a free press, that it was conjectured in India, to have been, even before his temporary elevation, his fixed purpose to avail himself of that period of his accession to power, to crush and destroy its freedom altogether. Unfortunately, his measures were so artfully taken, and the accidental circumstances of the moment so favoured this illegal and unconstitutional design, that we fear he has but too well succeeded, at least for a period: we cannot think, however, for a moment, that such an unlawful usurpation of power over the minds of men can remain permanent. Lord Hastings, it will be remembered, had left the country, without making any *new* laws for restraining the press, clearly indicating, that *he* at least thought the existing restraints sufficient. If Mr. Adam thought otherwise, common candour and the frankness of an honourable mind, would have dictated the propriety of his avowing it; and proclaiming to the Indian public, but more especially to those connected with the press, what were *his* determinations on this subject; and what would be the rules to which he intended to exact implicit obedience, during his temporary rule. As might, however, have been expected from one bent on some *secret* design, he made no such avowal; nor took any steps whatever, to warn any one against the consequences of infringing any rule past, present, or to come: but, acting on a determination, no doubt previously formed, he seized a pretext, the most weak and frivolous that could have been chosen, to put his favourite project into execution. The most remarkable part of this transaction is, that

the offence alleged is not a breach of even the rules laid down in the "Private Circular;" and these, it will be remembered, were only binding on Englishmen, because they could not resist them without submitting to be driven from the country. An order, or decree was issued, however, for annulling the licence of the single editor, against whom Mr. Adam's hostility seems to have been solely directed; since he continued to allow other editors to write as freely as they pleased *against* the individual, whom he would not permit to defend himself from their aggressions. Not content, however, with the banishment of this editor from his brightest prospects and his fondest hopes in India,—Mr. Adam seizes the opportunity of that person's departure, when the English press in India was almost struck dumb with apprehension of a similar fate,—when terror had established its benumbing reign over all classes of society,—when there was no duly appointed governor general acting under the sanction of the Court of Directors and Parliament (Mr. Adam being unknown as such to these bodies, who had appointed first Mr. Canning, and then Lord Amherst to fill this important post), and when there was only one judge on the bench—to complete the measure of his hostility towards the Indian press, by prevailing on that judge to pass a law for subjecting *every* press in Bengal to a licence, to be given or withheld at his pleasure!

This monstrous assumption of power, this illegal invasion of the dearest right of Britons—for it fully deserves to be so characterized—succeeded! A regulation was drawn up by Mr. Adam to this effect; it was shown to the judge, Sir Francis Macnaghten, who, after making two or three verbal alterations in it, pledged himself before it came into court, to pass it into a law! a fact that is to be gathered from his own admission, if the report of his speech on that occasion can be relied on. Mr. Adam had found that threats of banishment could only be applied to English-born editors; and that all others were subject only to the laws of England, and a trial by jury. His wish, however, was to put *all* editors, and all presses, under the same enslaving subjection to his will: and although he knew that no judge could legally sanction a regulation which was repugnant to the laws of the realm,—*that* being the condition expressly laid down in the Act of Parliament granting the Charter;—yet he knew that without passing

these regulations through the Supreme Court, they could not be held binding on any *except* Englishmen by birth: and he hoped that the judge might find some ingenious reason in the endless maze of legal tautology and obscurity, to satisfy himself at least, that such a regulation *might* be sanctioned, and then his object would be attained. A day was appointed for this matter to be argued in the Supreme Court, in due form; and such was the interest it excited, that the court was crowded to excess. Two able lawyers, Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton, showed, as clearly as legal authorities and logical reasoning could show, that a regulation to subject the press of India to a licence, to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the Governor General for the time being, was a violation of the common rights of Englishmen, and repugnant alike to the letter as well as the spirit of the laws of the realm. When pledges are made, and determinations formed, however, whether by judges or by humbler men, what avails the most unexceptionable authorities, or the most forcible reasons that can be cited and offered in proof? It was gravely argued by a British Judge from the Indian bench, sent there too for the purpose of administering only British law in the same purity as at home, and especially instructed to see that the arbitrary power of the governors did not infringe on any of the sacred rights of his countrymen: it was gravely asserted by this British Judge, that he knew not where to look for the title by which Englishmen in India could claim to be as free as in their own country!—that notwithstanding this, there was no country on earth where men had more freedom, or less to fear from exercising it!—that, on the one hand, the Government of India was most just and equitable; but that, on the other hand, a free press and *such* a government could not exist together!—although, as he had before asserted, there was no country where freedom was greater, or more safe to exercise than here! These are only a few of the contradictions as to the plainest matters of *fact*. The incongruity of opinions delivered on this occasion, is, however, more remarkable still: but it will be sufficient, perhaps, to mention only one of the strongest links of this chain of absurdities, by which the whole argument (if one may dignify it by such a name), hung together. The substance of its assumption is this, "The British Legislature evidently *meant* that the Gover-

nor General should hold English-born residents in India subject to his will, or they would not have given him the power to send them out of the country at his pleasure. The threat of this, however, cannot be held over the heads of Indian-born persons: but, the legislature could not have intended to grant a power to subject *one* part of the population of India to the will of the Governor, and to leave *another* part of the same population free. THEREFORE, it is conceived that as it is lawful to curb the English part of the press by threats of banishment, hung over the heads of its editors; so it must be equally lawful, to impose a general restraint upon the *whole* of the press by some *other* mode!"

If a judge may determine what the legislature meant, and what it did not, and not only administer the law upon such assumed meaning, but pass other laws to make up what he conceives the legislature to have forgotten; and thus make all classes subject to the same mode of coercion,—why did not Sir F. Macnaghten pass a law authorizing the Indian Government to banish *all* individuals who displeased them, whether natives of the country, foreigners, or Englishmen, without the formality of a trial? This would be putting them all on the same footing exactly; and be only fulfilling the *intention* of the legislature, according to this Judge's notion. But he must have known well, that if he had attempted to pass such a law as this, the whole country would have resisted it; because, in point of *fact*, it would appear to be levelled at them all. The scheme was too cunningly devised to admit of such an open violation of right: but, in truth, the mode taken to supply this pretended defect in the law, and to fulfil the supposed *intentions* of the legislature, was quite as objectionable in principle, and to the full as illegal as the other. It was held by the Judge, that though all men might not be legally banished without a trial, for expressing their opinions too freely—this honour being reserved for the Englishman as his peculiar *birthright*: yet that all men might be prohibited from publishing *any* opinion at all, without a particular licence or permission from Government; and that those who ventured to do so, might be punished with fine and imprisonment without a trial, on a conviction of *mere publication*, however innocent the matter published, before a magistrate, himself a paid servant of the Government at whose *will and pleasure* the licence in question was to be granted or withheld! This

learned Judge, attempted even to show that this was not repugnant, but even *consonant* to the law of England; because, by that, printers were obliged to register their presses, before they could lawfully carry on their business! According to his *sage* opinion, there is no difference between a registry, which *cannot* be refused to the party applying, and a licence which *can* be refused to any or to all—no difference between a registry, which *cannot* be taken away when once it is granted, and a licence which *can* be taken away, whenever the Government choose—no difference between a registry which leaves a man the *protection* of a legal trial, and a licence which leaves him *unprotected*, and even shut out from, the benefit of any trial whatever—no difference between a registry which *permits* a man to publish whatever he thinks proper, subject only to the subsequent judgment of a jury of his countrymen, and a licence which will *not permit* him to publish any thing but what is pleasing to the judgment of a single arbitrary ruler, who may order the infliction of fine and imprisonment by a magistrate, whenever, in his single judgment, the individual has offended against his sovereign will. This is, indeed, "a second Daniel come to judgment!" Such a state of *slavery* as this, is infinitely worse than the most rigorous Censorship; and Mr. Adam and his zealous supporter, Sir Francis Macnaghten, have the joint merit of having gone much further than Lord Wellesley, both in the injustice and illegality of their *regulation*, for it would be paying it too high a compliment to call it *law*. Under the Censorship, the Government could benefit at least by the information submitted to their Censor for inspection, should he even think proper to suppress it: and the editor or publisher, however obnoxious the matter struck out by the Censor, was safe in his person, his property, and his pursuits. But according to this new law of *licensing* the press, which holds a rod in terror over the heads of all connected with it, the Government do not benefit in the slightest degree by the information, of which the press even under a Censor was the channel of communication at least to *them*, as no one under this system of terror would venture to write any thing but praise: and so far from the parties being safe, as under the former system, they may be subjected to total ruin in their fortunes, and all the horrors of imprisonment to boot, for venturing to publish *any* thing, no matter what, which the Government at any time and

for any reason may choose to dislike ! But such a proceeding cannot surely be sanctioned by the authorities in England. A memorial from the natives of India was presented to the Supreme Court in that country against this new regulation, but without effect. It will probably be followed up by some public measures in the Courts and Parliament of this country ; and, as such proceedings will, when they occur, be arranged under the head of " Home Intelligence," we shall include them in that department of our Publication, and proceed with our Summary of Intelligence from India and the Colonies.

With the exception of the political events detailed in the foregoing abstract of the proceedings regarding the press, little of general interest has been communicated from our Oriental possessions during the past month. The indigo crops, which in March presented so promising an appearance, have sustained irreparable damage in many parts of India, but particularly in Bengal, from the excessive heat of the weather during April and May, which was accompanied by a general drought.

At Jungypore the weather was so oppressively hot that no work could be done out of doors, and it was calculated that half the indigo crop had been destroyed ; the remainder was suffering severely, and the season was too far advanced to sow lands, so that only a small produce could be anticipated. The holders of this were, therefore, possessed of a very valuable commodity, and many had made good speculations in retaining the old parcels. At Jessore a little rain had fallen during the month of April, but the showers had been too partial to effect any good, and the indigo crop was in the same perishing state in that part of the country.

A dreadful fire broke out early in May at the Bazar of Bhaugulpore, by which upwards of one hundred houses had been destroyed, and seven women perished. Many cloth merchants had been completely ruined by this catastrophe, the whole of their property having been consumed. The natives stood round the flames in helpless apathy, but did not offer to render any assistance in stopping their progress.

A late Calcutta Paper endeavours to draw attention to the trade of Kamboja, in India, which is situated between Niam and Cochin-China. A part is tributary to each, and a part is independent. It exports large quantities of gamboge and pepper; and on its coast there is an archipelago of beautiful islands.

A most violent storm came on at Calcutta early on the 27th of May, which had done considerable damage. At Kedgerree, the country, for six or seven miles round, was completely inundated, but whether from the overflowing of the river, or the torrents of rain that fell at the time, had not been ascertained. From the low situation of the land, fears were entertained that it would be some time before the injurious effects of the hurricane could be remedied. The loss to the shipping was also considerable: the brig *Helen*, bound to South America, was driven on shore and totally lost ; and the brig *Cuttack*, bound for Cuttack, was also completely wrecked. The range of hills, on which was situated the house of the Collector, afforded the only refuge for the unfortunate inhabitants, who flocked there from the surrounding country. In this deplorable state were the native population placed, without food or any means of sustenance: an order from the Board of Customs was, however, immediately received to despatch rice, dholl, and other necessaries for their relief. The rise of the water in Diamond harbour, during the gale, was one foot and a half higher than had been remembered by the oldest inhabitant.

By a letter received at Calcutta, from Secrore, in Oude, dated the 10th of May, it was stated that Mr. Ravenscroft, of the civil service, and lately Collector at Cawnpore, had been most barbarously murdered on the night of the 7th of that month by a body of Deoits. Mr. Ravenscroft had quitted the Company's territories, and lived with his family in a lowly hut, situated in a wild and secluded spot in the kingdom of Oude. It appears that the murderers amounted to nearly a hundred persons, and, seduced by the hope of plunder, they surrounded the hut on the night of the 7th, when Mr. Ravenscroft and most of his family were in bed. After cutting down the Chokeydar who attempted to oppose their ingress, they rushed towards Mr. Ravenscroft's bed, and, while the unhappy man was in the act of starting up, they thrust a spear through his body, and a dozen of the ruffians completed, with their daggers, the murderous deed. Three or four of the servants were slain while fighting in defence of their master.

A Sutte (the Indian name for the horrid sacrifice of burning a widow alive) took place at Budddebhatty on the 23rd of March, which had occasioned some conversation at Calcutta. One Neelmony Doss having died on the 21st, his

wife, aged 21 years, resolved to sacrifice herself on the burning pile of her husband, but it was delayed for two days, in consequence of the absence of the Daroga (the native officer of Police who superintends this legalized murder). At last, on his return, she suffered herself to be consumed with the dead body, affording another melancholy instance of the deluding influence of superstition.

On account of the rumours of war which had reached India through the medium of the English journals, the Underwriters at Calcutta had been charging the war premium on insurances, with an understanding, however, that should hostilities not have commenced by the time of the vessel's arrival at her destination, the additional charge should be allowed.

Madras.—Several shocks of earthquakes were felt during the early part of February, at Madras and in its vicinity: they were very slight, though noticed by several persons; but earthquakes being of rare occurrence at Madras, this phenomenon had attracted much attention. On the 10th of February two distinct shocks were felt at Cotechurry, the interval between the shocks being about two minutes.

Letters had been received in Madras which stated that the Spasmodic Cholera was carrying off a considerable number of persons in the territories of the Nabob, and occasioned much alarm. Some of the accounts from Madras express an apprehension that commercial pursuits in that Presidency were on the decline. During the greater part of the first week in April only two ships were at anchor in the Roads, which was an event quite unparalleled. The Prince of Persia landed at Madras on the 9th of March: he appeared much indisposed, and was lifted out of the boat, under a salute of seventeen guns.

March 31. The first battalion of the 18th regiment of Native Infantry, and the third of Cavalry, together with a small battery, moved from Nusserabad on the 15th instant, and were to attack Lamba, a place about three marches distant, the Tahoor of which had refused obedience or revenue at the Durbar of Jypoor. The Rancee in charge of the Jypoor affairs had, it appears, turned out the Prime Minister, and appointed a Bunya, or common grain-merchant to fill his place. The command of the forces destined to attack Lamba has been given to Brigadier Knox.

Lamba, March 17.—The forces arrived before this place on the 15th, and

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at eight A.M. the batteries opened against the fort. At eleven the garrison expressed a wish to surrender, if the fire of the batteries was stopped. To this demand Brigadier Knox replied, "No, you have deceived me once, and shall not have an opportunity of doing so again. You may withdraw through the town, unmolested by our men on duty there, for the next half hour, after which no parley will be held." At twelve they unconditionally surrendered, in number about 400. Bisson Sing, the Killadar, fled on foot to a village about three coas from this place, where he got a horse, which, however, threw him, and broke his collar bone. The force, it is said, will proceed against some other forts; but it is suspected that the lesson read to the garrison of Lamba will save further trouble. The Governor of the fort, some time back, took every opportunity of thwarting the measures of Sir David Ochterlony in the Durbar, and, when remonstrated with, set them at defiance. He is now justly punished.

A private letter from Madras, dated June 15, 1823, written by an Officer of the Native Cavalry, contains the following remarks on the capricious changes which are perpetually taking place there in the uniforms of the military service:

"The army of this presidency have been for years subjected to continual and capricious changes of appointments and dress, by which subalterns are put to an expense beyond what they can possibly afford. About two years ago the muster of the horse appointments of the whole cavalry were changed:—by this order all my horse equipments, to the value of about 50*l.*, became, for all military purposes, totally useless, and I was obliged to supply myself with new ones to an equal amount in expense: the same thing must have happened in a greater or less degree to all my brother officers of the cavalry. I am bold to say, that by this change, the cavalry was not made a whit more efficient:—indeed, the body guard under the Commander in Chief's control have not made the change, convinced that there was no advantage to be gained by it. In the year 1820, the cavalry were dressed in blue—in the year 1821 in grey—when the grey became the order of the day, the blue was of no use, and dress jackets cost, at Madras, 2*9**l.* each. From the 1st of January, 1824, the whole dress of the cavalry is to be again changed; this alteration will cost each officer at least 9*6**l.* That subalterns must, with this expense, run into debt no one can doubt; and that the major part of these al-

tered appointments contribute to the improved efficiency of the army in the field, who is the idiot to affirm? It will naturally occur to you to ask, why do not the army officers memorialize the Hon. Court of Directors against the evil of which I complain? The reply is evident—Because, a memorialist would be a marked man."

Bombay.—The accounts from Bombay state that, in consequence of the continued stagnation of trade throughout India, and the insecurity and difficulty of employing capital to any considerable amount, so as to yield adequate returns, it had been determined to reduce the rate of interest from five to four per cent., and the reduction was to commence on the 1st of August last.

At Bombay accounts have been received of the loss of the ship *Travancore*, at Muscat, by which twelve men were lost, and many others seriously injured. About one hundred bales of piece goods had been saved, but all were more or less damaged. The markets in the Persian Gulph were very dull, business being in a stagnant state.

The Bengal Papers to the end of April, received at Bengal, stated that the Cholera Morbus was very prevalent at Midnapore, upwards of 140 persons having been attacked in one day, out of which number 85 had died. The magistrate of the district had made an application to the Governor General in Council, proposing that native doctors might be appointed to render medical aid to the people of that district, the European physicians having in vain exerted their ingenuity, which has been invariably baffled by the dreadful malady.

May 31. The ship Cornwall, Richardson, arrived at Bombay, on her voyage from Mocha to England, having struck on a bank off Cape Aden, and sustained considerable damage. On the 29th of March, at 8.35 p.m., the Cornwall, in the act of tacking, struck on a knoll, with only two fathoms and a half on it, five fathoms inside and round it, and a regular bank of soundings from four to twenty-three fathoms, extending about five miles; lat. 13.2 N., long. 45.30 E., Cape Aden in sight, bearing S. 52 W.; a large white tower above the low coast bearing N. by compass; the beach low, with a heavy swell running on it. The ship struck repeatedly, and broke the main piece of her rudder, as well as all the pintles short off; sprung a leak of two feet per hour, which increased when it blew hard. After getting the ship off, made a temporary rudder in three days,

with which she got close to Maculla, when, from heavy seas and a gale from the eastward, the temporary rudder broke; she was obliged to bear away for Aden Bay, where she arrived in the middle of April, steering with the assistance of the sails: another temporary rudder was then made, which brought the ship to Bombay. Twenty men died with fatigue during the voyage, and seventeen were landed sick the day after her arrival, four of which are since dead.

Ceylon.—The Ceylon Gazette mentions that two distinct shocks of earthquake had been felt there early in February, by which, however, no damage was sustained. The same also occurred at Kandy, Ratnapora, Maturo, Negombo, &c. The sky was clear, but no greater heat or other difference in the temperature was observed.—Sir Richard Otley, Puisne Justice, embarked, on the 3rd of March, on a voyage to the Mauritius, and eventually to the Cape of Good Hope, for the recovery of his health.

Penang.—The letters from Penang state, that the sales of rice were totally put a stop to in consequence of the retail merchants, who are Chinese, having got into a system of controlling the markets, which affected all importations, and placed the poorer classes of inhabitants almost in a state of starvation. More beggars were stated to be found in Penang than in the whole of the rest of India, and they formed a most disgusting object. Several individuals had purchased rice, and retailed it to the most needy at prime cost; but this only obviated in a very trivial degree the evil complained of.

Accounts had reached Penang from Java, dated early in January, which stated that the inhabitants of that island had been much alarmed by the breaking out of several volcanos in different parts of the island, which had occasioned great distress and killed many people. The first was in the district of Samarang, which broke out on the 8th of November, and destroyed a fine tract of the Government lands; it increased till the 12th, when the entire population for seventeen miles round was burnt under the burning lava. Two hundred villages and from five to six thousand inhabitants were annihilated in one night. On the 28th Dec. an eruption took place in another direction near to Solo, and killed about fifty people; and on the night of the 30th a third eruption of a most violent description took place, which caused the whole of the inhabitants to rush from their houses in the greatest dismay; but at

the departure of the accounts, it was not ascertained on what part of the island the visitation had fallen.

March 4. We understand that Captain M'Donnell has brought from Siam a most valuable and rare collection of curiosities; among which is a band of music, containing every instrument used by the people of that country, and presented to him by the young Prince Chow Fa, all of which, with a small state boat, are now in the possession of Sir Stamford Raffles. Capt. M'Donnell has also procured a number of sacred and other Siamese books, which we trust may throw a light upon the history of a nation so little known to Europeans, and we look forward with impatience to the period when Sir Stamford will gratify the literary world with their translation. The Siamese, we understand from Captain M'Donnell, were erecting a fifty gun battery on the shoal opposite to Pachame, near the entrance of the river. This intelligence confirms the former report. By private information received at Malacca, through a Siamese junk, we learn that Captain Thistle, commander of the grab brig *Dudally*, has been scalped at Siam. On the 11th ult. at sunrise, minute guns, to the number of 48, corresponding with the age of his Excellency the Governor of Malacca, were fired from the ramparts of Fort Cornwallis, conformable to the Government order.

Malacca.—A serious fire had broken out in the town of Malacca, at the back of the Missionary College, on the 7th of March, by which seven native houses had been consumed, but no lives were lost. It was reported there that a battle had been fought between the Malays and Siamese, about the middle of February, at Pena. The King of Salangor, it appears, proceeded with an armed force to Pena, and attacked the Siamese, who were completely routed, and one of their Chiefs slain. The war, it was expected, would be continued, and an attempt made to reinstate the King of Queda in his dominions.

Singapore.—An attempt had been made at Singapore to assassinate Colonel Farquhar, the governor of that settlement. It appears that a Malay Chief, who had been committed to prison for debt, was, on the 11th of March, permitted to go in charge of some Police Peons, to endeavour to obtain bail. Being unsuccessful however in doing so, he was pressed, when night came on, by the Peons to return to prison: his misfortunes making him desperate, he suddenly drew his *kris*, killed a Jemadar

on the spot, wounded two other Peons, who were with him, desperately, and five slightly, and then made off, apparently for the river. A report of the circumstance was made to Colonel Farquhar, who, accompanied by Mr. Bernard, Captain Davis, and a few sepoys, went to apprehend the offender. On reaching the house where these outrages had been committed, the party separated, and scarcely had they done so when the Chief rushed out, and the Colonel being at the head of the party, and having a lantern close by him, which rendered him a still more conspicuous object, was run at by the man, and received a wound on the left side of the chest, which, but for the intervention of the rib, would have proved fatal. An orderly Havildar, who was standing by, immediately grasped the *kris*, and thereby prevented a repetition of the blow, and the villain was instantly despatched by the sepoys. The Colonel's wound confined him to his bed for a month, the *kris* having penetrated so as actually to touch the lungs. On his first appearance among the inhabitants after his recovery, they evinced their joy by taking the horses from his carriage and drawing him home. A curious occurrence took place the day after the attack was made on the Colonel—the defunct body of the Malay was tried in the Court, found guilty, and, by a law made by Sir S. Raffles at the moment, the body was sentenced to be hanged in chains.

A dreadful accident occurred at Singapore in the beginning of April, to Capt. Pearl, of the *Indiana*. As he was entering the house of a gentleman, he was seized by a South American bloodhound, with which he had a scuffle for nearly an hour, and was dreadfully lacerated.

On the 1st of April, 1823, was established "The Singapore Native Institution," to which 25,000 dollars had been subscribed up to that period. The Institution consists of a Chinese College, a Malayan College, and a Scientific Department. The three patrons are Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Grant. Colonel Farquhar is patron of the Chinese College, and the Rev. Mr. Hutchings of the Malayan; of the latter Captain Davis is trustee.

The improvements suggested at Singapore by Sir S. Raffles, were proceeding rapidly, and every individual seemed to vie with his fellow labourer in forwarding them.

Sumatra.—Recent letters from the island of Sumatra state that the natives

had been very troublesome in the interior of the Padang settlements, and had destroyed many of the district troops in several engagements; reinforcements however had arrived from Batavia, and it was expected that the Dutch authorities would soon be in a condition to act on the offensive. The Cholera Morbus had been very prevalent at Padang, and had carried off many of the inhabitants.

Batavia.—From Batavia we learn that, during the end of April and beginning of the following month, the Cholera Morbus had broken out at Amboyna, and, up to the 17th of May, 248 persons had died in the town; but by the 1st of June the disease had nearly disappeared. The Envoy from Siam had his farewell audience on the 13th of June, and on the 15th the embassy left Java. By the accounts from Borneo it appears that the Dutch are compelling the English ships to pay 12 per cent. on the sale price on all goods except opium, which pays 155 dollars per chest. They have also, it would appear, a desire to seize Borneo Proper, Trongan, and Calantin, and have forbidden our ships to trade at the other parts between Pontianak and Sambas, having an eye to the whole produce of the great gold mine of Muntrado, which is about 30 miles up the country between these two ports.

Philippine Islands.—The Manila *entre-pôt*, it appears, is made general for all vessels of 40 tons and upwards, and for goods, licit or illicit, subject to a duty of one per cent. *ad valorem* on the importation, and one per cent. on the exportation. The Philippine Islands have been much disturbed by a revolution which has broken out there, having for its object to render that settlement independent of Spain: it had, however, been suppressed, and fifteen of the principal ringleaders sent to Spain for trial.

Canton.—Recent accounts from Canton state it to be reported in the factory, that the Chinese Government was about to renew its demand for the seamen concerned in the affair of his Majesty's ship *Topaze*; but it was expected some means to evade it would be found, without any renewal of the interruption to trade in that quarter. It was said that the Chinese regarded the late fire at Canton as having been the result of their not revenging the death of the two Chinese slain in the above affair, by an expiatory sacrifice of the Europeans concerned therein. Canton is represented in these accounts as having

recovered from the effects of the conflagration, the factories and other buildings had been rebuilt on the same plan as those consumed, and commercial pursuits had resumed their usual course. The trade, though considerably deranged and impeded for a time, had suffered less than could have been anticipated from such a visitation.

New South Wales.—The accounts from New South Wales are of a very promising nature, as regards the general improvement of that colony. The whaling season commenced on the 29th of May, and two of the largest fish ever seen there had been caught in the river of Hobart's Town. Two Russian discovery ships, the *Cruizer*, Cominodore Lazaroff, and the *Ledago*, Captain Lazaroff, put into that port to refresh on the 30th of May, having been three months from Rio Janeiro. Captain Raine, of the *Surrey*, had arrived at Port Jackson, leaving his ship at Port Steven; he had nearly succeeded at Port Macquarrie, in loading the finest cargo of cedar ever produced there. He was expected to leave New South Wales for England, to which place the cargo was destined. For the convenience of trade between Hobart's Town and Port Jackson, the building of a smack was in contemplation. At Wellington Valley, a new town was raising, under the auspices of the Governor and principal men at Port Jackson. Private letters have been received from Hobart's Town, from the settlers there, conveying some interesting accounts of that colony. Women servants are stated to be particularly scarce in that place, and men are consequently employed instead of them in the houses. Hobart's Town, though rising rapidly in importance, was still but in its infancy, and consequently the settlers had to experience the want of many things which, in England, were daily necessities, but there were regarded as luxuries; among these were carpets for the floors, fenders, fire-irons, and other similar domestic utensils. Many of the articles of domestic consumption were also difficult to obtain, in consequence of their price; among these were candles, which were 1s. 6d. per pound, but these the settlers were generally learning to make themselves, as well as soap and beer, &c. Fuel and meat were both very scarce during the winter. The cedar wood, from New South Wales, however, is stated to be similar to mahogany, and makes excellent doors, shelves, &c. without paint. English silks were exceeding dear; and milk,

butter, and cheese so expensive as to be very little used. Sugar and tea were cheap; green tea was 4s. 6d. and 5s. per pound, and sugar 6d. and 7d. The work-people were very idle, which, however, was the natural result of the wages being high enough to enable them to earn in three days money sufficient to support them in indolence the remaining four. Business in New South Wales generally is represented to be very dull at present, in consequence of it being the intention of Government to make the colony support itself, or at least of making the experiment. The agriculturists there appear loudest in their complaints. The method of receiving wheat for the supply of the Government, at a fixed price of 10s. per bushel, had been changed for that of taking sealed tenders, from which the lowest was selected; this had reduced wheat to 7s. 6d. per bushel, and barley to 5s., with a probability of both being lower. One great injustice appears to be practised towards the traders there, in the payments of the Commissary, which are made in dollars at 5s., these being subject to a discount of 15 per cent., thereby reducing the profit on produce nearly one half. Moreover, these dollars, issued by the Commissary in payment of supplies at 5s., are received by the naval officers, in discharge of their duties, at 4s. Paper money is very abundant in New South Wales, it being customary for tradesmen to issue notes for such small sums as 2s. 6d., 1s., and even 6d. The best way of receiving remittances from the colony is stated to be in wool, by which 15 per cent. premium on bills is saved.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—The principal intelligence from the Cape, relates to a strange nation which has appeared on the boundary of the colony, and to which the whole attention of the colonists appears directed. Various reports had been in circulation concerning this people. It was the opinion of many that they were the descendants of the crew of the Grosvenor, East Indianman, but their numbers, amounting to many thousands, negatived that idea. Others imagined that they were a tribe of Arabs, but their avowed purpose being to join the white people (meaning the English), whose locality they appear perfectly aware of, seemed to place this supposition at rest. By many persons at Cape Town it was positively asserted they were runaway slaves from the Portuguese settlements, formerly established on the River de Suma, some

thousands of whom, many years back, deserted that territory. It appears, during their progress, they defeated many of the Caffre and Hottentot tribes, who endeavoured to prevent their passing through their territory; but that, where no opposition was offered, food only was taken. They were accompanied by their wives and children, and report stated them to be Cannibals. The Governor had sent several persons from Cape Town for the purpose of obtaining some tidings of these people, and a letter from Mr. Melville dated Griqua Town, 25th of July, received at Cape Town the beginning of September, set the matter at rest. It appears by this account, that the force of Griqua, consisting of about 90 men, with muskets and horses, accompanied by Messrs. Melville and Moffat, left Griqua Town on the 21st of June, and having been joined by a party of Bechouanas, they proceeded to within six miles of Lattakoo, where they found the enemy established, having defeated the Bechouanas under the chief Mahornapul. After having in vain endeavoured to establish a friendly communication with the invaders, an engagement was commenced by the Monhattus. After several hours fighting the invaders were defeated, leaving about 100 men killed. Many women and children were left behind, who were inhumanly and indiscriminately massacred or mutilated by the Bechouanas, who joined in the pursuit, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Messrs. Moffat and Melville to prevent them. Subsequent accounts of the 31st of July, state that the condition of the unfortunate savages was most horrible. Hundreds were at Old Lattakoo, and on the road to New Lattakoo, as well as at Nokenning, a place fifteen miles to the eastward of Old Lattakoo, and that for want of food they were feeding on one another. Nearly one hundred were reserved after the battle, and distributed among the Griquas. Measures were taking at Cape Town to save these ill-fated beings from the most appalling of deaths. The commercial accounts from the Cape are of a very cheering description, and the prospects of the colony were good. By an authentic statement of the exports from thence for the years 1821 and 1822 which had been published, it appears that the latter year exceeded the former by 909,191 dollars, notwithstanding the severe visitations of blight and tempest which the colony had experienced. It is fair to hope, therefore, that this settlement will continue to ad-

vance. The advantage of so large an increase in exports is obvious, as the rate of exchange is entirely governed by the balance between the exports and imports.

Madagascar.—Accounts from Madagascar state, that in consequence of Commodore Nourse having been detained at the Cape, the meeting arranged to have taken place between him and the King of Madagascar, Radama, had been attended only by that monarch and Captain Moorsom, as proxy for the Commodore, to settle the differences which at various periods have arisen between the British Governor and the Court of Madagascar. The interview terminated satisfactorily to both parties, and Captain M. states that civilization is making a most rapid progress in that country. Radama is represented as possessing considerable political sagacity; and this visit was likely to increase the advantages accruing to both parties by mutual communication.

African Coast.—The Forte, Sir Thomas Cochrane, and the Ringdove, Captain Rich, had captured on the 19th of September, and sent into Surinam, the French Brig *L'Eyre* of 298 tons, with 350 slaves from the African Coast. Private letters state, that the efforts of the British naval force to put down slave traffic were incessant, and in a considerable degree successful.

The American colonies in Africa appear to have suffered much from sickness, particularly at Messurado; but our dependencies have been comparatively free.

His Majesty's gun-brig *Snapper* has arrived from the Coast of Africa, where she had been employed upwards of three years, in the suppression of Slave Trading. She left Sierra Leone on the 1st of September. The most important article of information brought by the *Snapper* is, that the Ashantees were approaching Cape Coast, in considerable numbers, with the intention of making an attack on and plundering the colony. The private and public property there is very considerable. Sir Charles M'Carthy was about to leave Sierra Leone for Cape Coast to direct the operations. Captain Laing, of the Royal African Corps, had collected a force of 7,000 men (principally natives) to resist the Ashantees. Commodore Sir Robert Mends was at Cape Coast with the *Owen Glendower* and *Driver*, for the purpose of affording all possible aid to the military forces. The Ashantees were said to have arrived within nine

miles of the colony.—We are happy to hear that the *Owen Glendower* had captured, in the River Bonny, two Spanish schooners, with 260 slaves on board; but, though the French have had a squadron of five vessels at war at Goree the last 12 months, four of them were about to return to France (having been relieved) without having made a slave capture; a recent arrival from the river Sestos stated that the traffic in slaves is carried on with redoubled energy by the subjects of the Kings of France and Spain, at the Galinas and on the coast of Cape Palmas.

The *Hetty Coates*, arrived from the coast of Guinea, reports that the *Urchin*, Chidwick, of Nantucket, arrived at Almina on the 10th of August from Bona Vista, with the owner of the brig *Edward* on board, that vessel having been scuttled, and Captain Julien murdered by the crew: three of the murderers afterwards landed in their boat near Axim, where they were apprehended, sent to Cape Coast Castle, and from thence to the United States. The *Urchin* sailed on the 14th of August for South America.

Ascension.—Accounts from the island of Ascension announce the death of Sir Robert Mends, the commander on that station, who expired from an attack of apoplexy, which terminated his existence in less than twenty-four hours. He was interred at Cape Coast on the following day. Captain Perry Grace of the *Cyrene*, being the senior officer, had assumed the command of the station until advices from England were received.

Interior of Africa.—Letters have been received from Mr. Belzoui which state his safety; but neither the date nor place of his writing is mentioned. He had been at Fez, and was then in the latitude of 21° N. His intention was to proceed to Timbuctoo, and he entertained strong hopes of success.

Ile of France.—The following is an extract of a private letter from Port Louis, dated in August last.

"Sir Lowrie Galbraith Cole and family arrived here about a month since, after a passage of seventy-three days only; it is almost too early to form an opinion of his character; he appears prompt in his measures, and I imagine will use his own judgment in the government, so that he is less likely to be misled by designing men: he walks about and visits all the public offices when he is least expected, and has surprised and frightened a few in office, who were so perfectly secure in doing as

they pleased with our last *easy* governor, that many regulations were neglected which ought to have been attended to. Sir Lowrie soon discovered this, and issued orders for the readoption of several useful rules which had fallen into disuse. He appears to be a great economist in the administration of government, as well as in his private affairs; but the inhabitants are anxious to learn, how their own situation is likely to be affected by this disposition; they hope for a reduction of the duties and taxes, which now press so heavily on them; but no alteration has yet taken place in these respects."

The Mauritius, from the accounts received up to the end of July, had been visited by a very severe gale, which had done considerable damage to the shipping. The ships *Liverpool* (Capt. Green) and *L'Oracabessa* (Capt. Carmichael), on their passage down to Port Louis, were totally lost off the Sand Heads of Calcutta on the 27th of May. Captain Green, his officers, and the pilot, were washed away with the poop on the night of the 27th, and but six of the crew were saved. Two brigs and a sloop were also lost.

MEDITERRANEAN SETTLEMENTS.

Constantinople.—Nothing of any material importance has transpired in the Turkish capital according to the latest accounts. Tranquillity was enjoyed there by the Frank population, the Turkish populace not having been guilty of those excesses which had previously disgraced them, and endangered the lives of the Christian residents. This pacific turn was attributed to the great influence enjoyed by the British Ambassador with the Ottoman Government. Lord Strangford had signed on the 25th of October, at the palace of the Reis Effendi, a treaty of friendship and commerce for the King of Sardinia, by which Genoese vessels will be allowed the navigation of the Black Sea. The *Cambrian*, 46 guns, had gone to Smyrna to convey down the fruit ships for the season, and on her return she would sail for England, being succeeded by the *Sybil*.

Smyrna.—Smyrna, at the last accounts, was in a state of perfect quietness, and the Christian traders were permitted to follow their vocations without any molestation. The obsequies of Pope Pius VII. were celebrated at Smyrna, on the 6th of October, in the church of *Soccelans*, and two days after in that of the *Capuchins*. Greeks were daily arriving at Smyrna, but they suffered neither insult nor injury from the Turks.

The *Oriental Spectator* of Smyrna, contains the following highly interest-

ing account of the escape of 22 Greeks from the Turks, who had taken them prisoners:—

"We spoke lately of 22 Greeks who were taken at sea, brought to Smyrna, and then sent in chains to Constantinople. When they arrived at Mulich, they were put on board a vessel with a crew of 17 Turks. This vessel arrived at Constantinople during the night, and anchored under the walls of the *Seraglio*. Only three Turks remained on deck, and the others, who had left their arms there, had gone below to amuse themselves in the cabin. The Greeks were in the hold; their chains had been taken off, and they were only bound with cords, that they might more easily be landed the following day. The principal of the Greeks immediately saw the advantage he might derive from the happy moment offered by fortune, in a situation which seemed desperate. He approached one of his countrymen, who succeeded in loosing the cords that bound him, with his teeth. As soon as his hands were free, he successively, and without noise, released all his companions. The 22 Greeks having by a bold and successful effort made themselves masters of the vessel, assumed the Turkish costume, (in which they were aided by the length of their beards, which had been suffered to grow,) set sail, and disappeared; but a new danger threatens them at the *Dardanelles*—they are ordered to stop; they reply in Turkish, that the current carries them away—that they are going to the fleet with orders from the Sultan; they are suffered to pass, and soon reached the second castle, where they succeeded in the same manner. A greater danger awaited them off *Tenedos*: it was broad daylight—a Turkish frigate sailed towards them—they have the presence of mind to show themselves on the deck, and to retire under the very guns of the fort of *Tenedos*. This bold and ingenious manœuvre succeeded: the frigate, convinced that they were Turks, tacked about just as it was on the point of reaching them; they took the first moment to sail again, the wind being favourable. But soon the nature of their dangers changed: they met a *Spezziot* vessel, which, taking them for Turks, fired at them. They succeeded in making themselves known, and all of them reached *Ipsara* in safety, after a voyage of five days. We warrant the correctness of all these details, which are known even to the Turks, who have taken the matter very coolly."

Syria.—Letters from Antioch, dated the 30th of June, communicate most

disastrous intelligence from Syria. To that date earthquakes continued almost daily to be felt, and many of the shocks were alarming and calamitous in their consequences. Nature had also visited this unfortunate population with other evils, little inferior to those which the earthquake itself had entailed on them. In that country the rainy season generally sets in about the month of December, and continues with some intermission till the end of March, but from March till October even a shower seldom falls. This season has, however, been very different; for during the last week in May, and the whole of June, there had been an uninterrupted fall of heavy rains, and in the last week of that month the torrents burst from the mountains, the Orontes overflowed its banks, the plains were deluged, and men and cattle, the standing crops, and those that were gathered, trees and houses, were swept away by the irresistible force of the floods. Upwards of one thousand human beings perished. The mulberry trees were torn up by the roots, and the whole country presented a scene of ruin and the most extensive desolation. The plague had appeared at Bairout, and as no country will allow that the plague originates in itself, the account was that it was brought in several vessels from Alexandria. Thus is the sum of human suffering entailed on this part of Asia, for earth, air, and water seem to have conspired against the unfortunate inhabitants, and their wretchedness is completed by the despotism of their rulers.

Egypt.—Letters from Alexandria state the Pasha of that place to have recently given much encouragement to all useful enterprises. A Monsieur Desloches had formed there an establishment for furnishing ice in all seasons of the year. The Viceroy had granted to this speculator an exclusive privilege to import it for five years, and it was calculated that upwards of a million francs would be gained by the speculation. Many French officers were serving in the army of the Pasha, and were introducing the European discipline, as far as the difference of religion and manners would admit. The greatest liberty is stated to exist in Egypt: persons travel through it with great security, and people may write and undertake any thing they please, provided it does not disturb the public tranquillity. Since the war between the Greeks and Turks an extensive trade has been carrying on, in foreign vessels, between the ports of Egypt and those of European Turkey.

In the course of the year 1822, nine hundred vessels entered the port of Alexandria. The plague had entirely ceased, and no more was heard respecting it. Between 30 and 40,000 ardehs of linseed, being part of this year's crop of 100,000 ardehs had been ordered for shipment to Holland. This had increased the demand for foreign ships, scarcely any Dutch ships being in the port.

The following extract of a letter of recent date, from Cairo, is too illustrative of the character of its Pasha and Government generally, to be curtailed:

"Yesterday the diploma of Honorary Member of the Society of Frankfort was presented to the Pasha, in consideration of the protection he had granted to their members who had been travelling in his dominions. I happened to be present at the Divan held at Isheke. This diploma, which was written in German, gave rise to a most laughable scene. On its first being presented, the Pasha, who could neither read nor write, thought it was a firman of the Porte. He was much surprised and alarmed; but Boghos Yousouf explained to him that it was written in the *Nemtschee* language, and contained the thanks of the *ulemas* (scholars) of a German city named Frankfort, for the kindness he had shown to two *Nemtschee* travelling in Egypt. 'The *ulemas* of that city,' he continued, 'kiss the dust of your shoes, praying you to spread upon their society the light surrounding your exalted head, and to take them under the wings of your powerful protection.' This flattering address, though scarcely in the style in which the *ulemas* of Frankfort would have expressed themselves, seemed to please his Highness, who put his hand on his breast.

"But the most difficult part was yet to come; it was to explain to him that he had been appointed a member of their society; and the Turkish language having no word for this purely European idea, and the Pasha not knowing an other than this and his native Albanian Mr. Borghos, after many hesitations and circumlocutions, at last succeeded in explaining 'that as a mark of respect and gratitude, the society had made him one of their partners.' At these words the eyes of the Pasha flashed with rage and with a voice like thunder he roared that he would never again be the partner of any firm; that his association with Messrs. Briggs and Co., in the Indian trade, cost him nearly 500,000 ha piasters; that the association for t

manufactory of sugar and rum paid him nothing at all; and, in short, that he was completely tired of his connexions with Frank merchants, who were indebted to him 23,000,000 of piasters, which he considered as completely lost. In his rage he even threatened to have Mr. Boghos drowned in the Nile, for having presumed to make offer of a mercantile connexion, against his positive orders.

"The poordragoman was confounded, and unable to utter a word in his defence. At this critical moment, however, Messrs. Fernandez, Pambouc, and others who have access to the Pasha, interposed; but it was some time before they could induce his Highness to reason, as his passion had thrown him into a hysterical hiccough. He had not been in such a fury for a long time; and we all hope here that this circumstance may come to the knowledge of all the literary societies in Europe, that they may not again be so incautious as to endanger the life of so worthy a man as Mr. Boghos Yousouf, by their diplomas. Indeed, we are all surprised here that the gentlemen in Frankfort did not rather think of sending some useful present, according to the ancient custom of the East.

"When his Highness was a little recovered, Mr. Fernandez endeavoured to explain to him that there was no question about business: that the *ulemas* of Frankfort were possessed of no stock but books, and had no capital. 'So much the worse,' replied the Pasha; 'then they are *sahhaftehi* (booksellers), who carry on their business without money, like the Franks at Cairo and Alexandria.' 'Oh, no, they are no *sahhaftehi*, but *ulemas*, *kiatibs* (authors), physicians, *filousafs*, &c., who are engaged in science.' 'Well,' said he, 'and what am I to do in their Society; 'I, a Pasha of three horse tails?'—'Nothing at all, your Highness, like perhaps most of the members of this Society; but, by receiving you into their Society, these gentlemen intended to show you their respect and gratitude.' 'That is a strange custom, indeed,' cried the Pasha, 'to show respect to a person by telling or writing to him in funny letters—you are worthy of being one of us.' 'But this is the custom,' added Divan Effendi (his Secretary): 'your Highness knows that the *Firangi* (Franks) have many customs different from ours, and often such as are very ridiculous. For instance, if they wish to salute a person, they bare their heads, and scrape with their right foot back

wards; instead of sitting down comfortably on a sofa, to rest themselves, they sit on little wooden chairs, as if they were about to be shaved; they eat the *pillao* with spoons, and the meat with *pincers*; but what seems most laughable is, that they humbly kiss the hands of their women, who, instead of the *yashmak* (veil), carry straw baskets on their heads; and that they mix sugar and milk with their coffee!' This last sally set the whole assembly (his Highness excepted) in a roar of laughter. Among those who stood near the fountain in the middle of the hall, I heard several exclaim, with respect to the coffee with sugar and milk, *Kiafirler!* (Ah, ye infidels!)

"His Highness, who had by this time recovered his good humour, now began to put several questions respecting Frankfort, its distance from Cairo, its situation, &c. 'Pray tell me,' he asked among other questions, 'to whom does this city, where there are so many scholars, belong? for I have been told that there are in Germany forty-nine Sovereigns, partly Sultans, partly *Krals* (kings), and *Keisouks* (dukes).' This question could not be answered at the moment, since none of those present had ever before heard of Frankfort; but they promised the Pasha to inquire in the city, and inform him of the result. At the end of the Divan, his Highness became so good-humoured as to offer himself ready to give to each of these good *ulemas* a firman for the reception of a hundred *ardebs* (a measure) of beans, from the stores at Boulac (a suburb of Cairo), as *backshish* (a present given among the Turks for performed services): but being told by Mr. Habro, who had been in Paris, and therefore knows every thing, that they eat no Egyptian beans, he replied that he was sorry for that; but, if they should come to Cairo, he would give to each of them a cup of coffee, and a long pipe with an amber mouth-piece."

Greece.—The contest between the Turks and the Greeks still continues, though, we trust, the final success of the latter in the establishment of their independence is certain. The able Report of Captain Blaquiere, presented to the Greek Committee about the middle of the past year, contains the fullest information of the present state and resources of Greece, drawn from personal observations made in a visit to that country on behalf of the Greek Committee in London. Its great length, and the pressure of other matter, already extending far beyond our prescrip-

bed limits, alone prevent our reprinting that interesting document in our work. As the Greek Committee still continue their labours, however, we shall notice the future events that may transpire respecting this struggle of an oppressed people for liberty; one of the most interesting and important that the world has for some time witnessed, and one that ought to command the aid of every friend of humanity.

We feel proud of the opportunity thus afforded us to record an example of noble and disinterested devotion to this great cause, which cannot fail to be admired, though it may not soon be followed. The Hon. Colonel Leicester Stanhope, son of the Earl of Harrington, and well known in India as one of the firmest supporters of liberal principles, and one of the most zealous promoters of improvement in that neglected country, influenced by a desire of aiding the Greeks by something more than mere pecuniary contribution, offered his services to the Greek Committee to proceed to the seat of action in the Morea, and devote himself gratuitously to the advancement of the Greek cause, in such manner as the exigency of their wants might suggest. This noble offer was readily accepted, and Colonel Stanhope left England for Greece in October last, and has been ever since actively engaged in the object of his enterprise.

The latest intelligence from that quarter announces the success of the Greeks, by land and sea: the first in the dispersion of two Turkish columns at Thermopylæ, by Ulysses, and the repulse of an assaulting force at Missalunga; and the second in a defeat of a Turkish fleet of six Turkish frigates and seven corvettes, by nine Greek vessels of inferior force. The Greek fleet consists of 32 ships, stationed in the Archipelago. The Turkish fleet, more numerous, remains chiefly at Lemnos and Mitylene. The Greek Government were about to remove their head-quarters to Napoli di Romania, that fortress being entirely in their possession. The only important fortress in the Morea remaining in the hands of the Turks is Patras, but this is not impregnable. Lord Byron had employed, at his own expense, a body of 600 men, under the command of a brave and tried Captain, who were about to depart for Missalunga, where the Turks are at present blockaded by a force of 12,000 Albanians and 8,000 Greeks, besides 4,000 at Castros, within eight leagues of that place, to which Lord Byron's force of 600 will be a welcome

addition. The German and Swiss Committees had active and intelligent agents in Greece, and there were also Russians, from Moscow, favourable to the independence of that country: these auxiliaries, with the aid of the Greek Committee in England, who have not yet, we hope, exhausted British benevolence in so noble a cause, cannot fail, in another season at the utmost, to render the Greek struggle so triumphantly successful as to remove for ever all apprehension of their re-subjugation by their cruel and barbarian oppressors.

The following are some further particulars relative to the death of Marcus Botzaris, who, fighting in the good cause of his country, always behaved in a manner worthy of the heroes of antiquity. The account of the battle in which he fell, has been before published, and we only extract such further particulars from the Bulletin published at Kephalyvryson, August 22, as relate to Marcus Botzaris. The Bulletin comes from Corfu, of the date of the 22d of October:—

“At eleven o'clock at night the General caused his troops to offer a short prayer to the God of Armies, and immediately afterwards they all advanced, and took an oath to conquer or perish. Botzaris then informed the other Commanders that the signal for the general attack should be the sound of the trumpet, and, to prevent even accident, he took this instrument into his own hands. At midnight he began to march at the head of his battalion, and his soldiers had no other arms but their drawn swords. When he approached the enemy's camp, he caused it to be reconnoitred again, to guarantee himself against chance. Being informed that there was no alteration in it, he advanced with redoubled speed, surprised the advanced posts, and, cutting down all opposition, penetrated into the middle of the camp. When he got before the Pasha's tent he sounded the trumpet himself, and at this signal the slaughter began at four different points of the Turkish army. Terror and death prevailed; piercing cries announced the disorder and confusion which had overtaken the enemy. In some places the leaders (regarding the attack as a mere panic-terror) implored their soldiers to put a stop to the disorder; in others, companions were taken for enemies, and the Turks slaughtered each other. Two hours after the attack, during which the carnage had been great, the Mohammedans began to recover from their disorder. Struck by a powerful voice

issuing from the midst of a Suliot battalion, they discovered the Commander of the attack, and directed their fire against him. Botzaris was wounded above the waist, but in spite of this wound he continued to direct the movements of his men. A soldier observing in the midst of the battle the Pasha of Delvinon, cried out, 'There is Ismael-Pliaissa-Pasha.' 'Try to secure him alive,' was the command of Botzaris. Recognising again at this the voice of the General, the numerous guard of the Pasha poured a shower of musketry on the spot, and one of them wounded Botzaris mortally in the head. He then gave up the command to his brother Constantine; and his Aide-de-Camp, who was his cousin, assisted by some soldiers, bore him back, still living, into his own camp. The Suliots, however, succeeded in taking Ismael-Pliaissa Pasha, whom they were carrying off, when at his piteous cries his guard advanced with fury to rescue him. At this moment a Suliot cut off the Pasha's head with his sword. The famous Hago-Vessiane, one of the most distinguished officers of Ali Pasha, and who has done great mischief to the Greeks by his prudence and his counsel, also perished by a blow from a sabre. Botzaris survived the victory, the news of which sweetened his dying moments. This modern Epaminondas consoled his officers who had accompanied him, in his last moments, and who could not restrain their tears. 'Can a Suliot General,' he asked them, 'ever desire a more glorious death?' The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, amounted to 3000. The greater part of his provisions and ammunition fell into the power of the Greeks."

Greek Islands.—The Samians had made peace with the Ipsariots, by consenting to receive the Governor sent out from Ipsaria whom they had previously refused, and the Ipsariots had in consequence raised the blockade. The people of Samos were in good spirits, and are said to have 10,000 men under arms.

Very late accounts from Tyro say that a Commissary had arrived from the Morea, to levy contributions, but the inhabitants refused to pay any thing, and took arms to drive away the unwelcome visitor.

Letters from Syra state that tranquillity existed there, and the Greeks and Catholics were in perfect amity with each other.

Official accounts had been received at Zante that Corinth had surrendered

to the Greeks, the garrison of 800 men having submitted at discretion.

Ionian Islands.—From the Ionian Islands we learn that some recent despatches sent from London to Malta, had occasioned a correspondence between that island and Corfu. The Ionian Government is stated to have sent an agent to Greece, who was commissioned to inquire the opinions of the Chiefs of that country on certain questions. These reports, though vague, had caused a great sensation in the Ionian Islands.

Several shocks of earthquake had been felt in the islands, which had occasioned much alarm. At Corfu no damage had been done, but at Ithaca some houses had been thrown down, and the inhabitants kept out three days in the fields.

Corfu.—The University of this town will owe another benefit to Lord Guildford. The generous and enlightened protector, besides the books which he had transported from Paris, has just got for this University a fine collection of 20,000 stamps of Grecian medals, with their description, by M. Monnet, first agent of the Cabinet of Medals in the Royal Library at Paris.

Malta.—We find, by recent accounts from Malta, that the Chief Judge, Sir Joseph Zammit, a Maltese, and Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, being the first Order recently conferred by the Maltese Government for the encouragement of legal talent, died a short time before the departure of the letters. All the Government officers and merchants were invited to the funeral. Sir Joseph being the first of the new Order that had died since its creation, the Lieutenant Governor, who attended the funeral, ordered all the crosses, &c. to be buried with him. The Bishop of Malta had previously sent word that the Order not having been yet approved by the Court of Rome, he should not permit them to be carried with the body. A long correspondence was in consequence entered into between the Bishop and the Governor on the subject, and the result has been that the question is now referred to Rome. In the meantime two of the Judges have resigned the Order, perceiving that the Church disapproves of it.

The Malta Gazette of the 17th of October says—"The Master of an Austrian brig from Alexandria reports that the Greek fleet, fifteen days ago, were cruising off Ipsara, and that a strong gale of wind having sprung up during the night, eight of them parted company from the rest, and found them-

selves the next morning in the midst of the Turkish fleet: an engagement ensued; but the Greeks fortunately escaped by sending two of their fire-ships among the Turkish fleet, from which, however, the latter suffered no material damage."

Tangier.—The letters from Tangier announce the arrival there of a great number of Spanish refugees, who had obtained permission of the Governor by some bribes in the form of presents. It was thought, however, their residence there would be but temporary, as it was not expected that the Emperor would consent to their remaining.

Gibraltar.—Nothing of any moment has occurred at Gibraltar of late. The commerce of the place was in a state of revival, and it was calculated that as the troubles of Spain were lessened, the trade of Gibraltar would be as brisk as before. A great many of the Spanish refugees have left that port for England, America, and elsewhere; among them were the most eminent constitutionalists of the late Cortes. The following is an extract of a letter from Gibraltar, dated the 14th of November, 1823: "Since I last wrote to you, all the unfortunate members of the Spanish Cortes, and other fugitives from Spain, have been ordered out of the garrison in the most arbitrary and cruel manner, and they are most of them gone to seek an asylum on the more hospitable shores of Barbary. The conduct of the British Government here has made every one ashamed of the name of Englishman. It certainly can never be approved at home. A subscription is now going about for these poor distressed exiles, to which, I believe, every one contributes his mite except Lord Chatham, General Don, and a few persons under their immediate influence."

Nov. 7. By a vessel from Lisbon, in seven days, we hear that the Brazilian frigate *Caroline*, Captain Stewart, was cruising off the coast, and had taken several prizes.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Chili.—This State has been somewhat disturbed by the contending factions of Freyre and O'Higgins; the former the present, and the latter the late Director. O'Higgins and his family, in consequence of the overpowering influence of his adversary, had left Chili for Columbia. The Chilian government has recently furnished near five thousand men as auxiliaries to emancipate Peru from the Spanish yoke.

Brazil.—The only event of any importance in this new empire, is the arrival

of commissioners at Rio Janiero from Lisbon, announcing to the emperor the counter-revolution of Portugal. These commissioners, however, the Emperor had refused to see, unless they came prepared with powers to acknowledge his sovereignty, which they not possessing, were compelled to remain in a state little better than prisoners on board their ships, not being allowed to land, or even send the letters on shore, written by the Queen of Portugal to her daughter the Empress. In the other districts of South America, nothing important had transpired.

Peru.—The occurrences in this part of South America have been far more important than in any other of late, this province now forming the focus of the royal cause. General Canterac, the royalist commander, calculating on the weakness of the Peruvian independents, broke up from his cantonnments in Upper Peru, and came down upon Lima, with a force of 12,000 men, and took possession of that imperial city without opposition, the Peruvian government retiring to Callao. At the time of Canterac's incursion he was not aware that General Bolivar had arrived at the latter port with the Columbian and Chilian auxiliaries, and that he had even despatched an expedition by sea against Upper Peru. When the accounts consequently reached him of the landing of the latter force at Arequipa, close to the vicinity of his former cantonnments, and exposing his retreat to be cut off, the greatest confusion prevailed among his troops, and measures for speedily evacuating the city were taken and immediately put into effect. Bolivar, upon this, advanced from Callao, with a view of harassing his retreat, and by driving him on the expedition sent to Arequipa, expose him to a double fire. Canterac with great difficulty and considerable loss, effected his escape by flying to the mountains, and Bolivar returned to Lima, and advancing forward captured Casco and some other important places in Upper Peru. This would seem very decisive as to the fate of the Spanish arms in South America; and it was even said that Canterac himself was not so warm in the cause of royalty as to refuse to listen to fair terms of negotiation, which it was thought Bolivar would offer.

The conduct of the royalist General to the inhabitants of Lima, and particularly to the British merchants, was most arbitrary, and contrary to his pledge given prior to the capitulation, compelling them to pay forty per cent. on the

value of their goods, and subsequently seizing the greater portion of them. It is thought a claim will be made by the British ministry on the Spanish Government for the amount of the goods thus seized.

Columbia.—The principal event of general interest which has occurred in this State, is the siege of Puerto Cabello, the only remaining Spanish possession in this part of South America, and which has been undertaken with great energy by General Paez; who, from very late accounts, appears to have taken the town and the approaches on the land-side, and to have forced the garrison to retire to the castle. A Columbian naval force was also blockading the harbour, and there was every prospect of this last remaining relic of Spanish-American sovereignty yielding to the powerful arms of the republicans.

According to advices from Caraccas of the 7th of October, letters have been received in that city from the illustrious Bolivar, written after the subjugation of Pasto, and immediately before his departure for Peru. In these, the President takes leave of his friends in a feeling and pathetic manner, and announces that he was setting off for Peru, at the head of 16,000 soldiers, with the determination of not returning to Columbia until peace was restored in the sister republic, and the tranquillity and happiness of his own country thereby forever ensured. This masterpiece of his military glory, Bolivar trusted to be able to achieve before a year had elapsed, and had adopted the resolution, as soon as it was accomplished, of retiring from active life, and terminating his days quietly in the city which gave him birth.

Mexico.—There is nothing to notice in this newly created State, which remains very unsettled; although the republican party is actively forming a system of government which is on the plan of that of the United States of North America.

WEST INDIES.

Demerara.—The recent intelligence from the West India Islands, has been of unusual importance. An insurrection broke out in August, in Demerara, when thousands of the black slaves of that colony armed themselves and assembled for the avowed purpose of obtaining emancipation, and rendering that island independent. From the latest accounts received in England, it appears that, early on Monday, the 14th of August, a servant of Alexander Simpson, esq., a planter on the estate called Le Reduit, reported to his master

that a revolt was meditated by the negroes on the east coast, and that the evening of the above day was the time fixed for carrying it into effect. Mr. Simpson immediately communicated this information to the Burgher Officers of the neighbourhood, and proceeded to George Town to acquaint the Governor. The Governor and his suite, accompanied by a small detachment of cavalry, proceeded up the coast, and discovering a fire in the direction of Plantation Success, he despatched the cavalry to ascertain the cause of it, himself going forward to Le Resousvenir, where a numerous party of negroes, chiefly armed, were seen advancing. These were remonstrated with by the Governor, who stated that the Government was busied in adopting measures to ameliorate their condition, and further advised them to retire peaceably to their dwellings. A momentary acquiescence seemed to be manifested, until one of the ringleaders discharged a musket at the Governor, though happily without effect. Both himself and suite being, however, without arms, it was judged prudent to retreat, and the negroes commenced their operations by breaking down the public bridges, with a view to obstruct the approach of the military. It was the plan of the slaves to imprison all the whites and seize their arms, in which they succeeded in nearly fifty plantations. The employment of the military being now the only alternative, detachments of regular troops, under Captain Stewart, and the Rifle Corps, under Captain Ceval, were despatched to the scene of revolt in the course of the Monday night, the former of which came up with the revolvers on the same night at Plantation Wittenburgh, and, after a short engagement, compelled them to retreat with loss; and a detachment of the 21st regiment, under Lieutenant Peldie, continued to push forward, forcing the negroes to retire before it. On the following morning, martial law was proclaimed throughout the colony, every white inhabitant was armed, the seamen of the shipping were formed into a marine battalion, and patrols paraded the streets of George Town. The ladies and other females were sent on board the shipping for safety. On this day the revolvers, to the number of 800, attacked Lieutenant Brady, who, with a detachment, was stationed in advance of Mahaica, and, after vainly endeavouring to surround him, forced him to retreat back to that post. On the 20th other detachments had arrived, and the negroes

were successively attacked and defeated at the various estates on the east coast, with the loss of many prisoners. On the 22d the troops advanced to the plantation Bachelor's Adventure, where from two to three thousand of the revolted slaves were posted, and a conflict of some duration took place, which terminated in the total overthrow of the negroes, with the loss of about 150 of them. This was the last serious action; for, upon the Governor's proclaiming an amnesty to all but the ringleaders, great numbers returned to their work, and the detachments of troops rapidly pursued such as retained their arms, which rendered their rallying impossible. By the 23d almost the whole of the slaves had thrown down their arms, with the exception of a few of the ringleaders, who fled to the woods, where they were followed by the native Indians employed for the occasion, and either taken or destroyed. On the 25th a general Court Martial assembled at the Colony House, for the trial of the offenders, which, on the date of the latest advices (21st of September), continued sitting. The conspiracy, it appears, was most extensive in its ramifications, comprising not only the negroes of the east coast, but those of the estates to windward: the former only rose, however, owing to the signal having been given too soon; and to this only can be attributed the preservation of the colony, for, had the revolt been simultaneous, the military force would have been found inadequate to put them down. The negroes on the east coast being unable to make head alone against the troops, and flying in all directions, those on the other estates, implicated in the conspiracy, but who had not openly revolted, endeavoured to conceal their share of it by keeping quiet, to which the speedy restoration of tranquillity may be attributed. It appears that very loose and inaccurate reports of the emancipation of the slaves had been propagated by the Missionaries at Demerara, and, joined to the proceedings in the last session of Parliament, had led these unfortunate beings into open insurrection, the plan of which had been long brooded over. We regret, for the honour of our countrymen, to state that two Missionaries are in custody, charged with being deeply implicated in the rising: their trial had not commenced when the last accounts came away, but was soon to come on. Of course an entire stop had been put to business of every description at Demerara, martial law being still in

force through the colony; and though the revolt had been suppressed, yet the distrust of both planters and slaves was mutual, while the law of the bayonet had superseded that of civil humanity. The effect of this insurrection has been the destruction of many unfortunate negroes, and an astonishing deterioration in the value of West India property. Reinforcements of troops have since been sent from home to Demerara, Barbadoes, and some other contiguous islands, as from the evidence that has been produced at the examination of the slaves by the Court Martial, there is reason to think that the conspiracy at Demerara is only a link connected with a chain of revolt, which runs throughout our West Indian Colonies to an alarming extent.

The later accounts convey nothing in addition to the account we have given above. Up to the end of October the colony was still under martial law, but no further insurrections had taken place. Elliot, one of the Missionaries, had been discharged from confinement, there being no proof of his culpability. Smith, the other, had however been put upon his trial, but it had not terminated when the last letters came away.

Jamaica.—The accounts from Jamaica state every thing to be unusually unfavourable there, partly owing to the depression in colonial produce, but principally from apprehensions of the abolition of the slave trade by Parliament, which had occasioned great uneasiness, and caused a deterioration in freehold property. Great fears were entertained that the measures then discussed would be persevered in next Session; and the operation of this idea may be better understood when we state that slaves in that island were totally unsaleable, no person being willing to purchase, from an apprehension that a revolt among them would be the consequence of the adoption of any of the proposed measures of Parliament. To show the important results to be apprehended from a revolt of the negroes at Jamaica, it is only necessary to state that the number of slaves in that island was estimated at 350,000, which, if correct, forms an overwhelming majority. St. Lucie is stated to have been under martial law for the last two months, in consequence of a revolt being apprehended; and these necessary measures for the safety of European life, had tended totally to destroy the struggling commerce of the West India planters, and to plunge them into those difficulties from which, for

considerable period, they have been endeavouring to emerge. Not only were the planters embarrassed by these fetters on their commerce, but, in consequence of the apparently desperate state of their finances, the creditors were using coercive measures to seize upon the wreck of their property, considering, otherwise, the whole as irretrievably lost. In support of this, we have seen letters from Demerara, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, avowing this to be the case, and the number of persons about to leave the colonies was unusually great, comprising nearly all those whose property was of a nature to admit of their departure.

The minds of the black population of Jamaica were in a very feverish state, and two or three free negroes had been shipped off from the island, having been found with inflammatory documents in their possession, said to relate to a project formed by Boyer, in St. Domingo, to induce the negroes to rise *en masse*, to declare themselves free, and to murder all the whites. The planters attributed all these occurrences to the measures adopted at home, and of course were greatly irritated in consequence. At Kingston a meeting of the inhabitants had taken place, at which the following resolutions were passed:—

1. That the rights and privileges of the first settlers in Jamaica were clearly defined, and that they extend to the present descendants with all the immunities solemnly and irrevocably granted by the original charter of Charles the Second.

2. That we view with astonishment the deliberations of the parent Parliament, wrought upon by an impure faction, which, under the mask of religion, seeks to strew anarchy and immorality among the labouring class of a community, of which the British empire can exhibit no parallel in comfort or in social habits.

3. That in the legislative body of Jamaica is invested the only power on earth to tax us and to frame laws for our internal government.

4. That our legislation has shown its wisdom on every occasion, and has justified the solemn authority vested in it by the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain. In no case has it denied the sovereignty of the Crown, in none flinched from a manly display of its means in support of that Crown throughout its various struggles, be they in part epochs of rebellion or to oppose a foreign yoke.

5. That as a deliberate body, sanctioned by irrevocable charter, the legislature of Jamaica is the best, as it is the only judge of internal regulations; that we are convinced it will not forsake *our* rights, no more than it will desert its own—rights

which it has tempered (as much as local circumstances have permitted) to the tone of English sentiment.

6. That we will go hand in hand, with the island at large, in defending our property, which is as legitimate and as unalienable as any freehold of the United Kingdom.

Grenada.—The accounts from Grenada bring an important Resolution, adopted by a Committee of the House of Assembly, with regard to the free negroes of that island, which would seem to augur a more liberal policy than has hitherto distinguished colonial legislation. This document is composed of three articles, which, as they are not very long, we give entire.

1. That the Committee is of opinion the free coloured inhabitants of these Islands are a respectable, well behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the Colony.

2. That it is of opinion that a Bill should be immediately brought into the House of Assembly, for the purpose of repealing the second clause of Judge Smith's Collection Law, in so far as the rights and property of the free coloured inhabitants are affected thereby.

3. That the elective franchise ought to be extended to free people of colour possessing the qualification required by the third clause of the Election Act.

The above is a most important document, and will tend more than any thing to preserve Grenada from the horrors of insurrection, as, by elevating the free negro into a portion of one of the estates of the colony, he has become possessed of a "local habitation and a name," which it is his interest to preserve from destruction; and, by placing him on a level with the European, has yielded to him a station in society which it is his policy to retain.

Antigua.—At Antigua the House of Assembly had been principally occupied in discussions as to preserving that island from anarchy and insurrection. On the 3d of July the House of Assembly sat with closed doors, and remained secret during the discussion. It was understood the subject of debate was, to take into consideration the immediate establishment of an effective militia, to guard against any evil attempt on the peace of that colony, which might result from the measures proposed in the last session of Parliament, and this motion was further understood to have been carried unanimously.

Committees had been appointed by the Legislature to report on the measures most advisable to be adopted in

consequence of the proceedings in the British Parliament. The militia had been embodied to meet the apprehended rising of the negroes, and every precaution was taken to meet any danger that might occur.

Dominica.—In Dominica a misunderstanding had arisen between the House of Assembly and the Governor, as to the right of fixing and regulating fees. The Assembly had passed a Bill to regulate the fees of the naval officer, which was sent to the Council for its concurrence: no more was heard of it, till, to the surprise of the Assembly, a list was issued by the Governor, differing most essentially from that passed by the House. This measure of his Excellency, the House of Assembly resisted, as an unconstitutional attempt to tax the subject without the consent of those elected as his representatives, and a somewhat warm discussion had been the consequence between the parties, which, when the last accounts came away, appeared at its height, and was engaging the entire attention of the colonists. In fact, the dispute was little less than an open warfare between the Legislative and Representative Governments, the House of Assembly having published the following Resolutions adopted at one of their sittings:

Resolved—That by the Constitution granted to this Colony by his Majesty's Proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, the right of taxing the inhabitants of the Island is vested in the Governor, Council, and Assembly; and it is the undeniable and unalienable right of this House to originate all Bills by which taxes are to be imposed in this Island.

Resolved—That the Government and Privy Council do not possess any power or authority to impose any taxes upon the subject, for any purpose or in any shape whatever, either for the exigencies of the Government or for private use.

Resolved—That the fees established by the Governor and Privy Council, for the Naval Officer, is a tax upon the subject, and cannot be imposed but by an Act of the Legislature.

Resolved—That such an unparliamentary attempt to raise a tax upon the subject, is a violation of the Constitution of this Island, and of our known and indisputable privilege and right.

Resolved—That the House will strenuously resist all such extraordinary and unparalleled attempts, and will not allow any of their customs, rights, and privileges, to be invaded, without instantly taking measures for their assertion and vindication.

Barbadoes.—At Barbadoes a meeting of the Clergy of that island took place

in August, when various resolutions were entered into for the better instruction of the negroes in religious duties, to effect which certain plans were about to be carried into effect. This meeting appears to have originated from the complaints made by the planters of the proceedings of the Dissenting Missionaries, who, in their endeavours to obtain converts among the slaves, omitted first to discover whether the minds of these people were in a sufficiently calm and civilized state to receive the doctrines they disseminated, in the meaning with which they were given.

The Missionaries at Barbadoes appear to be equally obnoxious to the planters there as their brethren in the other islands. One of these, named Shrewsbury, having been suspected of sending home a slanderous account of the habits and dispositions of the colonists of Barbadoes, was insulted by the blowing of horns, firing of squibs, and other insulting and irritating conduct in front of his meeting-house, with a view of compelling him to leave the island. This novel method of expulsion not producing the desired effect, a paper was handed round, on the 19th of October, signed Z, inviting the populace to meet at seven o'clock in the evening, with pickaxes, &c., which had the effect of causing an assemblage of upwards of 1000 people, who immediately commenced an attack upon the chapel, and by 12 o'clock had entirely razed it to the ground and carried away the whole of the materials. The Governor had issued a reward of 100*l.* for the discovery of the offenders, but this had only produced a counter one, in which those concerned threatened vengeance on any one who should turn informer. Mr. Shrewsbury had, at the commencement of the tumult, fled for safety to some other part of the island, or he would, in all probability, have fallen a victim to the vengeance of the assailants. He is a Missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion.

Berbice.—By accounts received from this colony we learn that, on the news reaching there of the negroes having risen into open revolt at the instigation of the Missionaries; a large body of people assembled before the meeting-house at that place and entirely destroyed it in the course of half an hour, leaving scarcely a wall standing.

Tobago.—A Bill for the amelioration of the slaves was in progress at Tobago, and a Bill had passed the House granting the Collector of his Majesty's Customs five per cent. on all duties col-

jected by him under the Acts 3rd Geo. IV. caps. 44 and 45, and the same was ordered by the Hon. Board of Council to be read that day six months.

Violent disputes have arisen between the Governor and the House of Assembly, and the latter had moved the following Resolutions :—

1. That the right of appointing a Colonial Housekeeper has been vested, from the earliest settlement of this Colony, with the two branches of the legislature, and that the same belongs to the two branches accordingly.

2. Whereas his Excellency, in his Message of the 29th of July, stated that this House had insinuated to him that he had been the cause of the Session being protracted to an unusual length. This House disclaims, in the strongest terms, all idea of such insinuation.

3. That the two Houses are the Constitutional advisers of the Crown, and have a right to represent, in proper and suitable language, any grievance the country may labour under, to the Executive. That the Message of this House to his Excellency, of the 28th of July, was written in

the spirit of conciliation, and solely for the purpose of acquiring information on a measure which was of vital importance to the Colony, inasmuch as it involved its credit, its respectability, its honourable engagements to public creditors and to the different public officers of this Colony.

Tobago.—Such is the distressed state of the Island of Tobago, that, on the application of the Governor for 700*l.* to repair Fort St. George, so highly necessary in the present critical state of the colony, the reply of the Assembly was, that from the unparalleled state of distress into which the colony had fallen, the House was totally unable to comply with his Excellency's wishes.

St. Kitts.—The petition from the free coloured inhabitants to the House of Assembly, submitting to its consideration certain political disabilities which attach to that class of the community, and soliciting an abrogation of the several Acts by which those disabilities are created, was about to be taken into consideration by the House of Assembly.

CHRONOLOGICAL REPORT OF OCCURRENCES IN ENGLAND, CONNECTED WITH INDIA, DURING THE PAST YEAR.

January. Lord Amherst, by special invitation, dined with the Hon. Court of Directors, in company with His Majesty's Ministers, the Right Hon. Charles Grant, the Lord Chief Baron, and several other distinguished individuals, on the 23d.

February. The Rev. Reginald Heber, D.D. was appointed Bishop of Calcutta.

2d. The Rev. Jonathan Cape, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed head master and chaplain at the Company's Military Seminary, at Addiscombe. His Majesty was pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet, to Sir Edward Hyde East, late Chief Justice at Calcutta.

The Lords of the Treasury determined the question of the Deccan prize money, as follows :

1. That the separate divisions of the Deccan army should share for the booty actually captured by each respectively, and their Lordships, therefore, overruled an agreement, which was entered into, for the whole of the Deccan army to share with each other; considering that in case of such sharing there could be no equitable reason why their Lordships should not advise that all the troops from the different Presidencies should be allowed to participate.

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2. That Sir Thomas Hislop having been Commander-in-chief of the Deccan army until the 31st of March, 1818, was, with his staff, entitled to share as an actual captor in all the booty taken by the separate divisions of that army.

This decision consequently excludes the Marquess of Hastings and the grand army (except General Hardyman's division) from any share in the prize money.

March. A quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House on the 19th. The first business that was brought before the Court, was a resolution of the Court of Directors to grant to Major Carnac of the Madras establishment, the sum of 30,000 rupees. The grant, which was opposed by Mr. Hume and Mr. D. Kinnaird, and supported by Mr. Trant, Mr. Rigby and Mr. Grant, was ultimately agreed to. A debate ensued on the state of the East India Sugar trade, when in consequence of the length to which the discussion had extended, the further consideration of the question was postponed to the 21st; and after some observations on the subject of the college at Hayleybury, from Mr. D. Kinnaird and Mr. Hume, the Court adjourned till that day.

The debate on the East India Sugar question was resumed, on the 21st, and Mr. Weeding, Mr. Macauley, Mr. S. Dixon, Mr. R. Jackson, and Mr. Stephen, having delivered their sentiments on the subject, and Mr. Forbes having shortly replied, a ballot was demanded and fixed for April 8.

April. On the 8th, a ballot was taken at the East India House on Mr. Forbes's motion respecting the excessive duties on East India sugar, the result of which was as follows:—For the question, 479; against it, 189; majority, 290.

Sir Edward Barnes was appointed governor of Ceylon, in the room of Sir Edward Paget, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in India.

In consideration of the distinguished services of the 65th regiment in India and Arabia, His Majesty was pleased to approve of its bearing on its colours the figure of the royal tiger, with the word "India" superscribed, and also the word "Arabia" beneath the figure and number of the regiment.

The Marquess and Marchioness of Hastings landed at Gibraltar from on board the Glasgow frigate, on the 30th.

May. A General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House on the 14th. After a letter from the Marquess of Hastings, expressive of his acknowledgments for the resolutions of the Court of Proprietors, had been read, the Court proceeded to take into consideration a resolution of the Court of Directors to grant 60,000*l.* per annum to His Majesty's Government, on account of retiring pay, pensions, &c. in respect of His Majesty's forces serving in the East Indies. A debate ensued, and the resolution was at length agreed to. The grant to Major Carnac was submitted for confirmation, and was opposed by Mr. Hume and Mr. Lowndes, and supported by Mr. Money and Mr. Trant: it was ultimately confirmed. The petition to Parliament on the subject of the equalization of the duties on East and West India Sugars, framed by the Court of Directors, was then read and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Whitmore moved in the House of Commons, on the 22d, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Duties on East and West India Sugars." The proposition was ably supported by Messrs. Ricardo, Wilberforce, Money, Forbes, and Wigram, and as strenuously opposed by Messrs. R. C. Ellis, K. Douglas, Robertson, Marryatt, Huskisson, and Wyne. It was lost by a majority of 161 to 34.

Col. Baillie, late Resident at Lucknow, was, on the 28th, elected to the seat in the Direction, vacant by the retirement of Joseph Cotton, Esq.

June. A Special General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, on the 10th. The Chairman stated, that the Court was summoned specially to consider of a resolution of the Court of Directors, for establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, in the room of the Recorder's Court; and also for making sundry alterations in the existing provisions as to the pensions to the members of Indian Courts of Judicature on retirement; and as to granting a pension to the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island on retirement. The Chairman, Mr. R. Jackson, Mr. Gahagan, and Mr. Trant, spoke on the subject, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to. The next business brought before the Court was a resolution of the Court of Directors for altering the time which the Bishop of Calcutta shall serve in India to entitle him to a retiring pension, and to provide for the expense of his visitation and residence, and also for making certain regulations as to the time of service in India which shall entitle the several Archdeacons in his diocese to receive retiring pensions. After some observations from the Chairman, Mr. R. Jackson, Mr. Trant, and Mr. Forbes, the resolution was unanimously approved of. Mr. Gahagan intimated to the Court, that he thought it would well become them to make a voluntary contribution to the funds of the Asiatic Society of London, but no further observation was made on the subject.

A General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, on the 13th, at which the resolutions of the previous Court, with respect to Judicial and Ecclesiastical Pensions, were unanimously confirmed. The Court then proceeded to take into consideration the subject of the East India Trade Bill, and the Chairman moved a resolution expressive of the concurrence of the Court in that measure; Mr. R. Jackson, Mr. Grant, Mr. Forbes, the Deputy Chairman, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Lowndes, severally addressed the Court, after which the debate was adjourned till June 18. The Court then proceeded to take into consideration the East India Mutiny Bill, and the Chairman moved, "That the Court approve of the said Bill." Mr. R. Jackson proposed the postponement of this subject also to the 21st, and, after some dis-

cussion, this amendment was negatived, and the original motion carried.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and family embarked on board the Hon. Company's ship, Thomas Grenville, Capt. Manning, on the 16th.

A Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, on the 18th. The Court agreed to a recommendation of the Court of Directors to declare a dividend on the Company's capital stock of 5½ per cent. for the half-year ending on the 5th of July. A Report from the Committee of Bye-Laws was then read, and that Committee was re-appointed for the year ensuing, Sir James Shaw being elected in the room of Wm. Drew, Esq. deceased. The Court then resumed the adjourned debate on the East India Trade Bill, which was unanimously approved of.

July. A Special General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, on the 2d, for the purpose of taking into consideration the "Bill for defraying the Expenses of Half-Pay, Pensions, and other Allowances, on account of his Majesty's Forces serving in India; for regulating the Pensions payable in certain cases to the Bishop, Archdeacons, and Judges in India, and for establishing a Court of Judicature at Bombay." After a long discussion, the Bill was unanimously agreed to, with the exception of a clause conferring on the Bishop of Calcutta the power of ordaining priests and deacons in India.

An invitation was made public by the Persian Minister, on the 8th, in the name of the Prince Royal of Persia, to such Europeans as should be willing to take up their residence in the kingdom of Aderbajan, pointing out the advantages of the situation, and offering them grants of land, immunity from taxes, and various other privileges.

The Glasgow frigate brought, as presents from the nabob of Oude to his Majesty, several articles of considerable value, being estimated at upwards of 200,000*l*. They were presented to the king, by Captain Doyle. The Glasgow also brought to England a Bird of Paradise *alive*, and a bull and cow of a small white breed, intended as a present to the princesses.

A public dinner was given, on the 28th, to the Marquess of Hastings on his return from India, Lord William Bentinck in the chair.

His Majesty was pleased, on the 23d, to nominate Major General Thomas Brown, of the East India Company's army, to be Knight Commander of

the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath; and the under-mentioned officers of the East India Company's army, to be Companions of the said Order:—

Lieut. Colonels, J. Dewar, D. Leighton, C. Deacon, T. Corsellis, W. G. Maxwell, T. Pollock, M. Kennedy, T. Newall, G. M. Popham, R. Hetzler, R. Clark, L. O'Brien, A. Andrews, C. M'Leod.

Majors, E. G. Stannus, F. F. Staunton, E. J. Ridge, J. Ford.

August. The Court of Directors appointed C. A. Saunders, Esq. their agent at the Isle of France, on the resignation of J. F. Saunders, Esq.

September. The *Veulia*, from Singapore, brought home for Sir Stamford Raffles, a Siamese canoe, which may be justly regarded as a great curiosity. It is forty-three feet in length and four feet in breadth; the body of the canoe consisting entirely of one piece, the trunk of a teak tree. It is beautifully formed, and has thirteen benches for rowers. Paddles only can be used in impelling it.

October. The Rev. J. Hallowell, A.M. of Christ College, Cambridge, was appointed chaplain to the Hon. East India Company, on the Madras establishment.

His Majesty was pleased, on the 28th, to confer the honour of knighthood upon Christopher Puller, Esq. on his appointment as Chief Justice of Bengal.

November. A Court Martial was held, on the 10th, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, to inquire into the conduct of Lieut. W. Price Hamilton, late of his Majesty's ship *Topaze*, as connected with the affray which took place in Dec. 1821, between a party of seamen belonging to that ship, and some of the natives of Lintin in China, and to try him for having caused the death of some of the said natives. After hearing Lieut. Hamilton's statement of the transaction, and examining several witnesses, the Court were of opinion, that the death of the Chinese arose from an unprovoked and barbarous attack made by them on an unarmed part of the crew of his Majesty's ship *Topaze*, who were peaceably employed on shore, and adjudged Lieut. Hamilton to be honourably acquitted.

November. Among the presentations at Carlton House on the 21st were:—Sir Francis Bayley, on his being appointed Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island. Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, on his being appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay.

A ballot was taken at the Ea. t

India House, on the 26th, for the election of a director in the room of Charles Grant, Esq. deceased, of which the following is the result;—Mr. Masterman, 1121; Mr. Muspratt, 459; majority for Mr. Masterman, 662.

December. A debate took place at the India House on the 17th, on a motion for a monument to the late Charles Grant, Esq. which was carried. A full report of the speeches, on this occasion, will be found in preceding pages.

MISCELLANEOUS HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Indian Army.—It is understood that the whole Indian army is about to be remodelled after the following plan.

The regiments of native infantry which are now composed of two battalions, will no longer exist in their present form. Instead of thirty regiments of native infantry of two battalions each, there will be sixty regiments of one battalion each, and 700 strong, which may be increased to 1200, or even 1100 if there should be a necessity for such enlargement. It is also said to be in contemplation to raise three more European regiments, one for each of the three Presidencies, calculating that with this augmentation, the Directors of the East India Company may be allowed to dispense entirely with the King's troops, under the idea that there can be no doubt of the fidelity of the native army, who are now said to be fully competent to the defence of their possessions. It is moreover said, that the Company intend applying to Parliament in the ensuing session, to annul the former Act by which they were compelled to maintain a certain number of the King's troops, and to obtain leave either for them to withdraw entirely, or at least to have their number considerably reduced.

King's Troops.—Detachments consisting of 24 officers and 400 men belonging to the 11th Regt. of Light Dragoons and 16th Lancers, and to the 13th, 14th, 38th, 44th, 59th and 87th Regts. of Infantry have been ordered for embarkation on board the Berwickshire and Duchess of Athol East Indiamen for Bengal. Detachments consisting of 11 officers and 300 men belonging to the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons, and to the 20th and 47th Regiments of foot, have also been ordered to prepare for embarkation on board the Duke of York and Castle Huntley East Indiamen for Bombay. The above were ordered to be embarked by the 31st of December.

The next vacancy in the East India Direction, is likely to be severely contested. Among the most active candi-

dates are Henry St. George Tucker, Esq. late a Secretary of the Government at Fort William, and Mr. Mackinnon formerly a servant of the Company in China. Both these gentlemen have pledged themselves to go to a ballot. In addition to these, the following gentlemen have publicly announced their intention of becoming candidates for the Direction, when a fit opportunity may occur:—Sir Robert T. Farquhar, Bart.; James Stuart, Esq.; J. P. Muspratt, Esq.; W. H. Traut, Esq.; Henry Alexander, Esq.; Sir W. Young, Bart.; Major J. R. Carnac, and Henry Shank, Esq.

Island of Ascension.—The Victor has sailed from Portsmouth, having on board Lieut. Nichols as Governor, and sixteen privates for the Island of Ascension, who have gone out to relieve the force already at that garrison.

South America.—The British Government have determined to establish a direct communication between England and South America, by means of regular packets, which are to sail from Falmouth direct to Buenos Ayres, from which place the letters for Chili, Peru, &c. will be forwarded by land. The following vessels have been appointed for this service.—The Magnet, Rinaldo, Beagle, Emulous, Plover, Cygnet, and Kingfisher.

They are to be commanded by Lieutenants of the navy; and we understand Lieutenants Cooke, Goodwin, Moore, Jennings, and Henderson, have already been appointed. The first mail is to be despatched for Buenos Ayres on the 2d of January, and a packet will afterwards sail on the first Tuesday in each month.

New South Wales.—The Australasian Company's Ship, the Portland, entered Leith dock on the 9th of December, and is fitting up to follow those already despatched by the company to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales.

Another vessel of large dimensions is at present building at Leith, by Messrs. Menzies and Son, for the Company, and is to be launched in time to

succeed the Portland. The establishment of a regular maritime conveyance between the northern part of the kingdom and the British Colonies in Australasia must prove of essential advantage to both countries, and the interests of humanity will certainly be promoted by the lives and property of emigrants being attended to by the Directors of a responsible association.

West Indies.—Various reinforcements of troops have been sent out from England during the last month, to Demerara, Barbadoes, and the other West India Islands, fears having been entertained of a general insurrection among the slaves in those colonies.

Greece.—We cannot omit the following highly honourable and interesting document, as the latest that has appeared in England, from any great public body, in behalf of the oppressed and struggling Greeks.

THE GREEK CAUSE.—The University of Cambridge has nominated a Branch Committee to superintend the application of a subscription in favour of the Greeks. The Chancellor of the University (the Duke of Gloucester) has transmitted one hundred guineas to this committee.

The Address.—The Committee deem it expedient, at this time, to call the attention of members of the University to the interesting object which they have in view.

In doing this, they appeal, in the most earnest manner, to those sentiments of humanity and religion which animate the breasts of their fellow countrymen.

The contest now pending offers, on one hand, the pleasing prospect of liberation from unexampled tyranny to the country of Homer and Plato, of *Miltiades* and *Solon*; on the other hand, if the Crescent be triumphant, either Christianity will be extirpated from those fair regions where the Gospel was first propagated, or its professors will be involved in calamities still more dreadful than those under which for these four centuries they have groaned.

That this afflicting dilemma must occur is evident to every one who is acquainted with the civil and religious policy of the Ottoman Government. Very few years have elapsed since a proposition for exterminating the whole Greek population of Turkey was entertained by the Sultan and Divan at Constantinople. The inhuman treatment

experienced by the wretched isles of Scio, Crete, and Cyprus, together with the bloody massacres committed in the principal cities of the Turkish Empire, fully demonstrate how undiminished is the persecuting spirit of Mahometanism.

The Turks, unlike other conquerors, who, amalgamating with the vanquished, impart equal privileges, and submit to equal laws, have separated themselves from their Christian subjects by the most odious demarcation of tyranny and oppression; by which act they have renounced any rights which conquest may be supposed to bestow.

If any persons have been hitherto discouraged from affording assistance to the Greeks by the degeneracy of their national character, let such reflect, that however deteriorated that character may have been at the time of the Turkish conquest, its degeneracy was at least perpetuated by the intolerable state of servitude to which the nation was reduced. But the increasing spirit of knowledge, of patriotism, and all the social virtues, which has been conspicuous for the last half century amongst the Greeks, affords, in this instance, the best answers to objectors.

If others have withholden their contributions from an idea that the cause is hopeless, such fears must now be dispelled by the very cheering accounts received from the seat of war, and published by the London Committee. The greatest part of *Grecia Propria* is released from the odious presence of its tyrants; and the standard of the Cross now waves upon every citadel of *Peloponnesus*, except those of *Coron*, *Modon*, and *Patras*. Shall we, then, suffer this country, so interesting by its associations, to relapse into the hands of ruthless barbarians, when by our contributions we may enable its legitimate defenders to enter upon the next campaign with the best prospect of completing its liberation?

In conclusion, the members of the Cambridge Committee beg to disclaim, in this address, as well as in all their acts connected with the cause of Greece, the remotest reference to political parties and opinions; whilst they earnestly hope, or rather confidently expect, that in these seats of classical and religious education they shall not plead in vain for the Greek against the barbarian, for liberty against oppression, for the Cross against the Crescent.

Cambridge, Nov. 20, 1823.

VARIETIES IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

NEW SOCIETIES.

Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.—The extensive interests connected with the Asiatic department of the British territories, have at length induced the formation of a new Society under the above title; which, for talent, rank, numbers and respectability, has never been equalled in the infancy of any similar establishment. At the general meeting held for the final arrangement of the society, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, on the 15th of March last, it was announced that the number of names on the list already exceeded three hundred; from among whom twenty-five were elected to form the council. His Majesty declared himself patron of the society: the Marquess Wellesley and the Marquess of Hastings were nominated Vice Patrons; and the Right Honourable C. W. Wynne was elected President; H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Director; Sir G. T. Staunton, Bart. Sir J. Malcolm, Sir A. Johnston, and Colonel Wilks, Vice Presidents; and Dr. Norhden, Secretary. Under the auspices of a society so constituted, much valuable intelligence will doubtless be made public.

Asiatic Society of Paris.—The first public meeting of this society, of which MM. Silvestre de Sacy, de Lasteyrie, Abel Rémusat, Chézy, Moranas, Paulin, &c. are the most active members, was held in the hall of the Society for the Encouragement of National Industry, on April 1, 1822; and such has been the zeal and industry with which its members have been actuated, that at the general meeting held on the 21st April, last, the Secretary announced that the following works had been published at the expense of the society during the last year: A Japanese Grammar, A Mantchouan Dictionary, Fragments in Sanscrit, A Collection of Fables in Armenian, and A Georgian Grammar, accompanied by a Vocabulary. At this meeting, so interesting to the students of the Oriental languages, as well as to the inhabitants of the East, the Duke of Orleans, who presided, pronounced a discourse full of judicious ideas, finely expressed, on the advantages of the study of foreign languages, and quoted, in illustration of his argument, the remark of Charles the Fifth, that a man who knows several languages is equal in value to several men: and M. de Sacy, president of the coun-

cil, described the object which the society had in view, and the means which it possessed of facilitating Oriental studies. We heartily wish every success to a society so well calculated to enlarge our acquaintance with the literary stores of the East.

Slave Trade.—A society has been established in London for the purpose of mitigating, and gradually abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions. The individuals composing this society are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of slavery which prevails in many of the colonies of Great Britain; a system which appears to them to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice. They long indulged a hope that the abolition of the slave trade, after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of negro bondage in the British colonies; but in this hope they have been painfully disappointed, and after a lapse of sixteen years they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the abolition to remedy. Under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon, by their duty as Christians, and their best sympathies as men, to exert themselves in their separate and collective capacities, in endeavouring by all prudent and lawful means, to mitigate and eventually to abolish slavery itself as existing in our colonial possessions.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Importance of the Natural History of India.—M. C. G. C. Reinwardt, who has succeeded the late M. Brugmans in the chair of Natural History in the university of Leyden, took possession of that honour on the 3d of May, and pronounced a Discourse "De augmentis quæ Historiæ Naturali ex Indiæ Investigatione accesserunt," in which, after rendering homage to the memory of his predecessor, he proceeds to offer some important considerations to naturalists. This able professor, who was, in 1815, sent to Java by the King of the Netherlands, returned thence last year, after having visited Timor, Banda, Amboyna, Ternate, and the north-east extremity of Celebes. During his stay of seven years in India, he transmitted several pack-

ages to Europe, the greater part of which, by an uncommon fatality, have been swallowed up by the sea. Fortunately his manuscripts and drawings, and the large collections with which he embarked, have escaped this fate. We are informed that he is now occupied in arranging his observations, in order to give them to the world as speedily as possible.

Meteoritic Iron.—An elegant sabre, fabricated from a portion of the mass of meteoric iron, which was brought from the Cape of Good Hope by Captain Barrow, has been presented by the late Mr. Sowerby to the Emperor Alexander. His Imperial Majesty testified considerable satisfaction on the receipt of this curious present, which he acknowledged by the gift of a brilliant ring.

Diamonds of India.—The interesting paper of Mr. H. W. Voysey, read before the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, contains much valuable information on the diamond mines of India. The alluvial soils at the base of the Neela Mulla mountains, near the rivers Kistna and Pinaar, are the most productive sources of this precious gem. These include the celebrated mines of Golconda, which are very numerous. The most remarkable among them are those of Gani Partoola, which are the only ones at present worked; and even in these, the labours are confined to searching for the rubies

in the ancient mines. It is a received opinion among the workmen, that the diamonds increase in bulk, and that those which are now met with of any size, are the refuse of others which had formerly been collected, but which were then thrown aside. The facts here mentioned are by no means new: they were described by Patru upwards of twenty years since; and furnished him with an illustration of the extraordinary theory which he then broached, that "diamonds are merely the matter of light in a concentrated form."

Persian Turquoise.—An article, referring rather to the use, value, and employment of the Turquoise in Persia, than to its natural history, has appeared in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal. The author has pointed out Hishapuz and Firuskah, as localities which furnish a great quantity of this precious stone, but without giving any idea of the strata and minerals which accompany it. It bears in Persia the name of Firozi.

Opium is characterized in a report addressed to the Emperor of China by the Viceroy of Canton, as "an article, the poison of which is no less fatal to the heart of man than to the public morals." This Governor accuses the Portuguese of Goa, the English, and the Americans, who, he says, have the misfortune to have no king, as the nations who venture thus to poison China.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE FOR DECEMBER, 1823.

I. ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND.

Marquess of Hastings, Barclay, Dec. 1st; sailed from Calcutta, June; and from Madras, 13th of July.

From Bombay, Dec. 1.—The Melpomene, Mowbray, sailed July 12th.

From Mauritius, Dec. 15.—The Emily, Copeland, sailed 25th of June; Britomart, Neach, sailed 15th of Sept.

From Cape of Good Hope, Dec. 15.—The Hero, Ritchie; Matilda, Collins; and Emulous, Hunt; all sailed in Sept.

II. ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

At Calcutta, May 8.—Nantaise, Watter, from Nantz, Oct. 14.—10. Kent, Cobb, London, Jan. 6.—11. General Kyd, Nairne, London, Feb. 10.—16. Westmoreland, Coulter; Liverpool, Dec. 10. Timandra, Wray; London, Dec. 16.—17. Ogle Castle, Pearson; London, Dec. 11.—Windor, Havidde; Melish, Cole; Pilot, Gardner; Sophia, Sutton; all from London.

At Madras, June 17.—Britannia, Luke;—12. Stentor, Harris;—21. Pyramus.

Broche;—23. Atlas, Mayne; and Norfolk, Greig; Cadmus, Talbert; William Miles, Beadle; Madras, Clark; General Palmer, Truscot;—July 19. Kains, Cunningham; all from London.

At Bombay, July 6.—Asia, Pope; Charles Forbes, Brydon;—11. Royal George, Ellerby;—12. Euphrates, Meade; all from London July 11th.

At China, Aug. 1.—Bombay, Hine, from London.

Off Amoy, July 12.—Bombay, Hine; from London, Tobacco Planter; from Liverpool, August 1. Lowther Castle, Baker.—19. Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, from London.

At Ceylon, June 24.—Speke, Macpherson, from London.

At the Mauritius, Aug. 19.—Cape Packet, Kellie; Speke, Macpherson, Sept. 23, from London.

At the Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 2.—Greenock, Richmond, from Leith; Belinda, Coverdale, from London.—5. Jupiter, Park; and Albion, Best, from

London.—7. Royal George, Reynolds, from London; Oct. 16.—Eliza, Brown, Sept. 17.—Mars, Bishop, Sept. 30.—Ellen, Camper, from London, Sept. 21.—H. M. S., Larne, from Portsmouth; Sept. 21.—Mary, Boyd, Oct. 10.—Windsor Castle, Lee, Oct. 12.—Kerswell, Armstrong, Oct. 29.—Courier, Mainwaring, Oct. 25, all from London.

HI. SHIPS SAILED FROM ENGLAND.

For Madras and Calcutta.—The York, Talbert; Belle Alliance, Rolfe; and Clyde, Driver.

For Bombay, Dec. 1.—Acteon, Briggs; —19. Mary Anne, Craigie.—21. Hannah, Shepherd, and Cambridge, Barber.

For Singapore, Dec. 21.—Nassau, Carns.

For Batavia, Dec. 30.—Guardian, Sutherland.

For the Cape, Dec. 21.—Patience, Kind.

IV. SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL SHORTLY.

For Calcutta.—H. C. S. Berwickshire, Captain Shepherd; H. C. S. Duchess of Athol, Captain Daniel; and H. C. S. Macqueen, Captain Walker.

For Madras and Bengal.—Duke of Bedford, Cunningham; William Money, Jackson; Catherine, Mackintosh; Goldconda, Edwards, Exmouth, Owen; Lord Hungford, Farquharson; Tyne, Warrington; Christiana, Hall; and Lady Raffles, Coxwell.

For Bombay.—H. C. S. Duke of York, Captain Campbell; H. C. S. Castle, Huntley, Drummond; and Thomas Coutts, Captain Christie.

St. Helena, Bencoolen, and China.—General Harris, Welsted.

For Ceylon.—Thames, Litson; and Orpheus, Findlay.

For Batavia and Singapore.—Caroline, Harris; Rosanna, Rivson; and the Joseph, Christopherson.

On Saturday Dec. 20, arrived at Portsmouth his Majesty's ship, Jupiter, 60, Captain G. A. Westphal, from Calcutta, whither she took the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, Governor General of India, and suite, who landed at the Presidency in good health on the 30th of July, after a pleasant passage of four months and 15 days: the run from the Cape to Madras was done in the short space of 33 days. The Jupiter left Lord and Lady Amherst in good health, on the 19th of August. General Sir Alexander Campbell, commanding the forces at Madras, had been dangerously ill, but was declared out of danger previously

to the sailing of the Jupiter, on the 25th of July. Commodore Charles Grant was at Madras, in the Liffey: the Sophie, 18, Captain Ryves, had sailed for Trincomalee. The Company's ship Atlas, Captain Mayne, was to leave Madras for China, on the 2d of August. The Jupiter left the Mauritius on the 16th of October. General Sir Lowry Cole, suite, and garrison, were all well; and had been joined by Colonel Guy Le Strange and family, from England. George Smith, Esq., Chief Justice of the island, had died suddenly. The Ariadne, 26, Captain Moorson, left the island on the 2d of October, for Madagascar, on an official visit to King Radama. The Jupiter arrived at the Cape on the 26th of October, the Hon. Company's ship Thames in company, which ship was to sail on the 6th of November for England. The Larne, 24, Captain Maryatt, and Slaney, 26, Capt. Charles Mitchell, had arrived at the Cape, and proceeded on to the Indian station. Commodore Nourse had left Simon's Bay, in the Andromache, to visit the eastern parts of his station. The Delight, 18, Captain Hay, sailed on the 6th of October, with despatches for the Mauritius. The Espiegle, 18, Captain Chapman, was under orders to proceed with the Colonial Commissioners of Inquiry, to Algoa Bay and the Mauritius. Captain Owen had not been heard of since he left Simon's Bay, on the surveying expedition along the coast. Lieut. Col. Frazer, of the Cape Corps, was dangerously ill at Graham Town. The Jupiter left St. Helena on the 9th, and Ascension on the 11th of November, but had no communication with the shore. The Driver, 18, Captain Bowen, was about to sail for Rio Janeiro, to undergo repairs. The Jupiter has had a stormy passage home of precisely four months. She has brought despatches and letters from the several places at which she touched. The despatches were landed on Saturday evening, in charge of Captain Alexander Ellice, R. N. (late first Lieutenant of the Jupiter), who immediately proceeded with them to London. Major Stratford, Military Secretary at Madras, and Colonel Hutchinson, from the Cape, are passengers. The crew of the Jupiter were severely attacked with cholera morbus, but by the skilful and great attention of the surgeon, they all happily recovered except four seamen.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE arrangements usually attendant on the preparation of the First Number of a new periodical work, compelled us to close the Summary of Indian and Colonial Intelligence some days earlier than it will be necessary to do in succeeding Numbers, in which we hope to bring it up to within a day or two before the date of publication. We have thought it a duty, however, to remedy this temporary evil, by including in a Postscript the leading heads of Intelligence received from India and the Colonies since the Report was closed.

India.—By the arrival of his Majesty's ship *Jupiter*, from India, we have received letters and papers from Calcutta to the 16th of August. The rains during the month of July had been unusually heavy throughout Bengal—the number of rainy days in that month being 27, and the quantity of water fallen 28 inches: on two successive days 1 inches fell. To show how much this quantity exceeds the usual fall of rain in that month, in India, the following is given as the register for several preceding years:—In 1765, 12 inches; in 1796, 6 inches; in 1797, 15 inches; in 1798, 8 inches; in 1799, 10 inches; in 1800, 7 inches; in 1801, 8 inches.

This unusual fall of rain had already produced serious effects on the indigo crops of that country. Some letters, of the latest date, assert that the crop of indigo for the season would only be about 70,000 maunds, while that of the year preceding was 120,000 maunds. A letter from Moorshedabad, dated on the 6th of August, contains the following paragraph: "I have nothing new to give you, except the loss of one-third of the indigo expected in Bengal; but the prospects at Ghazepore, Benares, Jaunpore, and Azimghur, are equal to those of last year, and higher up there is every reason to expect much more than was made last season. As the quality of this will doubtless be better than formerly, it will be likely to stand a comparison with the Bengal indigo; for owing to the immense quantity of rain on this side of Buxar, the quality of Bengal indigo must of course be very inferior to former years."

The ship *Argyle*, proceeding from Calcutta to China, on the 11th of August, was discovered to be on fire. By prompt assistance, scuttling the deck, and throwing overboard the bales of cotton composing her cargo, the fire was extinguished, though the ship had to return to port. It was supposed to have been done intentionally by some person on board.

Orient. Herald, Vol. 1.

The burning of widows alive still continued in full practice in Bengal. At Serampore a widow had been recently burnt with the corpse of her deceased husband; and the last wish of the unfortunate victim, to see her only child before she expired, was barbarously refused. On the 14th of August a widow was burnt alive near Ishurah, within a few miles of Calcutta; and some persons passing near saw the ashes of the dead bodies, and the half-extinguished embers of the burning pile, with the miserable orphan child bewailing the loss of her mother, and several other children near her.—These scenes are a stain upon the British rule in India, which cannot be too speedily wiped away.

The Lahore Ukhbars state, that the Sikh army, under the command of Runjeet-Singh, had arrived on the frontiers of Caubul, towards the end of April, and had attacked the Dooranies on the 20th, and killed a great number of men. After this victory he had entered the Caubul territories, and the King of Caubul had retired to the interior of the country.

From Nagpore we learn that Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, was on a tour through that part of the country. He had already visited the source of the Nuddea river, and was about to visit the sources of the Soane and the Nerbudda. He had a professional gentleman with him, who was furnished with instruments for measuring the heights of the mountains in their route.

Lord Amherst reached Madras about the 20th of July, and on the 24th of that month was honoured with a splendid entertainment in the Banqueting Room of that Presidency, at which Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, and all the principal functionaries of that government assisted. The usual interchange of compliments took place on this occasion. Lord Amherst was received with the same applause that every new ruler is sure to be greeted with; and those who complimented

him were of course deemed worthy of his flattery in return. The administration of his illustrious predecessor, Lord Hastings, was the model he proposed to follow in his public career; and the gentleman on his left, Sir Thomas Munro, was the example he proposed to imitate in his personal conduct: each, no doubt, the very best that could be chosen. We shall see, however, whether Lord Amherst will redeem his pledge, and break those degrading fetters which Lord Hastings has the honour of having first removed from the Indian press, though again put on by his temporary successor. The learned Judges of Madras joined in the general voice of compliment and eulogium, and all was as bright and promising, according to their predictions, as it ever had been on all former occasions of a similar nature.

On the morning of the 26th, Lord Amherst and suite embarked from Madras, in the *Jupiter*, with all the honours that the settlement could confer, and proceeded immediately to Bengal where they arrived in safety, and were received with a repetition of those demonstrations of joy and satisfaction which have formed a part of the state-proceedings on the arrival of every Governor General that has ever yet gone to India, from the commencement of our rule over that distant country. Not many days before the arrival of Lord Amherst, the Indian papers were occupied with the most complimentary reports respecting the Governor *then* in power—Mr. Adam. This gentleman had distinguished his short reign by the enactment of laws, the very existence of which is a standing insult to the British inhabitants of India, as it pronounces them unfit to be trusted with the free expression of their sentiments, a privilege before enjoyed by the humblest of the subjects over whom these British inhabitants rule. Yet they were so insensible of the degradation to which Mr. Adam's measures had reduced them, that some of them at least, in the true spirit of eastern sycophancy, formed themselves into a committee to wait on him for the purpose of requesting him to sit for his full-length picture, to be placed in some conspicuous situation in Calcutta. Not the least remarkable part of this remarkable occurrence, is, that at the head of this deputation, consisting of about twenty persons, of whom seventeen were men holding places of large emolument under Mr. Adam's administration, was Mr. Fergusson, the late eloquent advocate of the liberty

of the press in India; but a still more recent eulogist of the man who framed and passed a law for annihilating that liberty and fettering every press in the country! It should be added, however, that when Mr. Fergusson denounced the censorship of the press as illegal, and the licensing system as equally contrary to law and justice, he was not in office: but that when he was at the head of the deputation to flatter Mr. Adam, who for several years exercised that censorship, and was the author of the licensing system, Mr. Fergusson was high in office, having been made Advocate General by Mr. Adam himself! These changes need no comment. The interview of the deputation with Mr. Adam took place at the house of Mr. W. B. Bayley, the late Chief Secretary to the Indian Government; and Mr. Fergusson's address to Mr. Adam is said, by the papers, to have been so "pathetic and affectionate" that the latter was "quite overcome" by it. In his reply, Mr. Adam expresses his "grateful sense of the high honour conferred on him by his countrymen, the British inhabitants of Calcutta;" whom, it will be remembered he had insulted in the mass, by telling them not long before, that they could not be trusted with the liberty they enjoyed in their own country: that they were the servants of himself and his employers, and had no right whatever to express opinions on the acts of their masters! He had prohibited, under the severest penalties, the exercise of any scrutiny into his acts, or those of his colleagues in office; and yet he considers the "flattering expressions" of the same individuals as conveying the proudest proof that his merits were deemed worthy of the honour intended to be conferred by them!! and says that "such are his sensations of delight, that his uncontrollable agitation absolutely incapacitates him from returning any adequate tribute of acknowledgment for the high and inestimable mark of favour and distinction manifested towards him by the British inhabitants of Calcutta"!!! If any individual among these inhabitants had ventured to question his title to this honour, or to remind him of the fact that a committee of twenty can but very inadequately represent the feelings of the British community of India; which, could they be freely expressed, would evince a decided disapprobation of his public character and conduct; the reward would have been immediate banishment without trial of the individual so daring to

express himself, and the cancel of the licence, and consequent ruin of the press that should venture to give such sentiments publicity! Is it possible that under such a state of things, addresses of compliment can be of any value? Or can the expression of flatteries like these be received as an index of public opinion, when no man dares, but at the hazard of his fortune and his liberty, to venture on the expression of censure? Mr. Adam well knew that if the press were free, during his short administration, such addresses would not be so easy to be procured; and being determined to shut out all possibility of opposition or censure, the passing new laws to fetter that press was an appropriate prelude to this terminating farce.

Private letters state that hopes were entertained of a more liberal administration under Lord Amherst, which we shall be happy to see realized. Mr. Adam, it is said, was going round to Bombay for his health, which had been impaired by the fatigues and anxieties of office. Others supposed that he was likely to succeed Mr. Elphinstone as governor of that island, the latter being expected to succeed Sir Thomas Munro in the government of Madras. If Mr. Elphinstone should go to Madras, it is probable that he will restore the freedom of the press there, as he has before done at Bombay: while, at the latter place, Mr. Adam, if he acts consistently, will have to restore the censorship. Lord Amherst, it is hoped, will follow the early example of Lord Hastings on this subject: and if he perseveres in maintaining that example, without the vacillation or inconsistency of his predecessor, he will reap a harvest of richer honours than any Governor General has yet brought home from India. If on the other hand he maintains the present odious system of restraints and fetters of which Mr. Adam was the author: he must expect his reward: for all mankind are now agreed in the maxim that "he who permits oppression shares the crime."

Sanguine expectations were entertained in India respecting a steam navigation from that country to England. It was believed at Calcutta that a ship of 500 tons was fitting out in London with one of Mr. Perkins's new engines of 100 horse power, which would require only 60 tons of coals for the whole voyage, so as to render it unnecessary to touch any where between London and Calcutta, and make the voyage in six weeks round the Cape! Their disappointment will be great to

learn, that these prospects of speedy intercourse have "vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision," and may be truly said to "leave not a wreck behind." That some application of the power of steam may yet be made to shorten Indian voyages we think highly probable; but considering how much of such voyages is made in the trade winds, where a fast vessel with sails would make even a greater progress than with steam, we do not apprehend that ships between India and England will ever find it to their interest to be navigated by steam throughout the voyage, until some new and important discovery shall be made to reduce the required quantity of fuel, and increase the powers now communicated by steam to the progress of vessels.

We have received from India, a copy of a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, President of the Board of Control, on the Latent Resources of India, by John Wheatley, Esq." The author is well known in England, as a writer on political economy. He arrived in India about the close of Lord Hastings's administration, and being of the profession of the law, was sworn a member of the Supreme Court, to practise there as a barrister. During his short stay in that country, he had already perceived, what indeed must strike every man of reflection who visits it, that the degraded condition of India was a reproach to the British name and character; that its latent resources, though immense, were shamefully neglected; and that one of the first steps necessary to redeem the reputation of England, and advance the prosperity and happiness of her Indian empire, is to give the utmost freedom to the introduction into India, of the science and intelligence of Europe, by an "Unrestrained System of Colonization." This, however, is what the East India Company at home, and most of their servants abroad, on all occasions, oppose and resist; though, it may be safely said, that it is the only thing which can ever render India of so much value to England, as she ought long before this to have been. As advocating this great doctrine of the free and unrestricted intercourse of Englishmen with India, which is known to be obnoxious to its present rulers, Mr. Wheatley has probably printed his pamphlet at an "unlicensed" press: for we perceive no name of printer or publisher attached to it. Indeed, according to the present law in India on

that head, the printer of such a work would be liable to have his presses seized, for venturing to publish any thing involving a discussion on any question of policy or government: so effectually do the rulers of that unhappy country strive to oppose even the first steps of improvement, by rendering it dangerous for any man even to attempt to suggest what might lead to amelioration! We shall give a more detailed account of this pamphlet in our next Number.

Africa.—A communication, from the Sierra Leone papers of October 22. states that Mr. Belzoni had gone from Teneriffe to Cape Coast Castle in the Swinger brig of war, for the purpose of prosecuting his travels in the Interior of Africa. It was his intention to have gone first to the river Gambia, but he was obliged to proceed further south. He went from Cape Coast to Benin, in the same vessel, intending there to commence his route for the Interior. He wore the Moorish dress with a beard, and had a native of Haoussa with him. It was feared that he would meet with numerous difficulties, as he was to take an entirely new route. The object of his research is to trace the source of the Niger: and we wish him all the success he deserves in this hazardous but interesting enterprise.

Accounts from South Africa, mention that the powerful tribe which had made an irruption on the boundary of the Cape Colony amounted to 40,000, and they were still approaching towards our settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. Some of the tribes favourable to the English, were preparing to repel the invaders: and a general assembly of chiefs had been held at New Lattakoo, to deliberate on the best means of proceeding, when it was determined to advance towards the invaders, and meet them on their way. They set out for this purpose, and after a few days march came to an encounter, in which both parties fought desperately. About 600 were killed on both sides, and many of the new race taken prisoners. They described themselves as coming from a great distance, being driven out of the country by another tribe. They have desolated the whole country through which they travelled: they had never before seen fire-arms, and called their discharge 'thunder.' Both parties were equally cruel towards those who fell into their possession. The invaders had retreated eastward, filled with the utmost terror, lest the 'thunder and lightning' should overtake them.

New South Wales.—We consider it an act of justice to give publicity to the following letter from the colonists of New South Wales, to their late Governor, eighteen months after he resigned that Government. It is, at this distance of time, a gratifying proof of the high estimation in which General Macquarie was held, by those who had the best opportunities of appreciating his public and private character.

Sydney, April 21, 1823.

DEAR SIR,—It having been unanimously agreed on and determined, at a public meeting of the colonists of New South Wales, that "a gold cup of the value of five hundred pounds, with an appropriate inscription, should be presented to your Excellency on your retirement from the situation of Governor-in-chief of this territory, in order to mark the high esteem and veneration in which your character was held by the inhabitants of the colony," I have now the pleasure to transmit to you, the first of a bill of exchange to the amount of 500*l.* sterling; and to convey to you the wishes of the colonists that you will be pleased to have a cup or vase made, of the most modern taste, and in workmanship corresponding with the value of the article, with this inscription:—

The Colonists of New South Wales
Present this Vase
to their late venerated Governor,
Major General Lachlan Macquarie,
In testimony of Respect, Gratitude, and
Affection,
For the Wisdom, the Equity, and Humanity
which distinguished his Government
of this Colony, and its Dependents,
During an active and prosperous Administration
of Twelve Years.
1822

I have to request that you will accept my assurances of continued esteem and regard for yourself and family, to whom I beg you will most kindly remember me; and believe me to be,

Dear Sir, your most faithful and
devoted Servant,
(Signed) D. WENTWORTH.

In the ensuing Number of our publication, we shall arrange and condense the intelligence from India and the Colonies in such a manner as to admit of our noticing all the events of importance, and bring them up to within a few days of the date of publication; being desirous of making this portion of our Work, as full, as accurate, and as interesting as possible.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 2.—FEBRUARY 1824.—VOL. 1.

EXAMINATION OF THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST A FREE PRESS IN INDIA.

“The libels on the Duke of York have been so frequent and so flagrant, as almost to make good men hesitate whether the licentiousness of the Press is not more mischievous than its liberty is beneficial: the hesitation, however, can be but for a moment—the blessings of the Liberty of the Press are so clear and so acknowledged, as far to outweigh the mischiefs of its abuse—the evil is transitory, but the good is immortal.”—CANNING.

In concluding our strictures on the Appeal of a Governor General to public opinion in India, which occupied so large a portion of our last Number, we promised to revert to the subject, for the sake of examining the *arguments* on which he founded his objection to a Free Press in that country. We are glad to find that the *facts* brought to notice in the article already published, have produced a deeper sensation, and excited a far more general interest in the issue of this great question, than our most sanguine hopes could have anticipated. There are some few to whom the length of the Review appeared an objection; but, when it is considered that the history of five years of opposition to liberal efforts in support of public principles had to be compressed into a *certain space*, and yet told in so clear and connected a manner, as to be intelligible to those who had bestowed no previous attention on the subject, it will, we trust, plead a sufficient apology for the length to which it unavoidably extended. If it operated prejudicially to the general reader, in excluding that variety for which all classes naturally look in a Periodical Journal; it also involved a large pecuniary sacrifice on our own part, in furnishing a greater quantity of information than is contained in any single Number of the most expensive Review now published, at considerably less than the actual cost of printing alone, independently of other heavy collateral disbursements. We desire, however, to attach no importance whatever to this, except to show that higher feelings than those of mere interest actuated us in our pursuit. In the present instance we shall omit every thing that may be considered personally bearing on our own case, which was completely laid before the reader in our last, and proceed to examine in detail the arguments

put forth by the late Governor General of India against the Freedom of the Press in that country. They are no doubt plausible, and are certainly the strongest that could be urged, containing the essence of all that has been written on the subject, both officially and in the anti-liberal Prints of India for the last five years. So far, however, are we from regretting this powerful array, that we rejoice at the opportunity which it presents us of pursuing the enemy into his strong holds, of grappling with him hand to hand, and contesting every inch of ground, even to the very bulwarks of his citadel.

We shall not follow the example of those who first fetter an antagonist, and then affect to despise him. We shall fairly admit the Governor General to speak for himself, not suppressing even a line of his arguments; but taking up his Statement at the point at which we left off in our preceding Number, (p. 77) we shall insert successively his text, and our comment: a mode of controversy to which none can reasonably object, but those who have an interest in presenting garbled fragments of what they cannot refute. We proceed, therefore, to give a faithful copy of the closing portions of the Pamphlet adverted to, commencing with the following:—

It must be quite unnecessary to disclaim any wish to conceal the real character of the measures of Government, or even their most secret springs, from the knowledge of those controlling authorities to which the law has subjected it, or of *the great body of our countrymen*, whom the spirit of the constitution, and the practice of the Government at home, have rendered the ultimate judges of the conduct of every public functionary. No one entertains a more unfeigned deference for the constitutional control of *public opinion*, than the Governor General; or is more solicitous to have every public measure, in which he has been engaged, submitted to that tribunal, which, in the end, will *always* do justice to upright intentions and honest endeavours in the public service. With equal readiness does he acknowledge the *utility* of this species of control, in rendering public men circumspect in the performance of their duties, and checking every propensity to abuse the power, influence, and authority derived from public station. p. 51, 52.

After the publication of the Restrictions on the Indian Press, given in our last Number, prohibiting under pain of fine and imprisonment if a native of India, and of banishment if a British-born subject, the discussion of any topic involving the character or measures of the Indian Government, whether at home or abroad, and which Restrictions were avowedly the work of the Governor General himself; it does certainly require a large share of credulity to believe, that the same individual can be sincere in the professions contained in the preceding extract. If the real character and measures of a government are such as the governors can have no wish to conceal from those who are to be the ultimate judges of them, why should they be concealed from those on whom they must be carried into effect? It is of tenfold more importance to the actual inhabitants of India, that this character should be pure, and these measures salutary, than to persons living

at the distance of many thousand miles, who can scarcely ever be affected by them. It must be inferred from this strange position, that the great object of the Government of India is not the welfare and happiness of the people over whom it rules—for these, it declares, have no right to examine its conduct—but the profit of the Monopolists of Leadenhall-street, to whom alone it would acknowledge its responsibility. The hypocritical profession of deference to public opinion in England, to the exclusion of public opinion in India, is a mere pretence held out to entrap the unwary, and to induce men to believe that the objection is merely to the *class* of people who are to exercise this scrutiny. If the constitutional control of public opinion be really vested in the great body of the people—as the Governor General admits it is in England—are not the British inhabitants of India, so far as they extend, as much an integral part of the “great body of the people” when residing on the banks of the Ganges, as they would be if dwelling on the banks of the Thames? The Governor General is himself as much an Englishman in Calcutta as he would be in London; if he claims and exercises the same rights of person, property, and religion in India, as he would do in England, by what law are his less elevated countrymen to be shut out from the full enjoyment of the same distinguished privileges? They are to all intents and purposes as genuine Britons as himself; and cannot justly be denied the exercise of any birth-right or privilege not absolutely forbidden by the Law of England. They are at least a part of that “great body of his countrymen,” in whom the constitutional control of public opinion is vested at home; and since they do not change their natures with their countries of abode, no good reason can be assigned why they should not equally exercise the same control abroad. The “unfeigned deference” to this tribunal is therefore mere mockery on the part of the Governor General, since he has declared in his public and official regulations, that he has no respect whatever for its decisions; that, if it will *always* do justice to upright intentions, he dreads its verdict in his own case; and that instead of acknowledging its *utility*, as he professes to do, he has expressly stated, in deed as well as word, his conviction that it is worse than useless—nay, mischievous and dangerous, having a tendency to disturb our possession of India, and to lead to the separation of the dependant from the parent country! These are the express and manifest contradictions between Mr. Adam’s professions and practice. It is not for us to reconcile them; we deem it indeed impossible. Let his friends and admirers exercise their ingenuity, and see if they can help him out of this dilemma.

We proceed to the exceptions which the Governor General makes to the application of his liberal professions.—After admitting the constitutional right of controlling the measures of public

men, by the free expression of public opinion; after avowing his belief that it will always do justice to good intentions, and honest endeavours; after acknowledging with readiness the undeniable *utility* of this species of control in checking the tendency to abuse of power, influence, and authority,—he in the next breath utters the following objections:—

But he protests against the *assumption* of this right of control over the Government and its officers, by a community constituted like the European Society of India. He denies the existence of such a right *in that body*, and he maintains that it never can be exercised with efficiency for the professed purpose, or with any other consequence, than weakening the JUST AND NECESSARY AUTHORITY of Government, and introducing the worst spirit of party animosity and violence into this LIMITED SOCIETY, through the agency of a LICENTIOUS Press. The latter result has already been produced in a considerable degree; and if the former is *not yet perceptible* as injuriously affecting public measures, it must not be supposed, that the perpetual assaults on the character and respectability of Government, *contemptible as they frequently are*, are not calculated to shake greatly that salutary confidence in its justice and integrity, and that habitual deference for its authority and judgment which, with adverting to the *anomalous structure* of our power in this country, it is so essential to preserve unimpaired. The inherent force of Government would probably always enable it to carry measures, in support of which, it should choose to *put out its strength* against any opposition; but it is needless to dwell on the multiplied ill effects which would result from a state of things requiring the *ungracious* substitution of *simple force*, for that powerful and persuasive influence which the name of Government has hitherto carried with it. Yet either this must be the result of a system, which will in time make every public measure a point of contest between authority and resistance, or the Government must be content to relinquish that power which it holds, and which it has exercised *exemplarily* for the public good, into the hands of an IGNORANT AND MISCHIEVOUS FACIION. This prediction will not seem exaggerated to those who have traced the progress of the free press in India from the commencement of its operations to the bold and open avowals in the papers quoted in the preceding narrative. p. 52, 53.

As was to be expected from one speaking with an assurance that none dare contradict him at the time, the Governor General stumbles on the very threshold. By *assumption*, he must mean that the right of control is *illegally or forcibly* assumed in India—if it does not mean that, it means nothing, since a protest against it could be only justified on that ground. But is this the fact? We confidently answer, No! Mr. Adam denies the existence of the right to express opinions on the acts of Government in a body constituted like the community of India. He might as well deny the existence of a right to breathe their native air, to move their limbs, to use their organs of sight and hearing, or to exercise any other natural faculty not positively prohibited by law. The Governor General seems never to have arrived at the simple discovery that men are free by law and by custom, to do every thing that is not prohibited by one or the other. He seems to think that men should *derive* their freedom from statutes, instead of having it *curtailed* by them; and that no rights can exist but such as are given by charters and acts of parliament! His legal friends should

instruct him better, and ask him also from whence he derives his right to set law and common sense at defiance?—there is surely no act of parliament for that, though the privilege is frequently assumed by members of both houses; and throughout the world we find a pretty general disposition to be both insolent and absurd “by authority.” If any one desire to know what was the state of the case with regard to the Native Indians, before the English possessed their country, we request him to turn to the eloquent, but at the same time, accurate picture, presented by an Indian lawyer of the highest talents at Madras, in page xi. of the APPENDIX, given with our last Number. He will see, that from the earliest ages of Indian history down to the arrival of the European conquerors in the East, the people of that country enjoyed and exercised the privilege of discussing the measures of their governments, and the character of their governors, with no limit but the powers of their own minds; that there was absolutely no restraint ever attempted on their inquiries; and that they pursued them with the same freedom as the ancient commentators on our history and our laws. With respect to the *English* portion of the Indian community, it will hardly be contended that they are less entitled to, or less deserving of, this privilege, than the people they have subdued and the subjects they govern. With them, also, from their first settlement in India up to the period of the censorship imposed by Lord Wellesley, the same freedom of inquiry was exercised as in their own country, and there is even yet no *law*, properly so called, no act possessing the sanction of the King and his Parliament, to deprive Englishmen of that privilege, though the Indian Government has taken upon itself to frame an *illegal* regulation for that purpose. But, indeed, the very circumstance of framing such a regulation to *prohibit* the exercise of free discussion, is of itself a striking proof that such a right *did* exist; it would be absurd, as well as useless, to make a regulation for taking away that which was never enjoyed, or for destroying that which never existed; a folly almost too glaring even for a Governor General to commit. We contend, therefore, in opposition to his high authority, that both among the natives of India and their European conquerors, the right of freedom of speech and writing existed in as undoubted a manner as the right of freedom of motion: and that both by custom and by law the fullest claim to that right must be admitted to exist, as strongly as their claim to every other right not distinctly prohibited by common or statute law.

The next position of the Governor General is, however, of still higher importance; but fortunately it rests on still more slender grounds than the preceding: for on this point we can oppose to him a host of authorities, as well as reasonings not to be controverted. He is not contented with denying the *existence* of the right to discuss the public conduct of public men in India, but he

maintains that such a right *never can be exercised* with efficiency for the professed purpose, or with any but the worst and most alarming consequences ! The notion he attaches to the phrase "just and necessary authority," is authority to do what he pleases without any responsibility to the community over which he rules ; the meaning he would affix to "limited society," is a society composed of a great many thousand persons, but all of whom he would have subservient to his nod ;—and his idea of a "licentious" press, is, that any press must be so, if it dares to pronounce any other opinion than the most favourable one on the acts of himself and those in authority under him. We shall examine these phrases, and the use made of them, a little more closely. Whatever is just and necessary can be clearly shown to be so. The British community of India is composed of men of the best education, the highest character, and generally speaking, the most accurate judgments and most enlarged views. No orator or demagogue, no declaimer or specious rhetorician, could hope for success among them ; and we are confident that there is no spot on earth, where among an equal number of men, it would be more difficult to make sophistry pass for reason, or assertion for argument, than in British India. Such a community is therefore peculiarly well suited to the exercise of an almost unlimited power of discussion and scrutiny, added to which, the greater number of them are persons actually interested in the maintenance of that authority which it is pretended by the Governor General such freedom of inquiry would be liable to subvert. Whatever was "just and necessary," could be easily made to appear so to them, whose interests are on the side of power, and would make their convictions the more readily tend that way. It is therefore not only untrue, in a general sense, that the exercise of free discussion must inevitably weaken the just and necessary authority of governments ; but it is peculiarly contrary to the fact as it regards the Indian Government, where no possible danger could arise from its most unlimited exercise, as long as the intentions and measures of its rulers were honest and good, but where the very best effects might be expected to result from its influence. It must be unnecessary to repeat the sentiments of Lord Hastings on this very topic. "While conscious of rectitude, [a just and necessary] authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment : on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force." Mr. Adam's opinion is at direct variance with this : and yet Lord Hastings uttered this sentiment after he had been Governor General for nearly as many *years* as Mr. Adam had been *days* in the seat of power, when he ventured to contradict the supreme authority that had gone before him. On this head—the good or evil tendency of free discussion even in India—we might publish a volume of the highest authorities, in opposition to the view taken of it by Mr. Adam, including almost every statesman and

writer who has spoken or written on the affairs of that country, but particularly persons deservedly high in favour with the East India Company, and who have passed the greater part of their lives in their dominions in the East. The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, the present Governor of Bombay, is known to be a warm advocate of the liberty of the Indian press, having made it the first act of his government to remove the censorship which he found imposed on it at the period of his entering on his public duties there. General Sir John Malcolm, another distinguished officer of the Company's service, uniting more intimately the character of the statesman, the soldier, and the scholar, than is common even in the greatest men, has professed sentiments in favour of free discussion on Indian questions, which from such a source, are of the highest value;* and, independently of the philosophic historian of India, Mr. Mill, with Lieut. White, and others who have lately written on the affairs of the East, it may be safely asserted that nine-tenths of the British inhabitants of India are convinced that no greater blessing could be conferred on them, than a free and unfettered press, subject only to a trial by jury, and the ordinary responsibility to a court of law. Surely, Mr. Adam cannot be expected to possess a monopoly of wisdom as well as power, and singly bear down a host on this disputed point. If those opposed to him on the subject, were men who had not enjoyed the same advantages of local experience as himself, to guide them in their decisions, they might be deemed of less weight; but, there is not one among them who has not had exactly the same opportunities of judging, as is enjoyed in nearly an equal degree, indeed, by all the members of the civil and mi-

* "Publications in England on the affairs of India, have been rare, except on some extraordinary epochs, when attention has been forcibly drawn to that quarter; and a groundless alarm has been spread, of the mischief which (many conceive) must arise from such free disclosure, and consequent full discussion, of the acts of the Indian Governments. This practice, in my opinion, will have a direct contrary effect. It must always do great and essential good. The nature of our possessions in India, makes it necessary that almost absolute power should be given to those intrusted with governments in that quarter; and there cannot be a better or more efficient check over these rulers than that which must be established by the full publicity given to their acts, and the frequent discussion of all their principles of rule. Such a practice will expose imprudence and weakness, however defended by the adherence of powerful friends in England: and it will be more certain to prevent oppression or injustice, than the general provisions of law, which may be evaded; or the check of superiors, who may, from conceiving the cause of an individual identified with that of authority itself, feel themselves condemned to support proceedings which they cannot approve. This practice in short, (restrained as it always must be, by the laws of our country, within moderate bounds) must have the most salutary effects. Its inconveniences are obvious, but trifling when compared to the great and permanent benefits which it must produce; and I am confident that every effort made to repress such discussion, is not merely a sacrifice to personal feeling and to momentary expedience of one of the best and most operative principles of the British Constitution, but a direct approximation to the principles of that *Oriental Tyranny* which it is, or ought to be, our chief boast to have destroyed."—SIR JOHN MALCOLM

litary service of India: and in point of numbers, as well as authority, the advocates of a Free Press in that country, would be found in the proportion of ten to one at least, if their sentiments were consulted on the subject. As to the abstract argument of the *general* tendency of this salutary engine, to check the abuses of men in power, and its utility in effecting this end, Mr. Adam is himself an advocate on our own side; and until he can show the grounds on which he assumes that the same causes will not produce the same effects in all countries and among all people, no one will give him credit for being quite disinterested in lauding a Free Press, as the greatest blessing to a small country like England, but an evil and a curse in a large one like India: where from the utter impossibility of the Governors of the country, or their subordinate officers, inspecting more than a small portion of the districts under their charge, it is of the highest imaginable importance that there should be a free channel for the exposure of abuses of every description.

Mr. Adam considers it as a strong proof of the evil tendency of free discussion, that it has introduced a spirit of party animosity and violence into the *limited* society of India, in a considerable degree. To prove that this spirit, if it exists at all, is the result of a Free Press, it ought to be shown that such party spirit was unknown in former times, or before the "licentious" publications, here denounced, had visited India with this scourge. They who entertain doubts on this subject may turn to the instructive pages of Mr. Mill, in whose admirable History of British India they will find, that, long before an English Press was known in that country, there was a stronger spirit of party-animosity and violence prevailing in every circle of the then still more limited society, than there has ever been since free discussion has had full scope, and the circle of that society has been enlarged. Has Mr. Adam never read of the disputes—the mutinies—the disobedience of orders—the contentions at the council board—the arrests—suspensions—banishments—duels—and all the feuds which marked the early history of the English in India? Or can he trace these also to the operation of a press which then had no existence? Alas! that "authority" should be so ill-read and so short-sighted! There are few men, (Mr. Adam always excepted) who do not know that there is more animosity and violence in China, Tartary, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, and other countries, where the Press is unknown, than in England and America, where its strictures are most freely indulged; and that in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, where the press was duly fettered and restrained, party spirit and private feuds ran so high that assassinations were frequent, while in freer countries these evil passions found a vent in words, and bloodshed was comparatively rare. But to a reflecting mind, no argument can be necessary to enforce so self-evident a truth as this: that

party spirit, animosity, and violence exist in the greatest degree in those countries, and among those classes of society, in which the press has the least influence; and that in large cities, where newspapers are universally read, there is much less of private hatred and quarrel, on the grounds of opinion, than in small towns and villages, where the clamours of public controversy are scarcely heard or known. Instead of attributing such consequences to the press, it would be more just to say, that wherever the evil passions have the fullest play, the exercise of free discussion, by placing the matter in dispute in a just and impartial light, (which, wherever there are advocates on each side, may be attained with tolerable certainty) would have an inevitable tendency to calm the animosity and violence which it is so falsely said to create.

The truth is, however, that whatever party-spirit has been introduced into the limited society of India by a licentious press, has been the work of the Indian Government, and its principal functionaries themselves; it has been fostered by their care, nourished by their support, and rewarded by their favours. The history detailed in our last Number, need not be repeated here; and those of our readers who remember the scenes it developed, cannot now need to be told, that the charge of licentiousness is peculiarly due to that press of which the Indian functionaries were the avowed proprietors and patrons; and that they alone are answerable for the existence of that very spirit which they now so modestly pretend to deplore as an evil, and affect to be anxious to discourage and repress.

We might go on to remark, on the folly of entertaining a dread of assaults, acknowledged to be *contemptible*; and on the unmeaning pretence of a desire to preserve the *anomalous* structure of our power in India unimpaired; as well as to show, that whether *simple force* be gracious or "ungracious," it is the only influence which the Indian Government has hitherto used, with respect to the repression of certain efforts to improve the country and people by means of the press. But the shallowness of such poor pretensions to argument must be apparent to the humblest capacity; and we should but insult the reader by affecting to go deeply into that which has nothing to penetrate. We may add, however, that when it is said the power of the Indian Government has been exercised *exemplarily* for the public good, we must remember it is an Indian Governor himself, a principal agent in the exercise of this power, who speaks; and that, when he characterizes his opponents in opinion as an "ignorant and mischievous faction," he alludes to writers whose opinions he could not refute in argument, and whom he was afraid to meet on equal terms; whose only mischief was, that they contended for the good of the many, rather than pampered the vanity and self-love of an obstinate and interested few. But we pass on to the continuation of Mr. Adam's defence.

It is said, however, by the advocates of the system, that a Government will acquire strength and public confidence in proportion as its measures are publicly and fearlessly canvassed, and that while it has nothing to be ashamed of, it may court public scrutiny, not merely with safety, but with advantage even to itself. This, as a general position, may be admitted to THE FULL EXTENT; but the question is, where and by whom is this scrutiny to be exercised? That the Public, *as it is called*, of India is entitled to exercise it, or qualified for the task, will scarcely be maintained by any one who has considered how that public is composed. That it comprehends *many able and enlightened men* every one will admit. That many of them are *eminently qualified* to afford advice and information to Government, on *all* topics of public administration, is UNDENIABLE, and it is equally so, that the Government has never been *backward* in availing itself of their talents and information. But is the *collective body* therefore qualified to represent the Public, in the sense in which the term is now used, and to exercise a controlling power over a Government, ON WHICH ITS MEMBERS ARE ALL MORE OR LESS DIRECTLY DEPENDENT? Supposing such a local control to be desirable according to the constitution of the Indian Governments, can it be exercised with due efficiency, or to any useful purpose of check, by men over whose *fortunes and prospects* the Government *necessarily* and legally possesses a species of power which precludes the notion of a constitutional control in the other party? The right to exercise this control claimed by the advocates of a free press, seems to possess as little foundation. Let us consider for a moment, for whom this right is asserted. The European community in India will be found on examination to be composed, 1st, Of Officers civil or military, of His Majesty and the Company: 2d, Of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, residing in India under licence from the Court of Directors, liable to be withdrawn by the local government WITHOUT A REASON ASSIGNED; or so residing without licence under the tacit permission of Government: 3dly, Of a lower class of men of business, traders, and handicraftsmen, either residing similarly under a licence at will, or without any such sanction, and therefore, like the unlicensed of the former class, in the *hourly commission of a misdemeanour at law*! It is a mockery to claim for a community so constituted, the political privileges and functions of the great and independent body of the people of England; and the notion could only have originated in the minds of those who, *from some inexplicable views*, or from motives of *mere lucre*, seek to raise themselves to consequence by stirring up *contention and strife*. This confusion of things, essentially different, will be found to run through the whole of the reasoning of the advocates of the "Free Press," and is in fact, the only foundation of their argument. The very statement of the case seems sufficient to expose the fallacy of the argument, and the absurdity of the pretension; but it may be useful to examine the question a little more closely. It will scarcely be contended, that the civil and military servants of the Company, or the officers of His Majesty's forces serving here, are to constitute themselves into judges of the measures, which it is their province to execute. Their experience and information in their respective spheres, obtained in *free and confidential communication*, must be in many instances essentially useful to the Government, in framing their measures; but it would be an anomaly equally absurd and dangerous, to confer on them the power of a controlling body to canvass and discuss in public assemblies, or in Newspapers, measures adopted on *mature deliberation* by the power to which they are directly subordinate, and of the *true and secret springs* of which the majority of them must in general be PROFOUNDLY IGNORANT. To say nothing of the indecorous and disgraceful appearance of such an inversion of the *just order of things*, the admission of such a licence must speedily lead to the confounding of all subordination and respect for authority, and generate a spirit of controversy and resistance, highly detrimental to the public service.—p. 53—55.

There is in the preceding extract the same happy mixture of the true and false which characterizes all that Mr. Adam has written on this (to him) intricate and incomprehensible subject. He admits *to the full extent*, the position advanced by Lord Hastings and other advocates of a Free Press in India, that while a Government has nothing within its operation of which it need to be ashamed, it may court public scrutiny with safety, and even advantage; but as though the Government of India had really *much* to be ashamed of, Mr. Adam contends that such a scrutiny would be both unsafe and disadvantageous, if applied to *it*! There is no admitting the truth of the first position, without coming to the inference we have drawn in the second:—

Good governments have nothing to fear from public scrutiny:

The government of India has much to fear from such scrutiny:

Ergo, the Government of India cannot be a good government.

Again, Mr. Adam admits, that the public of India, though composed, as he would have it understood, in some mysterious manner, contains many able and enlightened men, eminently qualified to judge of all the measures of administration: yet the *collective body*, he adds, of which these many enlightened men must form a large portion, cannot be so qualified! And why? Because, according to him, such men are more or less dependent on the Government itself. It is for this reason, principally, that they are so well qualified; having local experience and practical knowledge, which they bring to bear on all questions of a public nature, in addition to those reasoning powers which are common to other men of equal talent, and more general acquirements. Yet, the very circumstance from which they derive their qualification to judge of measures passing under their eyes, is made by Mr. Adam a reason for their unfitness to pronounce a judgment that he himself admits them eminently qualified to form! If this principle were carried into general practice, it would disqualify every man in his Majesty's Council—every Member of the Cabinet—every Judge on the Bench—every occupant of a public office—every individual in the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the King, from venturing to express an opinion on the acts of a Government on which they are all more or less directly dependent! Could such an absurdity be maintained for a moment? And yet the members of the East India Company's service are no more dependent on the local Government of India, than those in the service of the English Government are on the Ministry for the time being. The functionaries of the Indian service enter into engagements with the East India Company at home, and not with their fellow-servants abroad: they are, indeed, as independent as the Governor General himself, as far as their rank in the service, and its emoluments are concerned. They are not *his* servants—they do not receive their commissions from *his* hands; nor can they be lawfully dismissed at

his will and pleasure. It may be true, that from the abuse of patronage, the *fortunes* and *prospects* of many may be improved or injured by the favour or displeasure of the Governor General for the time being; and that the power which he possesses in this respect may make men slavishly subservient to his wishes: but we have yet to learn, that this species of power is either *legally* or *necessarily* possessed and exercised. It is begging the question entirely, first to assume its necessity, and then to argue from this, that granting its necessity, men cannot and ought not to dispute it.

In the enumeration of the several classes of which the community of India is composed, we have the King's Officers, who are independent even of the East India Company; the Company's Civil and Military Servants, who are independent of the Governor General; and British subjects, settled in India as Merchants and Traders, who, it is said, are liable to have their licence of residence withdrawn, *without a reason assigned!*—and it is added, that it is mockery to claim for these the political privileges and functions of the people of England. But a King's Officer, when he goes to India, abandons no part of the particular rights enjoyed by him in England; he resigns no portion of his proud spirit into the hands of the four-and-twenty Directors in Leadenhall-street; he goes to fight the battles of his country, and to substitute by conquest, order and security for anarchy and plunder, and a free and equitable government in the place of tyranny and oppression. This is the avowed end and aim of all the duties in which he is employed; but it is nowhere exacted of him before he embarks, that he should crouch in abject slavery before a man in no respect superior to himself. If this were made the condition of an Indian military life, no high-minded man would enter on it. The Officers of the East India Company are equally unfettered by any engagement, to resign their bodies and souls into the keeping of the Governor General for the time being. The Clerks of the India House—the Keepers of their Docks and Warehouses—the Officers and Crews of their Ships—are all held to be free men; they do not disburden themselves of any of their political privileges, by entering into the employ of the East India Company at home. Surely the members of the Civil and Military Service abroad, are quite as competent to exercise these privileges as the classes we have enumerated. In truth, whether competent or not, they quit England in as full possession of their right to think and speak for themselves, as they do of their right to see and walk unfettered; neither voluntarily resigning, nor being deprived by law of either. It is, therefore, a flagrant violation of their rights, to invade any portion of them, merely because they have changed their places of abode and inhabit a country in which their power and their importance is considerably greater than they enjoyed in their native land. The remaining class, the British Merchants and

Traders, who reside in India under a licence, which may be withdrawn by the local government *without a reason assigned*, is, therefore, the only one to which any peculiarity applies. That such a state of things should exist, is, of itself, a reproach to the wisdom of Parliament, and to the spirit of the age; and the sooner it is wiped away the better, for the honour of our country and the benefit of mankind. But even these are only required to sign a covenant, that during their stay in India they will observe all legal rules and regulations, and do nothing *contrary to law*. Mr. Adam, indeed, mistaking his *will* for law, conceives that any man who opposes the one must violate the other; but in the midst of his countless absurdities and contradictions, this "confusion of things essentially different" may be excused. The class of Merchants residing in India, includes men of greater wealth than any of the Directors by whose licence they are permitted to reside there, and being connected with Houses in India, who are large Proprietors of India Stock, themselves materially contribute to procure for these Directors the very seats they occupy. They are in general men of the most respectable connexions, the most extensive acquisitions, enlarged minds, and unexceptionable character. They contribute largely to the augmentation of British commerce, to the improvement of the Indian revenue, to the strength of the Indian government, and the prosperity and welfare of the Indian people. They have infinitely larger property at stake in the country than the Governor General or any of his dependents; and that property is more deeply affected by the measures of the local government than by almost any other cause. They are, in short, as such men are every where—the very sinews of the country's strength, and the root of all its prosperity. Yet these are the men which Mr. Adam would *peculiarly* exclude from any participation in that inquiry, which every man has a right to make, into the policy or impolicy of measures deeply affecting his rights and property. They are liable, says Mr. Adam, to be turned out of house and home, to have their fortunes annihilated, their prospects for ever destroyed, at the mere will and pleasure of the Governor General for the time being, and this too without a reason assigned!! So much the more disgraceful to those who suffer such a state of things to exist, without the most strenuous and unceasing efforts to have so odious and tyrannical a power abolished for ever. But though they *are* thus unhappily dependent on the sufferance of others for their stay in the country, this cannot in the slightest degree lessen the amount of interest which they must feel in the measures by which their property is likely to be so largely affected. It is not enough, according to Mr. Adam, that they should be held in this state of miserable dependence on the caprice or folly of another; but they must also, according to him, remain for ever silent, and bow in abject submission to whatever unjust decree

their Ruler may choose to issue. They have no *right* to inquire, Mr. Adam contends—no claim whatever to a hearing, in a case in which their all is at stake. They are liable to be banished without trial for the slightest offence, or for no offence at all; and **THEREFORE** (oh! admirable logician!) they must submit to every *other* injury and indignity in silence! Is there a single merchant of the British Empire—a single member of that distinguished body to whom our wealth, our strength, and our proud elevation and pre-eminence is chiefly owing, that can hear such a declaration as this unmoved? If his heart does not swell with indignation at such a trampling under foot of all the rights and privileges that men have been taught to hold sacred, and to defend at the hazard of their lives, we must pity his want of that spirit which has hitherto been the peculiar boast of Britons.

Mr. Adam thinks it inadmissible, that any body of men should ever dream of exercising a judgment on measures which it is their province merely to execute! Happy state of apathy and ignorance! enviable tranquillity of profound indifference! What? if a widow is to be immolated by her children upon the burning pile, or is thrown back again into the flames after struggling nature had attempted an escape, is an Englishman to give his countenance to such deeds without a thought? If sepoys are commanded to be led out against their parents and children, as is often the case in Oude, and an English officer is to direct them to level their muskets against a crowd of unoffending women and children, among which are their brothers, sisters, and nearest relatives, is he not to have the privilege of thinking for a moment of the deed he is about to commit? Oh, no! *his* province (it is assumed) is merely to execute; though a native prince command the massacre of the innocent, and still remain unsatiated with human blood, the English officer (if his province be *merely* to execute, and *not* to judge) must obey his most wanton and barbarous edicts, till the drunken and infuriate monster shall order him to desist! If the principle,—that men are not to judge of measures which it is their province *merely* to execute,—be worth anything, it must extend to this; but, in truth, it is utterly worthless, and no mind but one most deeply imbued with the spirit of Eastern despotism, could ever entertain a design of thus stripping man of all right of feeling, or all power of moral agency, in the way in which the operation of such a diabolical principle as this would effect it.

Mr. Adam goes on to admit, that the experience and information of the Indian officers obtained in free and confidential communication, particularly qualifies them to pronounce opinions on the measures of Government, and even to assist in framing them; while, almost in the same breath, he says they must be profoundly ignorant of the true and secret springs of the very measures they were before said to be so competent to understand! What these “true and secret springs” may be here intended to mean, it is diffi-

cult to comprehend. We have always seen, that the *avowed* object of every measure yet undertaken is the *public good*. Of this the British inhabitants of India, whether servants of the Company or licensed merchants, can form as accurate a judgment as the Governor General himself. Indeed, those on whose interests any particular measure is most likely to operate, are in general best calculated to form an accurate estimate of its merits or defects. But, according to Mr. Adam's oriental notions of legislation, they are the very persons that should be excluded from the exercise of any opinion on the subject! If this be the way to preserve the "just order of things," Heaven help the unfortunate inhabitants of India, who are doomed to such a hopeless condition.

It should not be forgotten, that in this enumeration of the classes of society, who are said to possess no right to exercise an opinion on the acts of the Government, the natives of the country are entirely omitted: the hundred millions over whom our Eastern rule extends, become but as dust in the balance when weighed against the few who keep them in subjection. But we shall have occasion to advert to this point in another place; we therefore pass on to a continuation of Mr. Adam's arguments, which are too rich in subjects for illustration to induce us to wish the suppression of a single line.

It is a prominent part of the evident policy of the upholders of this system, to address themselves to the *passions*, and *supposed interests* of all branches of the service, and though little likely to affect those whose principles are *fixed* and habits *confirmed*, it cannot excite surprise that doctrines, so *speciously presented to the imagination of the young and inconsiderate*, should make a POWERFUL IMPRESSION, and weaken, if not destroy, the habits of subordination and respect for their superiors, so essential to the discipline and efficiency of a military body.

The effect of the same system on the civil officers of Government must in like manner in its degree, and within its range, be eminently destructive of that *wholesome deference* for LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY, and ESTABLISHED RULE, which is far from being incompatible with the *utmost independence of character and manly self-respect*.

If neither of these classes, by far the most numerous, enlightened, and considerable, can be properly vested with this controlling power, with still less safety can it be assigned to the commercial body of Calcutta, or the other Presidencies of India, or to the few Europeans scattered through these extensive provinces. Liberal and respectable as the leading men of that class are, and *deserving of the marked attention to their collective and individual opinions on matters affecting their own interests*, which has always been shewn to them, they can have no just pretension to erect themselves into a controlling power over the Government, or to represent the force of public opinion. In no part of the world is a greater degree of PRACTICAL LIBERTY enjoyed than by the European community of India, and no where does the Government exercise a less irksome or invidious interference in the concerns of individuals. No rational friend to the interests of that community can desire to risk the possession of this actual and inestimable advantage in pursuit of the phantom of political importance raised by the advocates of the "Free Press," for their own selfish purposes.

The Government of India must be anxious that its measures should be well understood and justly appreciated by every class of our countrymen, and ESPECIALLY BY THOSE MOST IMMEDIATELY AFFECTED BY THEM: but this feeling is perfectly compatible with the view here taken of the relative condition and duties of those who compose the British community in India. p. 55, 56.

In answer to the charge contained in the first of the preceding paragraphs, we assert with equal confidence, that it has *not* been the policy of the friends of a Free Press in India to address themselves to the *passions* of any class; they have appealed to reason, and to reason only, while their opponents have urged a cry of pretended danger, and met incontrovertible arguments by the "ungracious substitution of simple force," in banishing and gagging those whom they could not refute. The *supposed interests* of the Service were believed by the great majority of that Service themselves to be their *real interests*; and it is quite gratuitous in Mr. Adam, when his fellow-servants think it would be to their real advantage to breathe a free atmosphere, to assure them they are quite mistaken, and that the confined atmosphere of the Black-hole is much more salutary, if they would but imagine it to be so! Men of evil principles may be "fixed," and men of bad habits be "confirmed" in errors and prejudices; and it is a blessing to possess the means of correcting these: but it is quite untrue to say, that it was merely the young and inconsiderate that had their imaginations pleased by specious appearances. The *powerful impression* which Mr. Adam admits to have been created, was far more prevalent in the elder and middle aged classes of society than among the young. In all communities the reading and the thinking portion are those of mature age; and it is notorious, that the young men in India are in general so occupied with pleasures of a lighter kind, that they take but little interest in discussions on public questions, until a residence of some length, and local experience with the affairs of the country, give them an interest in and an acquaintance with the subjects in agitation. But, even if the case were as Mr. Adam would represent it, that it was the young only who were misled by specious appearances, while all those whose principles were fixed and habits confirmed, "held fast the faith delivered to them:" could *this* be an evil of such magnitude as to warrant the measures taken by him for repressing inquiry altogether among the old as well as young? Alas! he knows that the impression in favour of a Free Press was almost universal in India, from his predecessor Lord Hastings, who was the first to pronounce its public eulogium, to the youngest member of the Service, who had bestowed any reflection on the subject—save and except those only who found their misconduct exposed, and their untenable opinions stripped of all their assumed importance, through the agency of that Press which was literally "open to all parties, and influenced by none." That such men should be unwilling to throw off their

borrowed plumes, and be obliged to yield up the reputation for purity and wisdom which they had so long and so unworthily enjoyed, is not to be wondered at. This was what the Press of India *really* effected; and this is the reason why it was so acceptable to the benefited many, and so hateful to the disappointed few.

We can neither afford time nor space to dilate on every absurdity contained in the Statement of the Governor General, or we might indulge ourselves with some remarks on that exquisitely fine contrast between "wholesome deference for legitimate and established rule," and "perfect independence of character and manly self-respect." But the reader will not fail to appreciate this specimen of reasoning as it deserves.

The merchants of India are in the next portion of the extract admitted to be so respectable as to be really "deserving of marked attention to their *collective* as well as individual opinions on matters affecting their own interests." This is all that has been ever asked by any class. But a few pages back we saw their right to exercise any opinions, whether individually or collectively, distinctly denied. Now it serves the Governor General's purpose to admit it, merely, it would seem, for the sake of introducing an assurance that this respect had always been shown to their opinions, whenever expressed. But this is unfortunately untrue. If it had been so, would the financial operations of 1821, -22, and -23, or those of 1810, pregnant with ruin to thousands, have taken place, as they did, in secrecy and in silence? or would the East India Sugar question, and the duties on imports and exports have been viewed as they have been? The truth is, that whether the Government have to raise a loan or to pay one off; whether they have to lower the rate of interest or change the current value of the rupee; whether they have to impose new taxes, create new places, or levy new duties on trade,—the whole is conducted with the silence of despotism; and any man who should venture to express his opinions on the subject in any manner not agreeable to the Government, would be liable to be banished from the country for daring to question its infallibility, or dispute its omniscience!

It is also most untrue to say that the Government of India are anxious that its measures should be well understood and justly appreciated, *especially by those most immediately affected by them*. These are the persons to whom inquiry and discussion *ought* to be freely permitted, but they are the very persons to whom it is expressly forbidden. The military man is strictly commanded never to write on military subjects; and all other classes of persons in India are especially forbidden, by Mr. Adam's own law for licensing the press, from making "any observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, or

measures of the *Indian Government*." * Is *this* the way to evince the anxiety here professed? The British inhabitants of India may discuss the affairs of North America, they may speculate on the probable success of a voyage to the pole, they may even report what is passing in Patagonia or at Cape Horn; but they are strictly forbidden to discuss any of the measures of Government in England connected with India, or any measures in India itself; and this too by the very person who declares his anxiety to have the acts of the Indian Government well understood and justly appreciated, *especially by those most immediately affected by them!* Such a consummate specimen of impudence and hypocrisy could hardly be paralleled even from Indian annals, fertile as they are in duplicity and crime. We need not offer another remark, but pass on to what follows:

A greater political absurdity can scarcely be imagined, than a Government controlled by the voice of its own servants, or *by other persons residing under its authority on sufferance, and liable to removal at its discretion*. It is manifest, that no useful or efficient control over public measures can be exercised by a body so constituted, and standing in such relations to the ruling power. On the one hand, the attempted control *MUST BE NEGATORY*, as to the *prevention of abuses*; and on the other, from the principles and habits of insubordination and resistance, which the attempt to exercise it would disseminate throughout the Service, it *MUST INEVITABLY* and speedily lead to the most extensive confusion and alarming dangers. The inevitable effect of recognising the pretension would be, to throw the assumed power into the hands of the *ignorant*, the *discontented*, and the *vindictive*, and to open a wide door to the indulgence of factious opposition to Government, and of party discord and private malignity, under the mask of patriotism and public spirit, without acquiring one of those advantages which might be derived from a legal and constitutional control over the acts of Government. p. 56.

It might with truth be said, that "a greater political absurdity can scarcely be imagined," than a handful of Englishmen ruling over millions of men, and enjoying exclusive privileges, to the great detriment of their fellow countrymen, who, though they pay taxes to support this monopoly of power and profit, and ought to be equally entitled with the privileged few to participate in its advantages, are liable to be turned out of the country *because they are Englishmen* and help to retain it; while foreigners, who do all they can to wrest it from our possession, cannot be so turned out at discretion. This is indeed a "political absurdity" not easily matched or equalled; but it is not merely to those who are thus living on sufferance that the freedom of the press is denied. Bad as that odious power of banishment without trial is confessed to be, it applies only to a few hundreds out of a population of many millions of men; while the free press is denied to all; to the millions who inhabit the land by their right of nativity, as well as to the few who are liable to be expelled from it by *their* right of nativity also. In England no man is deprived of a right to think for himself because he is a

* See the list of subjects prohibited to the Indian press, in the official documents inserted in our last Number, page 123.

servant of another; nor though servants may lose their places at a moment's warning, are they shut out from all right of appeal to the laws of their country, and a trial by jury before condemnation or imprisonment. And we have yet to learn *why* even the fact of residing by sufferance in India should close the doors of justice against a man while there. Mr. Adam has not yet explained this to us, and it would require a wiser head than his to make it intelligible. It is high time indeed, that this system of residing by licence should be abolished; more particularly since such an abuse is cited as a *reason* for preventing inquiry into all *other* abuses. Because *one* injustice has been committed in preventing any man from residing in India without a licence from the Indian Government, *THEREFORE*, says Mr. Adam, when any additional acts of injustice may be done to him while there, it would be a "political absurdity" to allow him to complain! Truly this is a state of enviable felicity. No useful or efficient control *can* be exercised, he says, by such persons;—then why, we would ask, apprehend danger from a control which cannot be brought into actual operation? The attempt even must be *nugatory*, he says;—then why, we ask, take such pains, and make such severe laws to prevent it? It is a new branch of legislation, which Mr. Adam has the peculiar merit of discovering, to make laws for the prevention of that which cannot possibly happen! He does not explain how public scrutiny must fail to prevent abuses, nor why it would infallibly lead to confusion and danger. Lord Hastings averred the very opposite to this, and his lordship's authority is at least as good as Mr. Adam's. But we have a still better than either—reason and experience. The first teaches us that nothing can be so powerful a preventive to abuses, as the dread of detection and exposure; the second, as applied to all countries, India even included, shows us that where the scrutiny is most active, abuses are least frequent; and as to the danger, it no where exists; for in those countries in which discussion is most free, there is the greatest stability in the government, and the greatest peace and security among the people. Mr. Adam is therefore peculiarly unfortunate in his positions, the falsehood of which is shown by the common history of mankind. One would think that "the ignorant, the discontented, and the vindictive," were the only persons capable of writing; for according to Mr. Adam's opinion, the inevitable effect of recognising the right to a free press would be, to throw all the power into *their* hands. What are then to become of "the wise, the happy, and the forgiving," among the people of India? Are *they* to be for ever annihilated? or are they to sleep during the period of other men's activity? We were told, not long since, that there was a preponderating proportion of intelligence, honour, high-mindedness, and right feeling in the community of India, and we sincerely believe this to be the case. Is Mr. Adam then afraid to trust the right of discussion in *their*

hands? Surely a free press would enable them to bear down all "the ignorant, the discontented, and the vindictive," if any such existed; and the triumph of the rulers and those who were attached to them, would be complete. But the Governor General knows, much to his pain and mortification, no doubt, that on this question of the value and utility of a free press to India, he and his few adherents were as much outweighed in the talent as they were in the numbers of those to whom they were opposed; and that had any discussion been *permitted* on this subject, deeply affecting the interests of every man in India, there would scarcely have been a hundred voices in the whole country on their side. But we must hasten to a close, and shall therefore give the remaining portion of Mr. Adam's Statement entire, on which we shall have only a few observations to offer.

The foregoing remarks (he continues) are addressed chiefly to the PROBABLE EFFECTS of a free Press conducted by British subjects, but they are substantially not less applicable to unrestrained publication in the languages of the country, which possesses besides some features peculiar to itself. No person will deny that essential benefits may be derived from the operations of a native Press, *duly regulated and conducted by intelligent and well-intentioned individuals*; nor can any means be devised for more effectually diffusing useful knowledge amongst the population of this country, than the cheap and periodical circulation of tracts and articles of intelligence, calculated to instruct and improve the public mind, under the guidance of *judicious and well-qualified* conductors. But in exact proportion must be the evils of an ill-regulated and licentious native Press. Nor can the minds of the native population be truly said to be in a condition to derive those benefits from the sudden and rapid diffusion of literature, which alone would render the attempt safe and justifiable. The British Government in India has always acted on the *wise and humane* policy of adapting its laws to the state of society, and has CAUTIOUSLY ABSTAINED from the introduction of the institutions of a HIGHLY CIVILIZED Society among a LESS ENLIGHTENED people. The principle is at least as applicable to the question regarding the native Press as to any other. In England, the laws relating to the Press have *kept pace with the progress of public opinion*, and with the other institutions of a free people. The minds of men have been *gradually* prepared for the exaggeration and misrepresentation which must ever attend freedom of publication, and have become enabled to make those discriminations which are essential to convert it to purposes of utility and improvement. No language can convey in adequate terms how repugnant to the ideas of the subjects of an Asiatic state, is a free Press, employed as a means of controlling the Government: and suddenly to attempt by that, or any other means, to overturn all previous habits of thinking and acting on such subjects, would be a blind and hazardous neglect of all the sound and cautious lessons which experience has taught us.

If the evils above depicted would result, AS THEY INEVITABLY WOULD, from the establishment of such a system in ordinary circumstances, how greatly must they be aggravated in times of public difficulty and embarrassment, arising either from foreign war, or internal troubles! The present aspect of affairs happily seems to place either of those contingencies at a distance; but it will not be wise to speculate on permanent tranquillity either at home or abroad, or to deprive ourselves for ever of the means of controlling what, in the event of an interruption of either, might in the hands of ill-disposed or even indiscreet persons, become an engine of the most dangerous character. Let any one figure to himself the consequences of an

unrestrained press, systematically inflaming the discontents which prevailed on the Coast in 1809. The means of extensive combination which it would have afforded, and the fever and agitation, in which it would have kept all parties, must have rendered the dangers of that alarming crisis beyond all calculation more appalling than they actually were. No less fatal might have been the consequences of an unrestricted native Press in the case of that alarming and violent spirit of religious fury which at one period agitated the native soldiery. The recurrence of such dangers is happily a *mere speculative point*, unless they be brought about through the excitements administered by a local Press, free from those salutary restraints, which alone can secure it from becoming the instrument of men, who, from want of principle or judgment, are equally ill qualified to direct its efforts.

In the event of hostilities with any of the European States, which could scarcely fail to extend to this country, the mischief that might be occasioned to the military plans and operations of Government, and to the marine and commerce of the port by premature disclosures in the Newspapers, would produce consequences, the most detrimental to the National Interests. This was strongly felt at the time when the restrictions were first imposed on the Press in 1799, and the regulations then promulgated were pointedly directed to this object. At home the evil is submitted to, because of the preponderant benefits attending the freedom of publication *there*; but in India, we should have the evil *pure and unmixed*, without any countervailing good. p. 57—59.

We have here an admission in the early part of the preceding extract, that the evils painted in such glowing colours, as if they had actually happened, are after all, only a mere speculation as to the *probable* effects of a free press in the hands of British editors in India. The experiment had been tried for five years in that country, and no serious mischief had been produced: though all must admit that if danger were ever to be apprehended, it must be at the moment of change from slavery to freedom; and that the more we advanced beyond that period, the less that danger must gradually become. Yet though the *past* had produced no great public evil, the womb of the future was to be regarded as pregnant with misfortunes! This is really the happiest illustration that we have for a long time met with, of the practice of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. If such benefits as are predicted, would really arise to India from a native press, conducted by intelligent and well-intentioned individuals, why not endeavour to find such men, and place a press of their own in their hands, to counteract the evil tendency, if any, of an opposite engine. But, before destroying the operations of this Native Press altogether, it was at least incumbent on those who inflicted the destruction, to show that those who managed the native press were neither intelligent nor well intentioned—that they were neither judicious nor well qualified. No such steps were taken, and without even the shadow of a ground of complaint against the Native Editors, they were all put under the same galling restrictions as the English: men of every sect, class, and country, were reduced to the same dead level of equal subjection and slavery. It will be sufficient to mention, that one of these Native Editors was the justly celebrated

Ram Mohun Roy, the distinguished and intelligent Brahmin, who has embraced Christianity, and who maintained a Christian place of worship and a Christian press, almost entirely at his own expense. If any of our readers should be ignorant of his peculiar merits, we refer them to the numerous works from his enlightened pen, in defence of the Christian religion, republished in this country, and to the "Native Memorial," addressed to the Judge of the Supreme Court on the subject of the Press, inserted in our last Number (p. 130), and his address to his readers (p. 141) on discontinuing his Paper, the "Mirat-ool-Ukhbar," in consequence of the degradation to which he conceived the Press of India reduced by Mr. Adam. No man could presume to say that Ram Mohun Roy was not intelligent, well-intentioned, judicious, and qualified; his "Memorial" is an abler and better written document, though composed without assistance, and in a foreign tongue, than ever proceeded from Mr. Adam's pen, with all the advantages of his diplomatic education, and the use of his own language, with half-a-dozen Secretaries to assist him. Yet this Editor was included in the general wreck to which the hopes and efforts of all for the improvement of their countrymen were unfeelingly condemned!

It may appear to Mr. Adam to be a *wise* and *humane* policy, when a conquered people are found in darkness, to continue to keep them so; but others will think the wisdom and policy of such a course extremely doubtful. The Indian Government has indeed *cautiously abstained* from introducing any of the institutions of a civilized society, or from rooting out any of the practices of a barbarous or less enlightened one. But this is a subject for reproach rather than congratulation. It is to this "cautious abstinence" that we owe the exclusion of British skill, capital, and industry, from the soil of India. It is to this we owe the absence of a better religion and a better system of law and morals than the natives of India possess. It is to this "cautious abstinence" we are indebted for the pleasing sight of widows burning alive with the dead bodies of their husbands; sick and aged relations taken to the banks of the Ganges, and there prematurely destroyed; devotees crushed by the wheels of the car of Juggernaut; and pilgrims devoured by alligators at the junction of the sacred streams. These are but a few of the gratifying results of our "cautious abstinence" from all attempt at improvement in India; not to mention the revenue which the East India Company continue to receive from the temples of idols, and pilgrimages to particular shrines, besides the consequent increase of indecent faqueers, sacred prostitutes, and all the train of religious murders, robberies, violence, and perjury, with which India abounds, from one extremity to the other, in greater profusion perhaps than any other country under the sun. This is the *wise* and *humane* policy, this the "cautious abstinence," which Mr. Adam so highly extols and admires!

It is attempted to be shown that the laws respecting the press in England have kept pace with the progress of public opinion, (meaning probably the progress of knowledge), but this also is wholly untrue. When the Court of Star Chamber was first abolished, and the press was free, the people of England were not half so well informed as they were when the Six Acts were passed, so many years afterwards. This, therefore, was retrograding instead of advancing. When the press of India was free, under the government of Warren Hastings, the natives of India were not generally so well informed on subjects connected with the English dominion over them as they were when Lord Wellesley imposed the censorship. This was also a step backward instead of in advance. The pretence of a gradual enlargement of freedom as the people become better informed, is therefore a mere pretence, which has no foundation whatever in fact; and none know better than they who make the pretence, that it is false and hollow in the extreme. Even admitting, however, that the natives of India were *unprepared* for the enjoyment of a free press, were the well-educated Englishmen in that country *also* unprepared for its exercise? The truth is, that England has become what she is *in consequence* of the collision of mind, and progress of knowledge, promoted by a free press, without which she would have been far less advanced than she is at present. Her eminence is the *effect* of a free press, and not its *cause*: and the only way in which India can be made to approach the excellence to which England has attained, must be by free institutions and a free interchange of mind, as well as mere commercial productions. Neither is it true that the idea of controlling governments by the expression of public opinion is repugnant to the ideas of Asiatics. Their history is full of instances to the contrary; and we owe some of the finest fables and tales of the East to the very circumstance of their best writers teaching their governors, as well as others, lessons of justice, prudence, and morality, through their histories, their poems, and their plays. In India, public opinion has often controlled a governor by the boldest expressions uttered in his presence or at the gate. In Persia, greater freedom of expression is sometimes used against the government, by public orators in the mosques, than would be permitted even in England. In Turkey, in Syria, and in Egypt, the expression of public opinion in various ways, is powerfully and usefully effected; and in Constantinople scarcely a month passes without some demonstration of public opinion, as loudly expressed as it could be done at any meeting in London. Asiatic history is not, however, Mr. Adam's *forte*;—he has spent the greater portion of his life in Asia, and has been elevated to the post of chief ruler of one of its finest countries; but he is better read in the petty details of a Secretary's office, and the pages of the Indian John Bull, than in the ample and instructive volume of history or of

human nature, and hence it is, that his deficiency in facts is almost as striking as in logic : in both, indeed, "none but himself can be his parallel."

In assuming that all the evils depicted in the foregoing extracts would *inevitably* result from a free press, even in ordinary circumstances, the Governor General falls into his common error of begging the question entirely. They have *not* resulted, by his own admission; and he has no ground for assuming that they *would* result: but then come the times of difficulty and danger, for which he feels himself bound to provide. Occupying the seat of power for a few brief weeks, he might have left to his successor, Lord Anierst, the task of providing for the future tranquillity of India, and have contented himself with preserving the repose of the present. But this was not his object. We see from his own admission, in the paragraph before quoted, that there were at one period certain discontents, (rather a mild term for open mutiny and rebellion) which prevailed on the Madras Coast in 1809, without the agency of the press being at all concerned in inflaming them. To those who are acquainted with that period, we need hardly say, that no Free Press could have made the fever and agitation that then prevailed, worse than they actually were; although an open statement of grievances, brooded over in secret, might have been productive of the most beneficial effects. Mr. Adam thinks that a Free Press would have given the mutinous army certain means of extensive combination, which they could not otherwise enjoy. It is something new to hear of secret combinations (for secret they must have been, to have been of any danger) promoted by a Public Press. The salutary exercise of such an engine might have shown Lord Minto, in due time, the alarming progress of Sir George Barlow's measures, before he committed the Supreme Government, by becoming a party to the dispute. It might have caused much of the effervescence to evaporate in words; it might have dissipated a thousand errors and delusions, under which men on both sides laboured; but it could not possibly have inflamed the discontents beyond the height to which they attained without it, nor have aided in the slightest degree any combinations of the rebellious army, without at the same time informing the Government of those very combinations which it would prepare them to defeat. So also, in the case of the religious fury of the Native Soldiery, a free press could not possibly have done harm, for general ignorance, on both sides, was the cause of the quarrel. It appears from Lord William Bentinck's statement, that many *new* regulations were introduced by the Commander in Chief, in *ignorance* of their probable effects; but a free press would have elicited immediate information from men who could not dare to interpose their superior knowledge through any other channel; and thus have enabled the Commander in Chief to repeal what was really

obnoxious, and the Government to assist in quenching the spark which their conduct tended only to fan into a flame. In the event of hostilities, Mr. Adam knows that a free press could not, if it would, communicate to an enemy the plans and operations of Government. These things are more safely and effectually done by spies and secret despatches. Nor could a free press convey to an enemy's cruisers, in the Indian Ocean, any premature disclosures detrimental to the national interests. This is something like an equally sagacious apprehension uttered by the organ of the India House, not long since, that the Pindarrie horsemen (who dare not approach the British territories, and who do not understand a word of English) were likely to become Radicals, by reading the Calcutta Journals! Such is the *wisdom* with which great and distant countries are ruled; and such are the oracles we are expected to follow! At all events, if these pretended evils were likely to happen in time of war, it would be easy to prescribe some particular rules suited to the occasion. But why inflict such restrictions in the midst of profound peace? Why make the necessary medicine of the press, suited only to an alarming crisis, its daily regimen when out of danger? The evil is not felt in England, where the enemy's country is within a single night's run of her coasts; and where cruisers in the ports of the one can watch the departure of ships from the harbours of the other; nor could it possibly be felt to any extent in India; while the good that would be effected by freedom of publication, subject to the control of the laws and a jury, would be as extensive as in any country in which the influence of public opinion has ever yet been felt and enjoyed. We have only one extract more from Mr. Adam's pamphlet to offer, and with a few remarks on that we shall conclude.

In every point of view then, in which the question can be considered, it appears that the TOLERATION in this country of a press uncontrolled by those restraints, which the Government *in the exercise of its discretion may think fit to impose*, would be fraught with the MOST EXTENSIVE MISCHIEF, while it would be completely *impotent and misplaced* as a constitutional check on the executive power. The true control over the Indian Government lies in the constituted authorities *at home* under which it acts, and to which all its proceedings, even the most inconsiderable, are minutely laid open; in its responsibility to Parliament, and to the public voice in *England*, by which its measures must be canvassed, and the applause or censure of the country, ultimately pronounced.

To that scrutiny and control every public functionary must be willing and proud to submit; but the unrestrained power of discussing and pronouncing on the measures of the Local Government, through the medium of the Indian Press, or (what would soon follow,) at public assemblies, convened for the purpose, is as inconsistent with the fundamental principles established by the wisdom of Parliament for the Government of this country, as it would be dangerous to the momentous public interests involved in the success of its administration.

The complacent manner in which the Ex-Governor General advances to this conclusion, is not the least amusing part of his

performance. He takes it for granted, that every one will admit his premises, because in India no man could venture to dispute them, but at the hazard of all his prospects; and as if he were installed "Sir Oracle," conceives, that when he opens his mouth no man would dare to speak. In that country of TOLERATION, where widows are freely permitted to be burnt alive, almost always by moral and physical coercion combined—where dying parents may be thrown into the Ganges before life has departed—where every species of abomination and atrocity in religion is freely permitted, and even tribute received into the coffers of Government, from these most corrupt of all sources,—the *toleration* of a press unfettered by such restraints as the Governor General, in the exercise of *his* discretion, may think fit to impose, is declared to be fraught with the *most extensive mischiefs!* Do we address ourselves to Englishmen, and do not their spirits rise in indignation within them at such a declaration?—If this be heard by a nation pretending to be the advocates of freedom and morality, and suffered to pass by with indifference, we shall have thought more highly of the national character and feeling than they deserve. But it cannot be. There must be some hearts at least, that will sympathize with their countrymen and fellow-subjects abroad, and help to raise them from that abyss of slavery and degradation to which they have been so unjustly humbled, by a man, permitted to rule over them for a month, and crowding into that brief space more indignities, offered to his fellow-servants, than they had ever before sustained at the hands of all the Governors of India who had preceded him in his career.

The affectation of a readiness to submit to the control of the constituted authorities at home, and the public voice in England, is like all the rest of Mr. Adam's meek and lowly professions, founded in insincerity, and propped up by delusion.* He might

* "It is but just to bewail the unhappy situation in which the minds of Englishmen in India are placed: Acted upon by circumstances which strongly excite them, their understandings are dragged, like those of other men, towards a conformity with their desires: and they are not guarded against the grossest delusions of self-deceit by those salutary influences, which operate upon the human mind in a more favourable situation. The people of India, among whom they live, and upon whom the miserable effects of their delusions descend, are not in a situation to expose the sophistry by which their Rulers impose upon themselves. They neither dare to do it, nor does their education fit them for doing it; nor do they enjoy a Press, the instrument with which it can be done. Their Rulers, therefore, have no motive to set a guard upon themselves; and to examine rigidly the arguments by which they justify to themselves an obedience to their own inclinations. The human mind, when thus set free from restraint, is easily satisfied with reasons for self gratification; and the understanding waits, an humble servant, upon the affections. Not only are the English Rulers in India deprived of the salutary dread of the scrutinizing minds and free pens of an enlightened public, in the regions where they transact; they well know, that distance and other circumstances so completely veil the truth from English eyes, that, if the case will but bear a varnish, and if they take care to stand well with the Minister, they have in England every thing to hope, and seldom any thing to dread, from the successful gratification of the passion of acquiring."—*Mill's Hist. of British India*, vol. 6, p. 280.

as well talk of his readiness to submit to the control of public opinion in the Moon, or the Georgium Sidus. If an act of gross injustice is committed in India, and no man on the spot dare speak of it in a public manner, where all the circumstances of the case are capable of being weighed and appreciated as they deserve, and where the parties interested in the case, are all actively and sensibly alive to its effects,—who is there in England that will take the pains, or that can possess the means of prosecuting the evil-doer with any hope of success?—It would be just as effectual to elect a parliament on the island of Terra del Fuego, to discuss the affairs of England, to destroy every press in this country, and look only to the control of the public voice expressed on the other side of the Atlantic. This is really the greatest mockery of all. If the conduct of any functionary be so pure that he would be willing and proud to submit to the scrutiny of men living 16,000 miles distant, what could prevent his being equally ready to submit to the scrutiny of those among whom he lived? The innocent are best known to their immediate associates, and it is the guilty only who would rather be tried by men utter strangers to their lives and conduct, than by those who have an intimate acquaintance with their previous history. Public opinion in England can never reach India until after a lapse of twelve months, if permitted to be heard in that country at all, which seems at least doubtful, since the Restrictions placed by Mr. Adam on the Indian Press prevent their even copying from English newspapers any thing which may relate to Indian affairs; and prohibit, on pain of fine and imprisonment, the sale of even any book printed in India or elsewhere, which the Governor General chooses to condemn or suppress. This is an illustration of the sincerity of Mr. Adam's profession, that every Indian functionary is ready and proud to submit to the public voice in England, which he proves by stifling that voice in India whenever it speaks on the affairs of that country! We ask again, can it be possible that Englishmen should hear these things unmoved? Is the happiness or misery of a hundred millions of human beings a matter of indifference to them? Have they no sympathy for the debased and degraded state of their fellow-countrymen, who are doomed to a mental slavery more galling than even their weary exile in the East? Are the pretended advocates of religion and justice, who preside over the councils of the East India Company, so wholly callous to their reputations as to slumber over these things in apathy and silence? Have the wealthy Proprietors of India Stock no feelings of commiseration for the inhabitants of a country, from whence they derive their fortunes and their pleasures? Can the Christian, the philanthropist, and the patriot, reconcile to their consciences an utter indifference to this state of things? If it be so, we repeat again, that we have entirely mistaken the English character: but we console ourselves with the assurance that such things cannot be.

In our strictures on this Statement of the late Governor General of India, we have given the whole of his arguments against the Freedom of the Press in that country, unbroken and entire, without keeping back a single line. The Public of England may see, therefore, in the successive portions one continued whole; and this whole embodying all the strongest arguments that a jealous and deeply rooted hatred of a Free Press could suggest to the mind of the writer, who has put forth all his strength, and those of his colleagues combined, in this Statement in which they are unfolded. We put it to the reader's candour, whether they have not been all successively and successfully exposed and refuted, as we have proceeded in their examination. If so, we trust we shall hear no more of the danger of a Free Press in India; but that some able advocate will arise in Parliament to demand inquiry into this important topic, and call for the repeal of Restrictions, calculated, more than anything that could have been devised, to retard the improvement of that country, and to keep its inhabitants still in the darkness of ignorance, superstition, and crime—from which it is our bounden duty as men to rescue them.

THE HERO'S DEATH—FOR LIBERTY.

There is a crimson hue
 Of purer, lovelier dye,
 Than beams in blushing clouds that strew
 Soft evening's radiant sky:—
 'Tis in the life-blood of the free,
 Poured nobly forth for liberty!

There is a drop more clear,
 More sacred, more sublime,
 Than virgin pity's tender tear
 O'er others' curse or crime;—
 It is the life-blood of the free,
 When nobly shed for liberty!

There is a voice more sweet
 Than music's softest lyre,
 That bids a livelier pulse to beat,
 And wakes a wilder fire;—
 It is the death-sigh of the free,
 Who fights and falls for liberty!

And there 's a louder sound
 Than earth asunder riven,
 A voice that rises from the ground,
 And *will* be heard in heaven;—
 It is the death-shout of the free,
 Who dares and dies for liberty!

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 1.

Introductory, on the Nature and Effects of modern Periodical Literature.

WE are about to perform a bold, and perchance a somewhat perilous undertaking; and we bespeak the reader's especial indulgence and protection accordingly. Ourselves ambitious of assuming a permanent place in the first rank of English periodical works, and aware, as we are, that the said works have hitherto, by a kind of courtesy which has not a little of policy mixed with its politeness, refrained from treating of the merits and pretensions of each other,* we have yet, after some deliberation, made up our minds that this is not the best imaginable course for either party, but especially for the reader. We have therefore determined, at our own particular peril, and for the benefit of *our* readers exclusively, to abandon this course, and, for once, endeavour to speak the truth of those, who never scruple to speak the truth of others, when it so pleases them, or, it may be, a little more.

It is not for us to estimate the general qualifications which we bring to the performance of this rather delicate (or, as it may possibly appear to some, *indelicate*) task. But *one* of those qualifications we will venture to state; and if we insist on it rather more than may at first seem called for, we do so because we are convinced that it is without exception the most important one that can be possessed, with reference to the object in question; and one, in the absence of which all the talent and knowledge in the land would be worse than of no avail:—we mean an absolute impartiality. Luckily for ourselves and others, we are not (as yet) unsuccessful authors; and we do not happen to have any *particular* friends who are. And as to politics, in our literary capacity we know of no such thing. We hold, also, that in an examination of the kind now proposed, there is one thing which should be paramount over all others; namely, the truth: that in fact, however it may occasionally be useful and expedient to adapt the truth to existing circumstances (as the phrase is), or to conceal, or embellish, or blend it with other things,—yet that, in cases of this nature, it should be pursued to wheresoever it may lead, and be placed before the eyes of the world in whatsoever aspect it may present itself. The public have in fact an especial claim to know the truth in the particular instance

* The able article in a late number of the Edinburgh Review, which treats of the English newspapers almost exclusively, can scarcely be considered as an exception to this remark.

now in question; and there are circumstances connected with the case, on both sides, which make it especially difficult for them to attain that truth if they seek it, or for it to make its way to them, notwithstanding its natural tendency in all cases to move right onward in its course.

Without pursuing this part of the inquiry further, and claiming to have the above propositions admitted, it remains to be seen whether we are duly qualified to search out that truth, which has hitherto, in the matter to be examined, either lain in a great measure *perdue*, as it respects the great body of the reading public, or floated about in vague and unsatisfactory feelings and rumours and suspicions, without ever taking the form of a definite and steady conviction; it remains to be seen whether we are duly qualified to discover this truth, and, when discovered, to place it clearly and intelligibly before those whom it most concerns. Let the public prize our opinions as they prove them: for the said public, though they are susceptible of being misled by falsehood or error, are at least as well qualified to appreciate the truth, as any one is to place it before them. There is indeed something in the very nature of truth which renders it "intelligible to the meanest capacity," when it is fairly exposed to view; and though falsehood is eminently capable of usurping its place, and of maintaining that place for ages, and in minds of the highest class and of the purest quality; yet the one cannot for a moment stand in the *actual presence* of the other, but melts away before it as the false Florizel of snow did before the true one of flesh and blood.

Before proceeding to the immediate object of these papers,—which is, in a word, to give the best account we are able of each of the distinguished Reviews and Magazines of the day,—it may be well to say a few words on the effects which those works, all and severally, have produced upon the literary tastes and habits of the English people, and through them upon the great body of the English writers of the present day: for it must be admitted that, in this instance, the apparently just and natural order of causes and effects has been reversed, and the taste of the public has, in a great measure, created the literature, rather than the literature created the taste. And perhaps our object may in this instance be attained in the shortest and most satisfactory manner, by taking a hasty historical glance at the rise and progress of the different works, the merits and defects of which will hereafter fall under our notice.

An able and acute writer in the Edinburgh Review, has said, in his own peculiar way, in an article which we have already referred to, that "periodical criticism is favourable to—periodical criticism." This proposition would have been even less controvertible than it is, if he had substituted the word *literature* for "criticism." Twenty years ago periodical literature was a thing unknown in this country; for the Tatlers, Spectators, Idlers, Ramblers, and the whole of that de-

lightful, but naturally ephemeral race had passed away, and their places were left unfilled by anything of a similar class or character. We had, indeed, two or three steady, plodding, and highly useful works of periodical criticism; and they were conducted for the most part by persons of considerable literary pretensions, and of respectable natural talent. But these set up no claims whatever to the character of substantive literary works, dependent for their attractions on their own innate qualities. Instead of superseding another species of literature, they were solely dependent on *that* for their value and support. But so far from this being the case with respect to the periodical literature of the present day, that literature is so exclusively "favourable to"—itself, that it threatens to supersede the necessity of all others. The reader will observe that we say "the necessity," not the existence: far be it from us to assert that anything can prevent authors from writing books; but still further be it from us to insist that there is any absolute occasion, in the present day, to read any books but such as may be folded in half without breaking their covers! Periodical literature, properly so called, is in fact an invention of the nineteenth century; or, at all events, it bears about the same relation to its original, as *that* existed five-and-twenty years ago, as the steam-engine of the present day, which can perform all things, bears to the miserable affair of a wheel, a bucket, a chain, and a crank, which could ladle up a few gallons of water almost as fast as a couple of able-bodied men could do it! Not that we would be understood to speak slightly of the Gentleman's Magazine, as it existed in the days of the real Sylvanus Urban. It must doubtless have been a most amiable miscellany in the eyes of its various contributors; and still more so in those of its happy proprietors,—whose only outlay must have been the trouble of deciding between the merits of rival candidates for the immortality of a month! But not having ourselves been lucky enough to be born in time to take part in either of these enviable occupations, we must not be expected to feel any other kind of reverence or fondness for the results of them, than that which proceeds from their having been the delight and glory of our gossiping grandsires. But we dare say that the work in question can very well dispense with the good word of upstarts like ourselves; since, in reply to any insinuations of ours, as to its having been *effete* for the last quarter of a century, it might safely refer to every one of its own pages during all that time, to prove that it still remains a "most valuable and interesting miscellany." And in fact there is something interesting in seeing it still continue to wander about among the mob of modern *parvenus*, like one of those everlasting emigrés of the old regime,—prim, powdered, and periwigged,—who are occasionally seen in the streets of Paris, shoved and shouldered about by the revolutionary rabble who have so long usurped their offices

and occupations, but still nothing moved from the centre of their mild gravity, or shaken from the security of their infinite self-esteem.

We do not agree in opinion with those who hold that the old Monthly and the European magazines were improvements on the above amiable and unpretending piece of antiquity; any more than we admit that a noisy and nonsensical debating society, with a pragmatical and self-conceited president in its chair, is a better thing than an unassuming evening party of elderly ladies of both sexes, met together to gossip over their tea. We offer this as the best illustration which occurs to us of the comparative characters of the above-named works; and from this the merely modern reader, who happens to be unacquainted with them, will be able to judge whether they are likely to form any exception to what we have previously said, that at the period alluded to we were altogether without a periodical literature, properly so called. At length, about twenty years ago, "The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal," made its appearance; and *then* the literary world first appear to have discovered, what they must long have felt unconsciously, namely, the want of some means, constantly ready at hand, of putting forth to the public the ideas that might occur to them, and the knowledge they might acquire, on a vast variety of subjects which were not exactly of a nature to call for a distinct and substantive literary work, and which yet were susceptible of the most interesting and even important illustrations, but such as might be given to them without in any great degree interfering with graver and more continuous pursuits; such too as promised, while they formed an agreeable and useful *délassement* for the more experienced and accomplished scholar, both as reader and writer, to furnish forth a most attractive and stimulating feast for the younger student, by the perpetual tasting of which, here and there, he would be able to acquire a better insight into his own natural quality and disposition of mind than by any other means, and thus be much less likely than he otherwise would to give an injudicious direction to his future studies. This was *one* of the results attendant on the appearance of the Edinburgh Review;—to show to the literary world, what it had long *felt*, but did not till then *know*, that something of this kind would be a valuable addition to its means of furthering its peculiar views in various channels; and also to offer it something like a model of what was needed. Another, and much more important, though perhaps not so valuable a result of the publication in question, was an almost immediate and extensive change in the habits, sentiments, and tone of thinking (if thinking it could be called) of the mere *reading* portion of the British public. How this change was brought about we shall perhaps see when we come to examine the literary character of the Edinburgh Review: at present we are only look-

ing to its actual results. Immediately on its appearance, it not only found its way to all the professed readers then extant, but it created a host of others :—

Readers read then who never read before,
And those who always read, then read the more.

In fact, in less than twelve months after its establishment, not to know what the Edinburgh Review had to say on any subject which had come before it, “argued yourself unknown.” The disclosure thus unexpectedly made, of the liability of the English public to receive literary impressions, provided they were presented to them under a certain piquant and stimulating form, was not likely to remain long unimproved, or the immediate agent of this disclosure likely long to enjoy exclusively the benefit of his happy discovery. Accordingly, by the time the Edinburgh Review had firmly established itself as the literary as well as political oracle of many, and gained a pretty firm hold upon the curiosity of all, the public appetite for literature of this class, instead of being satisfied, “had grown by what it fed on,” and was ready for the reception of another work, which now presented itself, of a precisely similar general character, and differing from the first only in its peculiar views on religious and political points. The Quarterly Review was at least as successful on its appearance as its predecessor had been; and thus a new and perpetually increasing impetus was given to that literary mania which was by this time in full action all over the land. Knots of friends clubbed their half-crowns together to purchase the Edinburgh and Quarterly, and think as they thought, though they were sure to think differently on any given subject; and book-societies were formed to buy all the works that the Edinburgh and Quarterly praised, though whatever one praised the other was pretty sure to abuse! The Edinburgh and Quarterly were admired and referred to in the senate; they were quoted at the bar, and read on the bench; they were praised or anathematised in the pulpit, as the case might be. Nay, Mr. Newman began to think that “his occupation was gone,” when he heard his fair customers ask for the Edinburgh Review instead of the *Elegant Assassin*, and caught his little boy from school reading the Quarterly instead of Philip Quarles :—it was a chance if you did not detect a thumbed copy of one or other of them in the soiled fingers of the lass who stood in uneasy attendance while you ate your savoury patty of a forenoon; post-boys became familiar with their names by being asked for them out of the pockets of their vehicles; and even hackney-coachmen were not ignorant of their existence, but on the contrary came shortly to consider them as the only individual representatives of the general class of things called books, since, whenever one of the latter happened to be left them as a perquisite, it was pretty sure, on inquiry, to turn out one or other of the former!

Deferring for a moment our inquiry into the good or bad effects produced on the literary tastes and habits of the British public by these celebrated works, let us merely glance at their immediate practical consequences on literature itself; and this may be done in a few words, taking the form of an historical notice of the birth of those other periodical works which sprang up in answer to the extraordinary call that had been excited by these their forerunners, and which, in consequence of their having maintained the station which they then assumed, and become established portions of our present periodical literature, are to be the subject of our separate notice hereafter.

The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews having each taken an express *side* in politics, were necessarily in the habit of offending a certain class of persons who fancy themselves to be without any political bias at all, even in their political feelings, still more in their literary ones. This, therefore, became a reason, or an excuse, (no matter which,) for instituting another quarterly work, on a similar plan with that of the above-named works as far as its *literary* conduct was concerned, but professing to be wholly independent—the ideal representative of the ideal class of “country gentlemen” in our national assembly, as its predecessors were of the opposition and ministerial parties. Hence the British Review.

There was still another capital defect discovered in these redoubted works. The attention they gave to *books* was almost exclusively directed towards modern ones, the works of living writers. We have seen that literature, which had hitherto been considered as a free republic, was now to be divided into parties, the principles of each of which have express reference to a monarchy. We were now to have a *fourth* quarterly review, which was to do the work of Time over again, and award the meed of fame to those works which had already worn it for centuries; or perchance occasionally strip it off from some unlucky pretender, on whose brow Time had dropped it by mistake—thus undoing the work of ages in an hour; or, lastly, to rescue from the dust of undeserved oblivion some “illustrious obscure,” whom nobody but himself ever thought of while he was living, or had heard of since his death: thus insinuating to inveterate readers the necessity of revising all their old literary opinions, and of “fighting their [book-] battles o’er again;” and hampering and hood-winking the mere idle and desultory ones, till they stand a chance of confounding the living and the dead together, and talking of the infinite merit of Dr. Donne’s last new poem, or fancying Mr. Shadwell to be the living laureate, and Dr. Southey the dead one! The reader will already have anticipated that it is to the Retrospective Review we have now alluded; and we hope he will also have done us the justice to believe that the foregoing shaft of our wit (such as it is) has been directed, not at the practice of the works which have

called it forth; but at the peculiar plans on which they were started respectively, and at the reasons or excuses which the projectors of each would probably assign as the grounds of their claim on the public patronage. *A priori* we see no occasion for any one of these four quarterly works; but having them, we should be loth to part with either.

The four great points of the periodical compass are thus occupied. It remains to glance at the various intermediate ones. We have hitherto treated the above-named works as reviews of books; but, as will be seen when we come to speak of their literary character and pretensions, *this* is in fact but a secondary part of their respective objects, and is kept for the most part subservient to their primary one, of presenting to the public a series of Essays—light gay, witty, satirical, serious, learned, and even occasionally profound in their character, but always short and condensed, and conveyed in a style, and assuming an air, which ensure their reception with every class of readers: with the learned as a pleasant recreation, or perhaps a useful and agreeable means of refreshing and revivifying the knowledge which they already possess; with the reader of limited means, but unlimited desires, as the mode of at once coming at the actual results of years of hard study—the long-sought “royal road” to acquirement; and with the mere idler and searcher after amusement, the mere literary epicure, and the reader who reads that he may talk, not that he may think, they were above all peculiarly acceptable, as the express essence of all that need be known, or at least all that need be said, on their respective subjects. This quality it was of the works in question which gave them their claim to the title of literary, and which in fact constituted the great source of their immediate attraction, as well as of their effects on the general literature of the day: and it should be understood also, that what we have just said of them generally, is intended to apply in by far the most express and exclusive manner to the two first named; the pretensions of the other two being greatly inferior in comparison.

The staple of these two great works being, then, purely literary, and at the same time their dress and manners making them acceptable company for readers of all classes, whether literary or otherwise, the immense circulation which they almost immediately gained, could scarcely fail to spread, as it in fact did spread, an entirely new face over the whole habits and feelings of the said readers; and while it made them reject with contempt what they had hitherto been pleased and satisfied with, was far from making them absolutely satisfied with what they were now in the habit of receiving: for there is no end to the increase of the mental appetite, when it has reached a certain pitch, and been fed with a certain kind of food; and there is, under circumstances similar to those which we are describing, no stationary point at which it

may be expected to rest; it is necessarily and in its very nature either in a progressive or retrograde state. Whether the appetite in question has not now reached its ultimate point, and is taking a backward path, we shall perhaps have occasion to inquire hereafter. But certain it is that at the period of which we are treating, it was in the height of its progressive action; and the consequence was a proportionately increased call for, and therefore an increased supply of, the commodity needed. Hence arose a literally *countless* throng of periodical works, of greater or less pretensions in point of talent, and of an infinite and ever-changing variety in the detail of their respective plans: till, at length, it is impossible to imagine a taste, or even a want of taste, that cannot find wherewithal to gratify it in some one or other of the publications in question. We have called the number of them literally "countless:" and if there were an instance on record of authors being in a condition to lay bets, we would willingly back our opinion on this point. As it is, however, we will venture to wager a set of the *Oriental Herald* *in futuro*, against any other work of the kind, either extant or in embryo—(which we consider to be very great odds)—that no living person can name the names of more than two-thirds of the periodical works that are alive and flourishing in this island at this present writing! For ourselves, we shall not attempt to name a tenth part of them; but shall merely mention that those among them which will be likely to fall under our notice hereafter, are the four Quarterly Reviews we have named above; the three principal monthly magazines, viz. the *New Monthly*, the *London*, and *Blackwood's*; two or three of the new series of those which existed in name, but not in nature, before the period included in the foregoing notice; the most respectable of the present Monthly Reviews of books, which still maintain much of their merely *critical* characters—such as the *Monthly*, the *Eclectic*, the *British Critic*, &c.; and perhaps a *few* of the Weekly literary works, which go towards making up the "thousand and one" that we have spoken of generally.

We have seen the effects which periodical literature has produced on *itself* in the present century. It only remains to speak of the effects which the perpetual weekly and monthly overflow of this literary Nile has produced upon the taste and habit of feeling of the English public. And perhaps the shortest mode of coming to a knowledge of its effects, will be to look at its evident intention, and its natural tendency. With respect to that part of it which has been confined to the review of books, its evident object has been anything rather than what used to be the understood object of criticism,—namely, to assist the less experienced judgment, and the less refined taste, in gaining, *from the perusal of the work criticised*, the greatest quantity of information, and the utmost degree of pleasure, which the said work was capable of affording. On the

contrary, the evident object of modern criticism has been, generally speaking, to fix the reader's attention and excite his admiration towards *itself*, and to secure that admiration and attention in future, by giving such an account of any really valuable and interesting work, as should completely *satisfy* the reader, and *render the perusal of the work itself altogether unnecessary, at least for all the purposes of common readers.* And, in fact, in works of any extent, this plan has often been executed with such consummate art and address, that it has actually been impossible to read with any real satisfaction and gusto the work itself, after having previously read the review of it ; so completely familiar have we been made with all the high points and salient angles of it—the uncertain anticipation and expectation of which constitute the chief stimulus to the perusal of voluminous works, by those who read chiefly for amusement : and it is those of whom we are now speaking, and who constitute the great bulk of book consumers. The above remarks are peculiarly applicable to expensive books of travels ; and the consequence is, that *these* in particular, which used to be among the most generally sought after of all others, and the most eagerly devoured on their appearance, are now scarcely read at all when first they come forward, but are left to make their slow way into the libraries of book-buyers, as occasion may seem to call for them, or accident place them at hand. We do not mean to say that the *ultimate* sale of these works is injured by this kind of “abstract and brief chronicle” of them. If it were, we should inevitably hear more complaints on the subject from Messieurs the Booksellers ; or rather the *cause* for complaint would presently be got rid of. What we say is, that the Reviews in question have entirely changed the habits of the reading public with respect to books of this class ; and that, now, people are more ready to *purchase* such books than to *read* them, of however valuable and interesting a character they may happen to be. They are convinced of the necessity of *having* them ; but they are content to defer the reading of them till they have nothing else to do. By the way, we conceive that the positive and direct effect of these Reviews, even the most influential of them, in advancing the sale of a considerable work, is very trifling. They may do it infinite mischief ; but they can do it comparatively little good. And probably their indirect effect on the sale of books generally, is equally confined, notwithstanding the immense increase which they have caused in the number of *readers* ; for the readers which they have created, are, in fact, of a peculiar class ; and it cannot be denied that they have *reduced* a great number to this class, who formerly belonged to a much more general one. And this brings us to the second and principal direct effect of the periodical literature of the present day. Whatever its object may have been, its natural tendency is most narrow, selfish, and exclusive ; and its effects have been correspondent. A recent writer on the present state of English literature,

touching slightly on this part of the subject, has said, of the peculiar style adopted by our best periodical works, "It makes readers where it does not find them; incipient readers it strengthens and confirms; and confirmed ones, or even those whose appetites are sated by over-indulgence, it rouses anew."* Yes: but what sort of readers does it "make"?—The readers of magazines and reviews. In what sort of reading does it "strengthen and confirm" them?—In the reading of magazines and reviews. And to what does it "rouse their sated appetites anew"?—To the anchovy sandwich, the India pickle, and the lobster curry of magazines and reviews! This, in fact, has been the object and natural tendency of modern periodical writing, and this has been its almost exclusive effect. A perpetual feeding on nightingales' tongues and peacocks' brains, dished up with every variety of *sauce piquante*, has at length elevated, or rather reduced the public appetite to so factitious a pitch of refinement, that a joint of wholesome meat, served up *au naturel*, stands a chance of being turned away from, with a mixture of contempt and disgust. To vary the metaphor,—the constant excitation of this literary dram-drinking has so emasculated the organs to which it has had access, that now, nothing but highly concentrated essences and double distilled spirits can stimulate them into any lively action at all. And when this action is made to take place, so far from being a healthful one, and from leading to healthful results, it only generates a feverish and craving thirst, which refuses to taste of the only kind of beverage calculated to allay it.

To quit metaphor altogether,—the public have read periodical writings till at length they do not care to read anything else—always excepting the Scotch Novels. Every thing but these have given way before it; if indeed *these* are not to be ranked as part and parcel of it—as well from their regular quarterly recurrence, as from the arts and mystifications that are made use of to keep up the interest respecting them and their anonymous authors: for its being *anonymous* is, unquestionably, one of the causes of the success of periodical writing; partly from the mystery which is attached to it, but chiefly from the free scope it gives to the writer in various ways. To prove this, let the editor of any one successful periodical of the day persuade his writers to put their names respectively to each paper they contribute; and let him see whether, in the course of two or three numbers, his occupation will not be clean gone, even though he and his friends "writ the style of gods!"

We repeat, every thing has been compelled to give the *pas* to periodical writing. Mr. Coleridge, not being periodically disposed, has ceased writing altogether, and confines his publications to *viva voce* ones. Mr. Wordsworth writes on; but having a natural

* Soligny's Letters on England; vol. 2, 230.

horror of periodical works, is content to be his own reader. Mr. Southey writes chiefly in the Quarterly Review. Mr. Hazlitt's Table Talk, and Mr. Lamb's Essays, will not go down till they have appeared anonymously in the New Monthly and London Magazines. Messrs. Lockhart and Wilson are fain to take up with Blackwood's. Mr. Barry Cornwall has left off writing Dramatic Scenes, to indite Criticisms on the Drama in the Edinburgh Review. In short, not to multiply instances unnecessarily, the popularity of Lord Byron himself has become almost a dead letter; and after letting the Liberal drop for lack of his assistance, he has been reduced to the necessity of starting a periodical for himself, to be continued occasionally to the end of time, entitled *Don Juan*!

Such has been the progress and effects of periodical writing up to the present moment. How long it may be able to maintain its present elevated station, we shall not pretend to predict. And to say the truth, we are not very anxious about the matter either way; provided only that it remain stationary till we have had time to place on record an unflattered portrait of its principal individual features. When this has been accomplished, it shall have our full permission to submit, as soon as may be, and with the best grace it can, to that spirit of change which is paramount over all things. In the mean time, it would be unjust, as well as ungrateful, not to confess that, with all its faults, it is a most piquant, pleasant, and spirit-stirring affair; and if we have dwelt with greater apparent complacency on its faults than its good qualities, the reader will doubtless attribute this circumstance to that amiable modesty which characterises and becomes us as periodical writers ourselves!

OH! WEEP NOT FOR THE MIGHTY DEAD.

Oh! weep not for the mighty dead,
In Freedom's cause who proudly fell;
'Twas for their native land they bled,
And they have graced their lineage well,
*For who could brook, that once was free,
To pine in heartless slavery?

Their task is done—their toils are o'er—
Calmly they rest in Glory's grave;
Nor ye with tears their doom deplore—
Tears shame the relics of the brave—
They most our grief, our pity claim,
Who deign to live, when life is shame.

Then weep not for the mighty dead,
Who ask no tears save foemen's blood;—
Weep but for those who basely fled
(While firm the sons of Honour stood);
Who feared—when Freedom died—to die,
And clung to life with slavery!

POLITICAL EXPECTATIONS.

It is very difficult for a politician to be an honest man, and very dangerous for an honest man to be a politician. The cause is obvious: In every art or science, except the most important of all, Politics, improvements can be made by single individuals. Napier invents logarithms, and publishes them to the world; and long before kings and ministers have learnt the meaning of the word, every calculator in Europe has a set of tables lying at his elbow.

But suppose the adoption of this noble discovery had depended on governments; what a cry of innovation would have been raised! What pious exclamations would have broken forth about the wisdom of our ancestors, who did extremely well without logarithms! What stupid jokes on the term itself would have split the sides of the *magnates*, when even Swift has condescended to such a miserable play upon words as to call logarithms *logger-heads*; and finally, how certainly would the permission to use the discovery have been clogged with restrictions, monopolies, fees, licences, &c. &c. Perhaps logarithms might have been made excisable articles; then what a glorious perspective of commissioners, tide-waiters, comptrollers, gaugers, and supervisors in the foreground, while the distance would be crowned with that awful fabric, the Court of Exchequer—

“ A dark abode,
Which even imagination fears to tread !”

I wonder what a mathematician would say to an information of fifty or sixty counts against him, for using logarithms above or below proof!

Indeed “ the powers that be ” have made perpetual attempts to take every species of knowledge into their holy keeping. Sometimes, kind souls! they wish to preserve their subjects from being led astray by the arts of wily agitators, and then they shut up such pretenders as Galileo in prison; and having themselves braved the contagion of bad books for our benefit, they preserve us from danger by writing an *Index expurgatorius*. Sometimes, in their anxiety for the welfare of our souls, they set up an assay-office for the test of religion, suffering none to be sold, or even given away, until it has been stamped “ genuine,” and has paid the duty. Sometimes they kindly take care of our earthly interests, and to preserve us from ruin they prohibit all of us, except certain wise men of the East, from trading to somewhat more than half the known world. But unhappily, people have been so ungrateful as to murmur against these good offices; and so blind as to imagine that governments are strangling science, when they are only giving

her a paternal embrace ; and consequently science and power have for the most part begun to stand aloof.

Politics, however, from the nature of things must always be an exception to this rule: the politician cannot keep a community or two of Lilliputians in his garden on which to try the effect of laws and constitutions ; nor can he make his experiments in the great world without the consent of a whole nation, or at least of the dominant part of it, which has always an interest in opposition to improvement. Thus the number of experiments in politics, as compared with the number in any other science, must always be few ; and it can rarely happen that even these few will be made with an honest singleness of purpose : consequently the sum of human knowledge on this subject must always be comparatively small. But since from the great interest which political changes excite, they have been recorded with tolerable accuracy, there are materials in existence for the construction of much better systems of polity than have been yet adopted ; and that without any very extraordinary exertion of mind. But then the same difficulty which clogs experiment, hampers the adoption of that which, either as a whole or in part, has been tried already.

A discovery in any other science (chemistry for instance) is adopted by one individual after another, the flock of disciples gradually increasing, until at length the old faith and practice are with the things that were : but as political discoveries must be received by nations in their corporate capacity, the discoverer must wait patiently until he and time can convince a number of individuals, sufficiently large to act on the government, before he or any one else can reap the least benefit from his labours. "To teach the *state* idea how to shoot," is alas ! a slow species of education, and furnishes very little emolument to the master. Patents for improved plans of government would be of small value unless they were allowed to run for centuries, and then perhaps a married philosopher might (if the fees were low) be induced to take one out, as a provision for his remote posterity. A patent for trial by jury would now be a valuable property.

Political institutions being then so far below the degree of political intelligence, possessed by all who have paid any attention to the science of government, it ought to be no matter of surprise that the honest and ardent politician feels and expresses disgust and mortification at the state in which he finds the practice of government. He is deceived by the process of analogy. He sees the work of improvement proceeding on every side with great velocity, and he is surprised and angry that the most important of all sciences to the happiness of man, should be that alone from which amendment seems to be shut out. Perhaps too the difficulty of obtaining real knowledge in this science, may unconsciously affect his own mind ; and not being able to correct his theories by

experiment, he may imagine himself advanced much further beyond the multitude than he really is.

In this state of mind he is prone to three capital errors. The knavery of the few, and the sottish ignorance of the many, strongly impress his mind with the miserable nature of the materials with which he is to work; while the wide difference which exists between things as they are and things as they ought to be, shows him that the work of reform will be a task of Herculean labour. This gloomy view may either produce an abandonment of all political thoughts and feelings; or it may urge him into a state of fanaticism, in which he breathes blood and fury, and denounces as cowards and renegades all his friends who are not as "good haters" as himself. The transition from this to the third error is wonderfully easy. Unprofitable and innocuous hatred is too comfortless a state of mind to be very lasting; and the anger which has been raised by the apathy of the people to the misconduct of their rulers, may become itself a motive for joining their oppressors, in order to punish the patient slaves with a still heavier visitation. If I had ever heard of a man so furiously *anti-regal* in his opinions, as to leave a dinner-table and go into the open air, that by stripping down his stockings he might kneel on the bare ground to curse the king; I should not be surprised to find him, should his open and unblushing desertion of his party place him on the bench, become, in his little jurisdiction, the most impudent perverter of the law who had disgraced the judgment seat since the time of Jefferies.

The foregoing remarks may also explain how splendid visions of Pautisocracy may only be the prelude to the most virulent abuse of the advocates for Parliamentary reform; and they may also establish a *harmony* (certainly much wanted) between the "*conciones ad populum*" and the "Lay sermon."

After all, the change which some of these politicians have undergone, is but a slight one, much less than if they had become *liberal* in the true sense of the word; and had seen in the objects of their hatred only the victims of a bad system, who were yielding to the operation of causes, over which they had no control; and whose errors would excite no more anger in the breast of a philosopher than he feels at the ravages of an earthquake. Deserting one's party is usually called a desertion of principle; whereas the true desertion of principle, in the greater number of politicians, would be to act according to the dictates of common sense. I never found political deserters leaving their bigotry behind them, however great their haste to run away. In truth it is only hating A. instead of B., railing at C. in place of D., who is now lauded with as much extravagance as he was previously reviled, and the alteration is complete.

Some people are wonderfully struck with what they are pleased

to call the tergiversation of M. Chateaubriand, who after bringing home a bottle of water from the river Jordan, for the baptism of young Napoleon, is now one of the most ardent admirers of Louis XVIII. "Mark how plain a tale shall put them down!" M. Chateaubriand is a dealer in *cant*, and having laid in a large stock of this article at a heavy expense (of character), he thinks he has a right to choose his own customers. Buonaparte was for some years a large purchaser and a good paymaster, and Chateaubriand's worst enemy will not say that while the customer was regular in his remittances he was ill-served. At length, however, Buonaparte goes into the Gazette, and Louis carries on the concern as his assignee: will any tradesman say that Chateaubriand must keep his stock unsold because his old customer is a bankrupt; or he is bound to give it away? When a lame duck waddles out of the Alley, do all the Stock Exchange waddle after him, entreating him to take their *omnium* and *scrip* for nothing? The case is too clear for argument!

Perhaps the reader will think that such gentry as Chateaubriand and some others, require no explanation: but with respect to the mistakes of more honest politicians, and especially those of which I have spoken, I think it will be found that their basis lies in an overweening sense of the importance to be attached to the exertions of individuals. About the middle of the late war, I recollect the "public characters" of an obscure village in Shropshire patriotically determined to strengthen the hands of government, and strike a panic into the jacobins, by raising a troop of yeomanry cavalry. By the force of their eloquence the whole neighbourhood was fired with the project of saving their country, and the tax on saddle-horses, at one grand effort. Of course there was a dinner to celebrate the achievement; after which the Captain, a warm-hearted country 'squire, pronounced it as his grave opinion "that although it could not be denied but the *Corsican* had hitherto met with some considerable success, yet he had no doubt that, since the gentlemen of ——— had come forward in so spirited a manner, affairs would take a very different turn indeed! *Hear! hear!*"

"By this day month the tyrant shall not gain
A foot of land in Portugal or Spain!"

Now these good people were not a whit more absurd in their estimate of their physical power, than your fiery reformer is in calculating his moral importance. With all his talent (of which he may have a great deal) he falls into the practical error of supposing that every thing which is new to him is new to the world. He will admit, it is true, that such men as Milton and Locke have written; and that the eloquence of the one, and the logic of the other, are not to be despised. Nay he would shrink from the absurdity of comparing himself with either, even in his inmost

thoughts ; yet in his anticipations of success, he tacitly assumes that the great doctrines of liberty have never before been preached to mankind. Truth has burst on his mind, and he thinks men cannot be deaf to his good news. He forgets how long they have had Moses and the prophets ! So Melancthon in the ardour and confidence of youth, fondly believed that by the force of his eloquence, he should extirpate sin from the earth : " But alas ! (he says) I found old Adam too hard for young Melancthon !" Let a man condescend to reflect for a moment what a petty fraction of humanity he is, and one would think his wildest desire of fame and usefulness might be satisfied with something short of working a sudden revolution in the destinies of his species. If at the close of a long, laborious, and consistent life, he shall find the course of events inflected by his efforts, even in the slightest degree, towards the side of improvement, he may lay down his head with the highest and purest feelings of happiness, which our nature is capable of enjoying. Seldom indeed is such happiness vouchsafed ; it is generally the lot of the philosopher "*dall oscuro e disprezzato suo gabinetto de gettare nella moltitudine i primi semi lungamente in fruttuosi delle utili verità.*"*

I once asked a great man, whom he considered the worst enemies of his works, " You lawyers (he replied) ; but I am only waiting till I am dead, and then I shall be strong enough to deal you some hard blows !" He who can be satisfied to wait so long for the effect of his labours is not very likely to *rat*, at least in this world. H.

NIGHT.

Ye distant, beautiful, and glowing stars,
That thus have twinkled 'neath the wings of night
So many countless years ! beautiful still,
But silent as the grave !—How many hearts,
Yearning, like mine, to know your holy birth,
Have questioned you in vain ! Ye shine, and shine,
But answer not a word. Why is it thus ?
Why are your vast circumferences lessened
By intervening cold and lifeless space ?
In the wide ocean's waves, that roll between,
The music of your motions too is lost ;
Or if some meditative holy ear
Catch the sweet cadence flowing from above,
It is so soft, so faint, so exquisite,
It rather vibrates through the listening soul
Than trembles on the ear !—'Tis heavenly sweet
To see you gem the spacious firmament,
Like fiery brilliants set in ebony !

* Beccaria.

To gaze upon you, hung like beacons out
 Upon the margin of another world,
 Inviting us on high, is extasy!
 But yet ye are so distant, and your round
 And bright immenseness, so diminutived,
 That a light sparrow's wing, nay, a frail leaf,
 While trembling to the passing breath of night,
 If interposed, can shut your brightness out,
 Eclipse you for a moment from our eyes:
 A leaf eclipse a world! But, oh! 'tis thus
 Even in our world itself: the veriest trash,
 The hidden mischief of the secret earth,
 Ancestry, title, blood, if hurled between
 The gem of genius forming in the mine
 And the sun's fostering ray, will intercept
 The glorious, bright, and necessary fire,
 And let the jewel perish in the womb
 Of grand prolific nature. But there are
 Spirits of fire, that will shine out at last,
 And blaze, and kindle others. These delight
 In the lone musing hour to roam the earth;
 To listen to the music of the trees;
 Or if perchance the nightingale be near,
 Pouring her sweet and solitary song.
 They love to hear her lay. With such as these
 'Tis sweet to hold communion. Though the world,
 And fates of life, forbid a closer tie,
 Yet we can gaze upon the self-same stars
 As Byron in his Grecian skiff is wont
 To view at midnight, or which livelier Moore
 Translates into his soft and glowing song.
 Nay, more—those very stars in elder time,
 Sparkling with purer light in the clear sky
 Of Greece, perhaps, were those that Homer saw,
 And thought so beautiful, that even the gods
 Might dwell in them with pride. O holy Night!
 If thou canst wake so many luminous dreams;
 Call up such recollections; bring the past,
 The present, and the future into one
 Immortal feeling; from thy influence
 Let me draw inspiration! let me mount
 Thy mystic atmosphere; and let the shapes
 Of heroes, gods, and poets in the clouds
 Meet my impassioned gaze! My soul is dark,
 And wild, and wayward; and the silver moon
 Shooting her rays upon the misty deep,
 Or sleeping on the frowning battlement
 Of some time-stricken, solitary tower
 That rises in the desert, seems more bright,
 And grand, and glorious, than the glaring sun
 Shining upon the open haunts of men.

DESCRIPTION OF BOKHARA AND SAMARKAND.

THE names of these celebrated cities of the East must be familiar to the ears of all who are acquainted with oriental literature; and we feel considerable pleasure in presenting them from an authentic source, with a detailed account of their present state and condition, as well as of the kingdom of Bucharia, in which these cities are placed, from the information of one who has recently visited that interesting quarter of the Interior of Asia; and which we present in the form in which it has been transmitted to us for publication.

BUCHARIA is a powerful kingdom in Central Asia. It is bounded on the north by a part of the Kirgees desert, Kosan and Aderkand; on the east by Naimatchin and Badachshan; towards the south by Anderah, Balkh, and Ankoa; and on the west by a part of the Kirgees Desert and Chiwa. Its greatest length, from Wratjup to Saarechssa, is thirty days journey with camels, or 1800 wersts; its breadth, from the city of Bokhara, to Old Balkh, twenty days journey, or 1600 wersts. The number of inhabitants is estimated at about three millions. Samarkand is the principal city; but the residence of the sovereign is at Bokhara.

Samarkand is situate on the river Kuan-Daria*, which issues from the lake Pandjikand. This river, after traversing the whole country, is lost in Karakul; its water being absorbed by numerous cuts and canals, which are carried through various towns and villages, for the purposes of irrigation (navigation being unknown in those regions), and of floating the wood cut in the vicinity of the lake.

Samarkand is tolerably well built, having many stone houses; although those of the common people are generally built of clay. It contains about 150,000 inhabitants, 250 mosques, about 40 universities, in which the Madrassec, or spiritual teachers, instruct their pupils in the Mohammedan law and the Arabic language; and three caravanserais. The city is ruled by the Dewlet Begi, who is both civil and military governor. The garrison amounts to 3000 horsemen.

Bokhara, the capital, is situate on the same river with Samarkand. The town is badly built, almost all the houses being constructed of clay; even the palace of the khan is only a huge ill-shaped fabric. The inhabitants are calculated to amount to 200,000. There are 400 mosques, 30 colleges, and 10 caravanserais for the traders from India, Kabul, Kokan, Persia, Russia, &c.

The religion of the kingdom is the Mohammedan. There is no town, fortress, or village, without its mosques; the nullahs, or priests of which also attend to the instruction of the children in the Koran. Wealthy people send their sons to the colleges at Samarkand or Bokhara.

The country is governed by hereditary independent khans. The present ruler, Kir-Hydar, is about forty-five years of age. His eldest son, the heir-presumptive, is about twenty-three. He was formerly general-in-chief of the forces; but he now lives in a private station with his father.

The government consists of the Kissu-Begi, or grand vizier, the Nijas-Bek-Bey, or general of the armies; the Raasbek-Da-Acha, second com-

* Daria means river, as *Amu-Daria*, *Sur-Daria*, *Jangu-Daria*, &c.

mander; Muknistan-Divan-Searchar, or marshal (the most important personage at the court); the Mursa-Saadik, or secretary of state; and the Mursa-Gaafur-Mushraf, grand-treasurer, or paymaster-general. To these are added twenty counsellors, and together they form the great council of state, which, under the presidency of the Kissu-Begi, has to deliberate upon any important matter laid before it.

The kingdom is divided into seven Imans, or governments, each of which has a civil governor at the head of its administration.

The clergy have an immense power. The Kasukalam is at the head of the hierarchy. He is, at the same time, the supreme judge, his power extending even to the lives of the subjects. An appeal, however, may be made from his decisions, by the agency of the Kissu-Begi, to the khan in person, who sometimes reverses his sentences; and, if found guilty of a flagrant injustice, this great personage may even be deposed. The Kasukalam is likewise bound to make a daily report to his sovereign of the causes which he may have decided during that day.

The grand Mufti is the second person in the hierarchy; his duty is to assist the Kasukalam in the examination of cases, to quote the law of the Koran, and point out the party which is right or wrong; but the decision itself belongs exclusively to the former.

A third class of priests are the Kasuurda. There are two of them at Bokhara, and two at Samarkand; and one in every other large town. They bear the same relation to the inferior Muftis, that the Kasukalam does to the grand Mufti.

The army is said to amount to 150,000 well-organized horsemen, besides artillery, but very few infantry. The Kissu-Begi is likewise field-marshal of these forces; but he never leads the troops in person. There are numerous generals under him, who, in time of war, act on their own responsibility, and, in case of failure, generally forfeit their heads. The present khan has sometimes commanded in person; when the government, during his absence, was left in the hands of the Kissu-Begi. But he had to send in daily reports of his administration. There is also a body-guard of the khan's, under the command of two Uditshi-Bashi. Their office is to guard the palace, and the sovereign in the field, and on his excursions through the country.

The most important class of people in Bokhara, after the clergy, are the merchants. Military and civil officers, even the immediate attendants of the khan, keep clerks, and export goods. The country people carry on their agricultural labours, whilst the inhabitants of the towns and cities are more inclined to trades and handicrafts. They spin cotton and silk, dye, and weave them into cloth. But this is for the most part the occupation of the women, who, as in all other Mohammedan countries, are kept secluded, and held in abject slavery, being doomed to eternal drudgery; while the men, although rather active abroad, spend their time at home either in singing religious songs, or in gambling and drinking spirituous liquors. The latter they obtain from the Jews; but as both gambling and drinking of spirituous liquors are forbidden by the Koran, and severely punished by the government, these indulgences are carried on in secret.

None but the Jews, Usbeks, and Turkomans, are taxed. The principal revenue of the government is derived from the third of the produce payable by the holders of the crown-lands. If any one of these is found

idle, or incapable of making his estate productive; it is taken from him, and given to another.

The Turkomans (Truchmen) of Bucharia dwell between the Sserache, Marva, and Djardja, near the Amu-Daria. They amount to about 90,000 kikitkis, or tents, or 900,000 souls, and furnish the khan with about 50,000 horsemen. About twenty years ago, they took to a stationary life; and many of them have built themselves houses, and taken to agriculture. Trades, however, are still unknown among them. Their cattle are very numerous, and their horses are peculiarly good. They pay one sheep out of every forty, in the shape of a tax. They have only submitted to the khan within the last twenty-five years, having formerly lived independent, between this kingdom and Persia.

The Jews are principally found in the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, where they amount to about 40,000. They live free, but separate from the Mohammedans. Every individual of them has to pay one tangka a month to the khan; which is a revenue expressly his own, and goes towards the maintenance of himself, his court, and family. The Jews are allowed to perform public worship in their synagogues, and employ themselves in commerce and trade, and are particularly distinguished in the manufacture of silks, hardware, and jewellery. But although many of them have acquired wealth, they are despised, and are only on extraordinary occasions admitted to the presence of the khan. They are not allowed to ride in the capital, nor to wear shawls or silk dresses. On the other hand, they have the exclusive privilege of manufacturing wine and spirits from grapes, nominally for their own use; but they sell secretly great quantities to the Bucharians at an immense profit.

The climate of the country is generally hot, although rather cooler in the north-western districts. The spring begins early. The summer is hot, and without rain, which compels the inhabitants to irrigate their fields by means of cuts and canals from the rivers. The autumn is rather rainy. The winter lasts not above three months; it is attended with little snow, and is not so cold as in England.

The soil is, for the most part, a sandy clay. Gardens are very numerous and productive. Maize is abundantly cultivated, being the common food of the inhabitants; great quantities of it are also exported. There are grapes and other succulent fruits, much of which is dried for exportation to Russia. The principal produce of the country, however, is cotton, which is largely exported. There are no extensive manufactories; the cotton cloths and silks are spun, woven, and dyed by private individuals, who generally employ from one to twenty workmen in their houses, but never above that number.

The breeding of cattle is most extensive in the north-western part. The Arabian sheep are very numerous. Their lambs are much admired in China, Turkey, and Russia, on which account they are sold to those countries in immense numbers. The best lambs are those which are born before their proper time. Of horned cattle there is a sufficiency for inland consumption. Horses abound in all parts; but the Argamath race, belonging to the Turkomans, is considered to be the best. There is also a race of Arabian horses, called Karabair, but they are inferior to the Argamath.

There are no forests in the country, except in the vicinity of the lake Pandjikand; nor have any metals or precious stones been discovered.

The circulating medium consists of gold, silver, and copper. The Asharfi is of gold, and is coined in Bokhara; it weighs one-fourth more than a Dutch ducat, and bears the name of the sovereign. The Tanga is of silver, and these are twenty-one to a ducat. Copper coin is most numerous, the smallest is called Pulssia, fifty of which make a tanga.

The Bucharians trade with Russia, China, India, Kabul, Kashmere, Persia, Kokan, Chiwa, and the Kirgees-Kaissaks.

The trade with Russia is as yet insignificant. The government raises from Christian Russian merchants a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*; whilst the Mohammedan subjects of Russia, who are the principal traders in those parts, only pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Bucharians receive from China, tea, silver in bars, silks, rhubarb, and porcelain ware; for these articles they return beaver and other skins, coral, velvet, hides, lambs, cloth, brocade, and gold thread. The trade with the Chinese is carried on in the frontier towns of Kashgur, Akma, Yarkund, Yli, and Khotar, without their being allowed to come into the interior of the country, unless they be Mohammedans from the border. The toll is on both sides at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*.

They receive from India, Kabul, and Kashmere a colour called nil, (the Arabic word for blue), shawls, cambric, printed calicos, veils, stuffs for night-gowns, and moist sugar. They return cochiniel, brocades, coral, gold thread, cotton night-gowns, cloth, velvet, Argamak horses, Dutch ducats and dollars. There is a free intercourse between the natives of Bucharia and the people of those countries; but the toll levied on the former in the Indian towns, makes the articles they purchase there expensive. The Indians pay in Bucharia $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

From Persia they receive silk, woollen shawls (used as belts by the soldiers), fine carpets, Saarbaf (a stuff worked with gold), Shapasan (a stuff without gold), embroidered belts, turquoises, moist and loaf sugar, pepper, ginger, and other spices. They return cloth, cochiniel, gold thread, iron, copper, and velvet. The intercourse is reciprocal; but the Persians levy on the Bucharians a duty of 5 per cent., whilst they pay in Bucharia only $2\frac{1}{2}$.

The trade with Kokan is merely an exchange of the same kind of commodities, the pastoral and artificial produce of both countries being the same; but the Kokanese take no duty from the Bucharians, whilst the latter exact from these the usual rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The trade with Chiwa is unimportant, being about the same as with Kokan, except that the duties between the two countries are reciprocal.

The Kirgees-Kaissaks bring them sheep, cows, raw skins and hides of wild animals, and felt, caulet, camel-hair, and snares for horses, of their own manufacture. For these they take in exchange night-gowns, printed calico, boots, blankets, other skins, maize, &c. They pay the same duty as other Mohammedans, whilst they, in return, exact as much as they can.

The whole annual amount of duties raised on the trade with these different countries, is estimated at 47,000 Bucharian ducats. But it is asserted that the khan employs this revenue exclusively for the support of the poor and needy.

The present dynasty of Bucharia is descended from Jengiz-Khan. The reigning monarch, Meer-Hyder, has been seated on the throne for these twenty years. Before he ascended it he swore upon the Koran to

be gracious to his subjects, to love and cherish them; and he has kept his oath: he is kind and affable to every one, easy of access, and prompt in rendering justice; but also severe against any disturber of the public tranquillity. He leads an active life; he rises every morning before the sun, and his day is devoted alternately to prayers, business, and the reading of the Koran. He never thinks of recreation till after five o'clock in the afternoon, when he retires with his friends to spend the evening in conversation, drinking tea, &c. After sunset, however, he receives the report of the Kasukalam, performs the evening prayer, and then goes to supper, either with his favourites or with his wives. He is, moreover, moderate in his diet, strict in his principles, and peaceable with his neighbours: nevertheless he is feared and respected by them. The towns of Morwa and Sserachs, which were taken from the Persians during the reign of his father, he has been able to retain; the Khan of Chiwa feels himself compelled to yield to his dictates, and to follow his policy; and even the savage Kirgees, who dwell in the desert bordering on his states, acknowledge his influence.

The kingdom of Kokan formed formerly a part of Bucharia; and the religion, laws, government, people, trade, customs, and manners of both countries are nearly the same. Reciprocal incursions and wars are now, however, frequent among them, in which the Bucharians have generally the advantage. To the credit of these nations, however, be it observed, that in the midst of their wars their trade remains uninterrupted, and while their armies attack or defend the cities, the merchants proceed from one country to the other without molestation.

About thirty years ago Timir Shah, of Kabul, tried, in conjunction with the Afghans, to conquer Bucharia. He advanced with a considerable army, seeming certain of victory; but the khan, Meer Mansum, with a rapidity unusual in eastern diplomacy, succeeded in forming an alliance with the Kokanese, Turkestanese, Turkomans, and Issarese, and at the head of their united armies he met Shah Timir near the town of Kiliwa on the Amur-Daria. The shah's army was routed, and his camp taken and pillaged. The plunder having been shared among the allies, the Issarese were dissatisfied with their portion, and commenced hostilities on the borders of Bucharia. Upon which Meer-Hyder, the present monarch, was despatched by his father to chastise the insolence of these aggressors. The task was soon accomplished, the Issarese were beaten, their town taken, their prince, Alaberd Tasu, beheaded, and their country made a province of Bucharia, which it has remained to this day.

This powerful state may be considered as a neighbour of Russia, being only separated from her by the Kirgees desert; and equally important to her in point of commerce, or as an ally, in case she should meditate any further schemes against Persia, or (as it is at least presumed by some) ultimately against India.

How far Russia may ever succeed in overcoming, in the Bucharian government, the jealousy and fears which her rapacity has created among all the Asiatic nations and governments, it is impossible to foretell. In 1821, however, a Russian embassy, which had reached the court of Bucharia, succeeded in forming a treaty of commerce with the khan, by which a more regular communication was established between the two states, and the trade has been constantly on the increase. An embassy

of the same kind had been sent by the Russian government in 1802; but it was intercepted by the Kirgees, and all the persons belonging to it were either killed or taken prisoners. It is also chiefly owing to these lawless banditti, that the trade between Russia, Chiwa, Bucharia, and the adjoining countries, is not carried on more briskly, and even extended to Kabul, Kashmere, and India. They, in conjunction with some other tribes, equally ferocious, frequently intercept the caravans, and either levy a tribute, sometimes heavier than the profits of the merchants will allow, or seize and destroy them altogether.* There is no possibility of either subduing them or bringing them to reasonable terms; they are so fond of their savage liberty, that they will consent to no agreement which has the appearance of subjecting them to a kind of law; and the existence of these ferocious tribes in the deserts about the Caspian, will for a long time be an effectual check to Russian ambition in that quarter.

To return, however, to Bucharia, we have now before us an account of the last Russian embassy to that country (1820-21) by the Chevalier Jakowlew, secretary to the mission. It is written in a humorous strain, peculiar to the Russians, but not less instructive on that account. We introduce some extracts illustrative of the appearance of the country and its inhabitants, together with their manners and customs, which, after the statistical accounts we have already given, will, we trust, not be found unacceptable.

Dec. 16, 1820. We only advanced seventeen wersts, and encamped near the village of Djigalhashi. Here we were to have an interview with the Vizier of Bucharia. Two hundred Bucharian horsemen met us at some distance from the village, on the finest horses imaginable. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had also ventured forth to see the Russians; some on camels, some on horses or asses, or on foot, sometimes two or three upon one horse. At last the crowd became so numerous that we were compelled to halt at every step. But all of a sudden a party of yessauls, i. e. men armed with long stout cudgels, appeared, who began to belabour men, camels, horses, and asses, so unmercifully, that in a moment a passage was opened for us to proceed. The blows fell like hail upon the curious Bucharians, and numbers lost their turbans off their shorn heads. In the midst of the beating of drums, and the uninterrupted labour of those active yessauls, we reached the spot where the vizier waited for our arrival. Attended by fifty Cossacs, we rode towards his excellency. We perceived several many-coloured tents, the largest of which formed the audience-hall. The crowd now rendered it absolutely impossible to proceed on horseback, and we alighted. We found the Bucharian infantry forming a double hedge along the path leading to the vizier's tent. They presented the most grotesque appearance; consisting of people of all ages, from boys to feeble old men, in coloured nightgowns, with turbans and caps of every description, some with boots, some without, holding their maltuk (match-lock) between both hands. They knew only two words of command: "Stand," and "Sit down." "Fire," was out of the question, not one of the maltuks being fit to fire a shot. The fact is, the Bucharians have no infantry. In expectation of our arrival, the khan had all the maltuks in Bucharia collected; about two hundred were found; and now he advertised for volunteers, who on the day of our reception would hold these formidable weapons in their hands. Such was the origin of this famous infantry, between the ranks of which we now approached the tent of the vizier.

The latter received us sitting. Four counsellors sat on his right hand. The

* Dr. Bolschoi, who was taken with the expedition of 1802, mentioned above, says, "Cloth, skins, and every thing else, were cut into small strips; the mathematical instruments were broken and divided into fragments, one man getting a screw, another a bit of brass, &c. The watches had no better fate: one obtained the lid, another the body of the outer case; the inner case was divided into the minutest fragments; canes, silver spoons, and every utensil were broken up, nothing remaining whole except the pistols, swords, and daggers."

ambassador was directed to sit down opposite to him, and we seated ourselves opposite to the counsellors. Now came a shower of compliments and congratulations, after which the servants of the vizier placed before each of us a tray loaded with pistachio-nuts, raisins, manna, and a loaf of sugar. The vizier is a man of about forty-five years of age, speaks with facility and emphasis, knows how to turn up his eyes, and, still better, to shrug up his shoulders. After about half an hour, the counsellors and ourselves went out, leaving the ambassador alone with the vizier. I never saw such a crowd, nor such a mixture of people, as we then beheld. Bucharrians, Chirwanese, Afghans, Kirgees, Indians, our own Cossacs, soldiers, and Bashkirs. The day was delightful, bright and warm as in June.

In about an hour the ambassador came out, and we all proceeded to our tents. We were told that our encampment was close by the village. I asked where the village was. A Bucharrian pointed out a fortress to me. But on going in I found that it was the village. Imagine four embattled walls, of unburned bricks—only two entrances, a gate and a wicket; not a single window in the walls—and behold the exterior of a Bucharrian village. Not a sign of life; but on passing through the wicket, you see, in the wall opposite to you, the gate, which you reach through a lane, scarcely wide enough to give passage to a loaded camel. In the lane itself there is nothing but walls, as high and embattled as those of the exterior; in these walls, on both sides, are gates, and these lead to the interior of the houses, and here you meet with camels, horses, asses, and Bucharrians. Every court-yard is supplied with a pond or a well. The apartments have no windows, but the doors are perpetually open. There are no fire-places, except a hole in a corner of the room, in which they lay hot embers. A table covered with a thick rug is placed over this hole; the Bucharrian seats himself by it, puts his feet under the rug, and assures you that he is comfortably warm. Besides this rug there is no other ornament in the room.

Dec. 17. This day we proceeded to the town of Wapkan, near which we encamped. The same crowd, and the same cudgelling on the part of the yessauls. This town consists of a few fortresses, or houses with flat roofs, without either windows or chimneys. There is a street, with walls on both sides; the walls are perforated with gates, and this is—a town. Entering into one of those gates, you get into another little town—two or three yards, cross-lanes, stables, and rooms. A wall encloses the whole; no prospect whatever upon the street. The crowd as great as ever, so that even the yessauls lost their confidence in the power of their cudgels. It was amusing to us to see a whole nation following us from place to place, and whenever we encamped seating themselves around us, there remaining in silent astonishment till late at night. We were assured that some of the town's people had hired horses for two or three ducats, merely for the gratification of seeing the Russians, and being cudgelled by the yessauls.

During the afternoon a Bucharrian came to exhibit a juggling monkey. It was of an uncommon species, and was even new to our naturalist. The man threw up four knives at the same time, which the monkey caught in his four paws; and rolled himself with them on the ground. Moreover he danced, bowed, and vaulted most gracefully.

Dec. 18. Five wersts beyond Wapkan we crossed the stream Ser-Yershaw (the Golden River) over a bridge called Michter Kassim, the name of its builder. We proceeded twenty-five wersts farther, and encamped near the village of Basartshe, near which we were received by the Yessaul-Bashi, or commander of the khan's guards, with twenty horses. This village, which is only two wersts from the capital, belongs to the vizier. It resembles the other, only that it contains a few gardens. Our retinue is to remain here during our stay in Bucharria.

For four days all our soldiers, as well as ourselves, were in grand gala, and the drums were constantly beating, which latter circumstance seemed to afford pleasure both to the people and the yessauls; for as soon as their sound was heard, the people rushed down upon the soldiers, and the yessauls upon them, and the cudgels went to work with renewed slowness. The road from Raganan to this place was constantly intersected by canals, and the artillery had great difficulty in crossing the narrow and slender bridges.

Dec. 20. Every arrangement having been concluded respecting the solemn entry of the mission into Bokhara, we moved forward in the following order:—1. Thirty Ural Cossacs, with an officer; 2. Two commanders of the khan's guards, with twelve yessauls; 3. Fourteen persons with presents; 4. The ambassador, with the secretary of the mission, carrying the emperor's letter;

5. The officers of the staff of the guards; 6, 7, 8. Civil officers and suite; 9. One hundred and fifty Russian infantry; 10. One hundred and fifty Ural and Orenburg Cossacs, with their yessauls.

The procession moved very slowly, being obstructed by the crowd. At last we arrived at the palace. Our escort having ranged themselves on the market-place, we alighted before the principal gate, and entered into the interior of the khan's residence. We passed through three courts filled with the seated infantry, with maultuks in their hands. The people with the present-, and thirty foot soldiers without muskets, remained in the last court, and we entered into the apartments. Before entering the audience-hall, the ambassador gave to the Mulla Burchanbeg a list of the presents, and took the letter from the secretary's hands.

We found the khan seated on a little elevation in a large room covered with Persian carpets; he wore a shawl dress, with a splendid dagger in his belt, and a black feather on the turban. The vizier stood on his right, two of his sons on the left, and a number of officers close to the walls. The ambassador bowed. "Welcome!" said the khan, "Come near, come near." The ambassador then approached, and spoke in the Persian language, to the effect that he had been sent by his master for the purpose of entering into arrangements to promote the commerce of both nations, as the khan would see from the imperial letter. This letter having been presented to the vizier, it was handed to the khan, who, after having read it aloud, said, that he was happy to find that the wishes of the Emperor of Russia agreed so well with his, and that for the benefit of both states there should be a more frequent interchange of caravans. The ambassador having introduced us, the khan put various questions concerning our journey, our country, &c.; and, at his desire, the thirty soldiers, who had been left in the court-yard, were also brought in. After some time, however we were dismissed, and conducted to a house fitted up for our use, whilst our escort returned to Basartshe."

The route usually taken by the caravans from Russia to Bucharia, through the Kirgees Desert, is stated as follows:—From Troizk to the stream Tousak, 50 wersts; from Tousak to the Tobol, 100 wersts, plenty of hay and many lakes; from the Tobol to the Ubagou, 150 wersts, plenty of hay, many rivers and lakes; from the Ubagou to the vicinity of the Seven Rivulets, 100 wersts, plenty of hay, but no water; from the Seven Rivulets to the river Sur-Kupa, 100 wersts, hay and water in abundance; thence to Turgai, 100 wersts, hay and water; thence to the Yelantshik, 100 wersts, hay in plenty, water at a little depth; thence to the Sur-Daria, 350 wersts, plenty of water and forage; to the Ubagan, 60 wersts; to the Yangu-Daria 45 wersts, with plenty of water and forage; thence to Mount Aldara, which has a spring of water, 100 wersts, a sandy country, with no water, and little forage; to the district of Bishbulan, 70 wersts, little forage, and the water bitter; to the district of Jus-Kuduk, 30 wersts; to Mount Puik-puldek, 60 wersts; to the district of Karagat, 60 wersts; to the district of Turasbat, 60 wersts; in all this part of the journey water is found sometimes by digging, but forage is scarce; from the last place to the first Bucharian settlements is 40 wersts; and thence to the city of Bokhara 50 more. Altogether a distance of 1625 wersts, or 40 days journey with loaded camels, or 31 on horseback.

Some of the merchants sail from Astrakhan to Mangishlak, on the south-west coast of the Caspian; after which they hire camels from the Turkomans, or Kirgeese, to carry their merchandise across the mountains to Chiwa, whence they are conveyed to Bokhara. But on this road they are even more exposed to robberies and exactions than on the other, for which reason the Bucharian merchants now prefer trading by the way of Orenburgh or Ssorotshokowsky, a custom-house station in the same government.

A. B.

SONG OF AN ATHENIAN EXILE, IN THE DAYS OF LYSANDER.

I.

Oh Athens! dear Athens! the land of my love,
Thine image is with me wherever I rove;
From the bleak hills of Thrace—on the far-rolling sea,
The heart of thine Exile turns ever to thee.

II.

Through vales and o'er mountains dejected I roam,
While fancy reverts to my childhood's loved home;
When the plains of the East in their beauty I see,
The loveliest is that which reminds me of thee.

III.

I've gazed on the monarch of earth in his state,
Whose servants are princes, whose menace is fate!—
But the trappings of tyrants are chains to the free,
And my own native Athens was dearer to me.

IV.

I've wandered where Freedom is lingering still,
In the lone rocky isle—on the forest-crowned hill;
Yet sad were my days, though I dwelt with the free,
For Athens was dearer than Freedom to me.

V.

Though the sword, with the blood of thy foemen once wet,
Still sleeps in its scabbard, I cannot forget;—
Yet, yet, shall it wake for the laud of the free,
And strike in the conflict, dear Athens! for thee.

VI.

To-morrow once more shall thy banner wave high,
We doubt not to conquer, or dread not to die;
The Queen of proud Hellas again shalt thou be,
Or thy children, oh Athens! shall perish with thee.

VII.

Oh then may fell Sparta in anguish deplore
The blood-sprinkled trophies she vaunted before;
And think in her fall of the wrongs of the free,
And pay, in her ruin, a ransom for thee!

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 2.—*Persia.*

EUROPEANS feel a deeper interest in the affairs of Persia, than in those of any other Eastern government ; which is frequently attributed to their ancient connexion with Grecian history. But so far is this from being true, that, looking back even to the earliest times, a keen observer will perceive their constant disparity with those of Greece. The action of a great multitude is not necessarily a great action ; nor may it, when compared with that of a few brave men, be more estimable than a cubit of lead valued against a solid inch of gold. The operations of despotism are unproductive, or fertile only in misery ; they spring not from the heart or will of a nation ; they are not opened upon the earth like the perennial springs of a mountain ; but roll sluggishly along like water forced by labour over a plain ; and stand still or retrograde as soon as the engine ceases to work. Those of a free state, on the contrary, are thrust forward by a natural and powerful impulse, which, taking its rise from the collected energies of the whole, and running only in those channels into which wisdom and foresight unite to lead it, cannot be otherwise than creative of new movements, tending, like itself, to the preservation and production of political harmony.

It is true that the Greeks sometimes spoke of the Persian monarchy in terms implying praise, or even preference ; but it was only from a weariness, or irritation of spirit, produced by accidental broils, and raising a confused and indistinct hankering after the deceitful quiet, which they could not analyse, of a foreign state. Frequently it was no more than an attempt to excite concord by a principle of emulation ; or, in base and unworthy minds, a natural and genuine preference of ignominious wealth and indolence to that intense happiness which is ever the companion of freedom, however rude or stormy, in enlightened and well constituted minds.

But, notwithstanding this consideration, nothing can be more instructive, or more likely to give rise to new and liberal ideas, than the study of those conflicts which took place between the Greeks and Persians. The theme is old ; but so is it *unique* and unexhausted. It is a picture of mind subduing and dissipating the energies of brute force ; of the triumph of liberty over despotic power ; of historic facts, which can never be too often recalled, because they have not since been paralleled, and are scarcely credited in monarchical countries. The chief benefit, indeed, which can arise from a contemplation of the nature of despotic governments, is the useful conviction that their actual strength is in no

case equal to their magnitude; that their morals are not answerable to the apparent severity of their police; that virtue, in short, is almost impossible in such a state.

The method recommended by Cicero of considering a state in the double respect of strength and morals, seems the best that can be imagined; for in relation to the former, it principally is an object of study to its neighbours; and to the latter, to its own members, and those who wish to enjoy or imitate its policy. A state, it has been said,* may be flourishing and powerful, while its morals are utterly depraved; and Rome, from the beginning of the first to the end of the last Punic war, has been adduced as an example. But no state can be considered flourishing while affording an inlet to the principles of its future destruction; for though morals, suddenly becoming corrupt, do not immediately crumble away the force of a kingdom, yet as to its durability, or continued state of strength, they affect it. Men admit the contrary of this truth merely to give a seeming fulness and competency to some favourite theory. But in all cases it is advisable to view political institutions in this two-fold light, of strength and morals: for it were most imperfectly to observe the politics of mankind, to confine our observations to the structure or polish of their outsides, without carrying our analysis into their internal economy,—the pith and marrow which gives continuance to that outward appearance. A state is like a full-grown tree, as capable in its trunk as ever of resisting all outward pressure, though moisture be cut off from its roots, and they be left to insensible decay: but from that moment it receives no increase; morals, the roots which convey the sap of life into the body of the state, wither away from beneath it, and it is left severed from that continuity with first principles which held it firm in its station.

These roots of government have long been decaying in Persia. The permutations of power, and rapid passing of wealth from family to family; the uncertainty of possession, inducing an Epicureanism, delighting only in the present hour; the hatred of virtue, and jealousy of mental superiority, which ever mark a tyrant—all these have made strange havoc among the morals of the people. They are even so incapable of estimating the true value of wealth, that, as we are assured by Chardin, a gentleman who should come by any means to the possession of a large sum of money, would dissipate it entirely in the course of two or three months. They are universally luxurious and indolent; but this, originally the effect of tyranny, grown into a general habit, becomes a cause of it; for few who are thoroughly imbued with an effeminate spirit, will so far hazard their ease as to join in any scheme of independence. The Persians, from time immemorial, have been slaves;

* By Hume, *Essays*, p. 16, 4to. ed.

their highest virtues consist of obedience and humility; the religion, the laws, the manners of their country, conspire to render them passive sufferers of the caprices of power. Virtue and wisdom (without which there is no great virtue,) being in no esteem with the sovereign, leading to no honours or distinctions, are condemned and neglected; for men are virtuous only inasmuch as their being so contributes to their happiness. It is plain, however, that either wisdom or virtue in any very eminent degree, must, in a country like Persia, be productive of nothing but misery; for about what could virtue exert itself without awakening suspicion? If, being united to riches, it should seek to extend relief to the necessitous, the immediate inference of the Government would be, that it aimed at nothing less than forming a party against the state. Ruin would of course ensue upon this. One example of such severity would operate strongly, and force perhaps the virtuous man into retirement. Here again might the government pursue him with its maxims. What should he do in retirement but mature with more care his schemes of treason and wickedness? For this likewise would virtue be cut off. To nourish extraordinary purity, or greatness of mind, or love of country, or devotion to knowledge, all circumstances being taken into account, must, in a despotism, be impossible. For such things cannot be hid in a corner, cannot be put under a bushel, cannot exist in caves and deserts; but ask the fellowship and sympathy of men for their sustenance, and are either social and relative qualities, or have no existence.

It is usual with Europeans to attribute the demoralization of Mohanmedan countries entirely to their religion. But whatever truth there commonly may be in this opinion, it does not apply to Persia. Their corruption of manners is almost as ancient as their empire; it was acknowledged by the Persian soldier of Xerxes, who, being charged by a Spartan with effeminacy, replied with extraordinary truth and sagacity, "Let Persia be governed by Lycurgus's laws, and be ye subjected to despotism, thou wilt sink into a slave, and I shall become a hero!" Nay, the Christian subjects of Persia are the most base and slavish of all, and their manners are the worst: so that whatever project is formed by the monarch to rivet still faster, if it be possible, the chains of tyranny, it is they who are employed. The old Turcoman families, introduced by the Mussulman conquest, are the only persons in the empire among whom any shadow of virtue is preserved. They are accordingly hateful to the court, and on every favourable occasion are cut off, or pillaged, or broken up and scattered through the remote borders of the country.

This system, begun by Abbas, surnamed the Great by the complaisance of historians, has not been departed from by his successors. Though he entertained the deepest-rooted hatred of

these shepherd warriors (*Courtches*) ; yet, as he stood in need of them in his wars, his policy, or absolute incompetence to reach his aim without them, induced him to be content with raising other troops to counterbalance their weight, and cutting off, from time to time, the most illustrious of their body ; but he left to his successor, among other maxims of state, an injunction to rid himself of these Turcomans. Shah Sefi was not the person to neglect a piece of policy which squared so well with his sanguinary temper : the blood of the Turcomans was shed without mercy during the whole of his reign, until it was supposed they were no longer in a condition to resist the despotism of the government. Since that time, it may be said with the strictest verity, that neither virtue nor morals have been in any repute in Persia.

Nevertheless we unite many noble feelings with our idea of the Persian monarchy : for, however shattered and tottering it may now appear, it is a venerable tower, that has withstood the storms and changes of ages ; touching, in its erection, upon the times which men ever recall with most delight. But in all its permutations, it has made but few advances towards improvement ; it has lain floating in an unprolific medium between barbarism and civilization ; afraid to advance with the latter into untried regions, and still resisting the efforts of the former to bear it back into total and unmitigated night. The Persians have never pursued the arts and sciences with passion. They have given them occasionally a lazy preference, a slight and shallow cultivation ; they have sown their seed beneath the surface of the soil ; but not deep enough to take lasting root, to preserve moisture beneath the scorching sun, to shoot up with vigour, to give shade and nourishment to the land. This has happened through a deficiency of imagination in their legislative efforts. Power, when not involved in complicated relations, has no imagination : it proceeds directly through the most mechanical means, to its end. It has no conception of raising the medium upon which it acts, that its operations may be ennobled ; or of directing its energies in hidden and subterranean ways, in order to conceal the grating and harshness that accompany their exertion.

But imagination should in all great things be the spy and precursor of reason. For it is when this faculty is deficient, that the works of legislators are mean, contracted, inadequate to repress, direct, or modify the passions of man ; mere square-and-compass attempts at regulating the affections of the mind. Bare reason is not a constructive faculty ; it must lean on something more permanent and self-directing when it would give activity to abstract principles, and render them effective instruments of benevolence and wisdom. Nor will it be sufficient to take this imagination in the green bud, while its energies are yet enclosed within the inte-

guments of the slowly-retreating rind of ignorance; for although its germs exist independently of art and knowledge, yet are these as the plastic power that ripens the growing fruit upon the stem. Imagination without knowledge is as a giant in his dream, its gropings about in darkness and uncertainty are rude and terrible. Its wild efforts, however, contribute to awaken it; and the super-induction of light upon these struggles fills every thing with life and intelligence.

But after all, we only consider the moral qualities of a people, as they are the consequences of the principles by which they are governed. It is allowable also to judge, without descending to the question of fact, of the natural effect of the prince's conduct and maxims; as these operate without relaxation upon the habits and manners of the governed. In Persia the sovereign's court is the fountain-head of crime and injustice. The well-known fact of the king's murdering, or putting out the eyes of his brothers and children, whenever his weakness leads him to suspect that they may dispute with him the possession of the throne, is of itself sufficient to poison the springs of morality throughout the whole extent of his dominions; for why, may they inquire, should slaves aspire to more righteousness than their monarch? Is he not to them in place of the divinity? Is he not a *melior natura*, whom it behoves them to imitate? If it should be answered (as it may by certain politicians), that sound reasons of state authorize this practice so abominable to humanity, doth it not immediately follow that right and wrong are divided by no such eternal distinctions as are pretended; but may be thrust from their ancient resting places, and made to change positions, as expediency, certain reasons of state, or the suspicious *dictum* of experience may require? The king of Persia's subjects too, will arrive at this conclusion without any extraordinary logical acuteness; for men are unaccountably expert at discovering whatever favours their evil passions.

By viewing virtue and their duty, therefore, through the medium of the court, the Persians must of necessity be a depraved, base, and immoral nation. They must become such by the mere bent and leaning of nature; for as man is ever prone to imitation, so then most strongly when rank or power invests the idol of his preference with a fallacious splendour. Their very literature is cast in the mould of a tyrannical government. It consists chiefly of Bacchic and amorous songs, adulatory pieces, and everlasting precepts and maxims of morality; seasoned, perchance, with well-meaning, but darkly-invested apologue. All these are strongly indicative of corrupt and deteriorating morals; for when the predominating features of a nation's intellect betray its constant tendency to gross and illiberal pleasures, or to flattery of power; and yoked with this is discovered the mask of severe and over-righteous manners, we may be sure that in that country the very core of

virtue is decayed; and that vice has found it necessary to hide itself behind a painted screen of artificial strictness.

But to come to the more palpable and immediate characteristics of the Persian government. It is the most absolute tyranny in Asia: for not only does the monarch possess the most unlimited power over the lives and properties of his subjects, his natural reason remaining unimpaired; but this right is supposed to adhere to him during life, whether rendered delirious or insane by wine, or passion, or disease. His mandate knows no contradiction; he is obeyed to the letter. From history, also, it appears that the Persian kings in nowise curtail their prerogative; but giving way to the fierce current of their passions, cut off during an evening's debauch, the wisest and most faithful of their counsellors. So wicked a practice cannot but deter persons possessing wisdom and foresight from seeking to mingle in the affairs of government; and few, indeed, but slaves, are found in offices immediately about the person of the king. His education likewise, disposes him to prefer the society of men of narrow views, and flexible and mean characters; for in his earlier years none approach him but the women and eunuchs of the harem. Coming from the trivial converse of such persons to the management of the affairs of an extensive realm, it is matter of no wonder that he should distinguish himself only by his capriciousness and incompetence to govern.

Up to the period, also, of his accession to the throne, he lives in constant disquietude and fear; and not unfrequently in complete ignorance that he is heir to the crown. This policy, so weak and unnatural that it is scarcely comprehensible in Europe, is considered by the sovereigns of Persia as a piece of high wisdom. But like all their other errors, it is the effect of their total incapacity to pierce into the true mysteries of state, among which not the least is to involve all inward fears and anxieties in a firm show of tranquillity. But as they have men in millions at their nod, and contrive by undisguised force to cause them to obey, it enters not into their minds, that though power may terrify the human heart, yet does it operate upon it in no other way than danger upon a hedgehog, causing it to close up, and present an impenetrable veil to the inquisition of authority. In looking down, therefore, from their thrones, the kings of Persia cannot fail to perceive, in spite of their ignorance, that men walk before them with a lock upon their hearts, to which no wisdom they know of can lend the key. They must be racked by the mystery of hatred or scorn, which is concealed beneath those unlifted covers of flesh and blood, which tyranny may sooner annihilate than look under. This is the secret of all the fears of tyrants; they deserve well of no one, and knowing not the wishes of any human being, fear and distrust all.

But were the human mind capacitated to attain by solitary meditation to any considerable proficiency in the difficult art of reigning

over its equals, the king of Persia is deprived even of that source of ability, until the moment in which he is called upon to act; for why should he learn what he knows not whether it may belong to him ever to exercise? This is one cause why in so long a succession of princes, so few have displayed any great qualities, and why not one *great king* has arisen. Shah Abbas I. was a person of extensive views, and considerable talents; but by no means a profound politician, or great prince. Ignorance is always selfish; he was comparatively ignorant. The spring of his calculations was not taken sufficiently far back: the process was conducted by an imperfect light, nor did he carry it with the energy of a legislator into the passive region of futurity. The past, we all know, is out of the reach of change; the present wears the inveterate stamp of the past, which can only be effaced by directing upon it the wearing wheel of time; but by standing upon the present we may command the whole texture and complexion of the future, and infuse into it the very impulse and bias of our souls.

We have reason, therefore, to conclude that prince to have been ignorant, and of a feeble intellect, who knew not how to engraft power upon the progress of civilization, but preferred the uncertain sway of a despotic sceptre, to the more sure dominion of principles over the minds and understandings of men. But even he was not the pupil of the eunuchs and women of the harem. His youth was passed in the camp, amongst the most experienced warriors in the army, observing their conduct, and listening to their instruction. The worthless part of his policy, descending more surely than his throne, has influenced the government of Persia even to the present day. But this fact confers no honour upon his memory; proving only the utter imbecility of his successors. Every thing, however, is ineffectual in the hands of ignorance. Abbas, by a vigorous administration of his tyranny, and by keeping all the forces of the kingdom in constant action, maintained the dignity of Persia, holding her tributaries and enemies in awe, and increasing her internal resources. His army towards the end of his reign amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand men; although he had considerably weakened the Courtches, who, up to his time, had been accustomed to form the main strength of the empire. But these Courtches (by far more formidable to the Persian kings than the Janissaries have ever been to the Sultans of Constantinople,) were of a disposition, as far as their notions gave them light, to favour independence and freedom, and had often changed the fate of the empire; it was the favourite policy of the monarchs, as has before been said, to diminish and disperse them. The troops which were formed of Georgians, Iberians, &c. were not, however, equal to the preservation of the tranquillity of the state. The powerful tributaries contained within the precincts of the kingdom, eager at all times to

shake off the yoke, were ready, as so many brands, to kindle rebellion; and their existence being unavoidable, pretenders to the throne were multiplied at every change, and became the seeds of future mutations. As, therefore, the other troops were found to be insufficient to answer the ends of government, the small remnant of the Courtches, which had been spared by the court, was kept on foot; and, while its individual force was weakened by division, was suffered to blend with, and increase the military strength of the realm. When the immediate calls of war, however, no longer kept them in continual action, the various portions of the king's army that were scattered over the empire crumbled to decay; and this so rapidly, that in 1666, when Abbas II. ordered a general review, the same men and horses were passed ten or twelve times before the monarch by his ministers, in order that he might not discover their perfidious neglect, and the lamentable insignificance of his power. Yet, notwithstanding that he did perceive the stratagem, there followed no lasting reform.

But the life and manners of those soldiers who are in constant pay, demonstrate more forcibly than any thing the weakness of the Persian monarchy. During time of peace these troops are under arms but two days in the year, when they are reviewed by the generals; but for the rest of the year they pay no manner of attention to military affairs. Their pay, nevertheless, is constant and regular, and, what is worse, hereditary, always descending in the same family, (unless discontinued for some signal offence,) without interruption. With part of this pay they bribe the military commissaries, who for this consideration suffer them to live in whatever manner they please. Thus the real strength of the country is absolutely nothing in proportion to its extent. In order likewise to keep the people in a state of unsocial disunion, Abbas the First had recourse to those vast transplantations of tribes and nations so famous in antiquity, which bringing together crowds of unconnected individuals, differing in manners, modes, and religion, keep them nevertheless, by their mutual prejudices, in eternal distrust of each other, and thus destroy the seeds of conspiracies and rebellions; for men who do not move as it were upon the same plane of opinion, seldom come into each other's views, or coalesce heartily in any single design. The branches of their differences shoot into each other, close up the common path, shut out the distinct perception of the end, and thus induce doubt, closeness, diversity of resolution, and indisposition to act. But while these forced migrations strengthened despotic power, they tended considerably to weaken the forces of the nation, and to retard the progress of civilization and improvement; for whatever keeps men apart, preventing their energies to move in one common channel, is essentially opposed to their interests as a people.

The absence of every principle of utility also has been at all times a great cause of weakness in the Persian government; for whatever state neglects to awaken in its favour man's secret instinct, leading towards happiness and conservation, thereby extracts from his actions that spirit of enthusiasm, which sometimes renders him indefatigable and invincible, and at all times causes him to ally the interests of his governors with his own.

Another powerful cause of the instability of this throne, is the opinion entertained by the Persians concerning the basis of sovereignty. They do not, like the Turks, imagine that their prince is directly commissioned by heaven to reign over them; on the contrary, it is their opinion that he exercises in reality a species of usurped power, in the absence of the twelfth Imam, who disappeared suddenly in the 296th year of the Hegira, (A. D. 918.) This Imam, whom they by no means suppose to be dead, is expected in the fulness of time to return to his government; when the reigning monarch, under peril of being stoned to death, will be obliged to deliver up the sovereignty to him. This may possibly be the concealed germ of all the revolutions of Persia.

Neither is religion, which gives durability to so many states, the true ally of this most mutable despotism; for Abbas, who seems to have been the natural enemy of every thing like stability and independence in his subjects, struck at the clergy with much the same malignity as at the Courtches. But even from the time of the Arabian caliphs no sovereign of Persia has ever been considered as at the head of its religion. This is another fertile source of rebellion. The representative, or successor of the Imams, is required by tradition to be of pure manners, and most perfect knowledge in the Mohammedan law or religion; but as it seldom occurs that the Persian kings have very strong pretensions to all this purity and knowledge, a constant path is left open by which the royal authority may be invaded. It was under this pretext that Sheikh Sefi, in the fourteenth century, began the subversion of the power of the Persian monarchs, which was completed by his descendant Ismaël.*

The only method of securing their tenure on this side, would be to let in the light of knowledge upon the minds of the people. But with this knowledge a certain portion of freedom also would be necessary; with this freedom, new maxims of policy; with these new maxims, a higher and more enlarged education of the

* The following anecdote of this prince is characteristic:—"On rapporte, que ce prince ayant fait creuser une très grande fosse, y laissa tomber exprès son soulier, et qu' aussitôt il y eut un grand nombre de ses dévotils qui se jetterent à corps perdu dans la fosse pour l'en retirer. Ismaël voyant tous ces misérables abusés qui étoient déjà à demi enterrés, fit renverser toute la terre qui étoit relevée sur les bords de la fosse, et les fit tous accabler et ensevelir en même temps."—D'HERBELOT.

prince—in short, a complete revolution in government, laws, and morals. It is to be feared that the notions of a king of Persia are not liberal enough to understand that this would be an advantage to him. He is commonly the slave of his minister; he has no judicious counsellors, who might induce into his nature a reverence for justice, or even the necessary management of human nature, indispensable in a well-compact tyranny. His sole *ratio* of governing is brute force; when that fails, he submits to his destiny, and suffers his power to pass away like a shadow. In 1722, when Mahmood besieged the king in Ispahau, the latter permitted every thing to be conducted by the discretion of his generals; and when the starving populace entreated leave to sally forth against their enemies, the best measure his policy suggested was to fire upon them.

This base system of tyranny (if anything so simply bad can be called a *system*) has produced so excessive a degradation in the minds of the people of Persia, that they scorn being considered *subjects*, and delight only in the name of *slaves*. Notwithstanding this, the preference of this term must not be understood as evincing a sincere preference of slavery itself. It is the effect of the sovereign's policy, who confining the word *subject* to the meanest peasantry, to beggars, and the extreme dregs of the populace, has conferred upon the great personages in office, the generals of the army, the bosom favourites of the prince, upon every person, in short, who holds either place or honour under the government, the distinguishing epithet of *slave*.

Thus the cupidity and vanity of the people lead them to glory in an appellation so opprobrious in the eyes of undebased man. They are not aware how efficacious are words in lowering or heightening the tone of moral feeling and silent self-respect of the heart: they know themselves to be slaves, and therefore look upon the name as nothing. But they are deceived; for, as long as a people shift off the name, however abject may be the reality of their servitude, all hope has not passed away from them; it is a standing acknowledgment of the government that their birthright, their true and natural inheritance, is liberty; and, whenever authorized by the posture of affairs, they may, under the very sanction of their government, extend their rights and privileges as far as they please. The road is always left open, inviting the foot of innovation. But close *this*, and night steals upon their prospects; they become ignorant, and mean, and hopeless—the natural prey of caprice and despotism.

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION ADAPTED TO INDIA.

On the Hazelwood System of Education, and the Advantages which would arise to Great Britain from introducing it into the Schools now establishing in India.

EDUCATION has two principal objects—the increase of the felicity of private life, and the promotion of the interests of the state. Of these two, when they cannot be obtained by the same means, the former is to be preferred; for that government, whose interest is inconsistent with the felicity of its subjects, is essentially bad. But a perfect education unites these interests. It forms individuals for falling naturally into the march of affairs, and for carrying with them a disposition and tendency to elevate whatever they engage in. This might be made apparent by numerous examples from history; but is in itself a truth so easily reached by simple reasoning, that anything more would induce embarrassment rather than demonstration. Not that, in fact, perfection, or anything near it, has ever been attained in the art of directing the growth of the mind; for it is but too plain that its principles yet lie scattered abroad upon the surface of philosophy, as if in reality they were kept asunder by some secret repugnance or antipathy.

The greater part of those who have given their thoughts on this subject to the world, have had some distinct aim, lying wide of the common interests of society; either as intending no more than the training of the understanding for the track of some particular profession, or from being themselves under the undue influence of a few tyrannical ideas.

The theory of education, however, should be the theory of government in miniature; expanding its principles as the pupil approaches manhood, to meet the rude shocks and wearing operations of life. Its chief difficulty lies in investing abstract principles with habits and preferences, which are their body and distinctive badges; in giving to involuntary reserve and submission the tone of a cheerful acquiescence in the irresistible force and sway of things. This is of much more importance than introducing an endless mixed mass of ideas into the mind, inasmuch as wisdom is more rare and desirable than knowledge.

Among the Greeks, even more distinguished for wisdom than for science, this was the prevailing creed. Their legislative studies gave birth to it. Their keen, discriminating character nourished and gave it permanence and effect. Their victories and virtues were the triumphs of education; their vices were evidences that even amongst them it was not without its flaws and imperfections. Aristotle observes, that education must vary in every country according to the nature and character of its government; and adds,

that if it be not so varied, nothing is more certain than that it will change the constitution of the state.

In modern times, however, a species of education has been invented, which, like an universal language, may be harmlessly used in all countries. It has nothing to do with principles. It leaves every man to the sway of those which chance may infuse into him. It deals in wholesale knowledge and accomplishments alone. Its tolerating spirit is, however, its only good quality; and that arises not so much from good-will as from indifference to all men and their ways. It is an unproductive and dead art of piling up ideas in the brain, like bales of merchandise.

By the absence of a domestic and all-pervading religion, the ancients were left much more than we are at the mercy of their systems and instructors. It behoved them, therefore, to infuse as much perfection and wisdom as possible into the character of these; and we find in fact that they possessed the art of reducing notions into practice, and of mingling the whole essence of learning with the excited energy of the soul. Politics and morals were their all; and in these they reached a degree of knowledge, a habit of penetrating to the core of things, of making actions the corollaries of principles; a perfection, in short, which we must not hope for, and certainly shall not find in any modern age or country.

But this does not, by any means, arise from our incapacity, but from our opinions and neglect. We fancy that pure principles of religion must do all that is to be done; while it should be our business to elevate the heart and mind, to make them fit receptacles for those principles. This may be the chief aim of that part of education which regards private felicity; but the state demands a large portion of man; and to enable him effectually to answer its demands, is to impress the whole theory of his duties upon his mind, at the same time that the habit of cheerfully fulfilling them is nourished.

The qualities necessary for the discharge of these duties are, in a free state, the companions of private virtues, and are built upon the most extensive knowledge of the original elements, and progressive growth, and actual degree of perfection, of society. To increase the force of these qualities, to communicate to them a broader basis, is to impel forward the medium upon which they act towards more exquisite perfection. By adding to the usual quantity of powder, you impel the ball beyond its accustomed mark. To amend education, will inevitably induce amendments in society, in laws, in governments; for, were an earthquake to thrust upwards the foundations of a great city, it is plain that its domes and palaces would gain a greater elevation.

But, although men are not perfectly agreed on this point, it is sufficient to have touched upon it briefly; we come now to the consideration of the Hazelwood System of Education, and the pro-

piety of introducing it into India. In order that our readers may the more perfectly comprehend the theory, we insert the outline of it as given by the founder of the establishment himself.*

A schoolmaster, being a governor as well as a teacher, we must consider the boys both as a community and as a body of pupils.

The principle of our government is to leave, as much as possible, all power in the hands of the boys themselves: to this end we permit them to elect a Committee, which enacts the laws of the school, subject however, to the veto of the Head Master. We have also Courts of Justice for the trial of both civil and criminal causes, and a vigorous police for the preservation of order.

Our rewards consist of a few prizes, given at the end of each half year, to those whose exertions have obtained for them the highest rank in the school; and certain marks, which are gained from time to time by exertions of talent and industry. These marks are of two kinds: the most valuable, called premial marks, will purchase holidays; the others are received in liquidation of forfeits. Our punishments are fine and imprisonment. Impositions, public disgrace, and corporal pain, have been for some years discarded among us.

To obtain rank is an object of great ambition among the boys; with us it is entirely dependent on the state of their acquirements; and our arrangements according to excellence are so frequent, that no one is safe, without constant exertion, from losing his place.

The boys learn almost every branch of study in classes, that the Master may have time for copious explanations; it being an object of great anxiety with us, that the pupil should be led to reason upon all his operations.

Economy of time is a matter of importance with us: we look upon all restraint as an evil, and, to young persons, a very serious evil; we are, therefore, constantly in search of means for ensuring the effective employment of every minute which is spent in the school-room, that the boys may have ample time for exercise in the open air. The middle state between work and play is extremely unfavourable to the habits of the pupil; we have succeeded, by great attention to order and regularity, in reducing it almost to nothing. We avoid much confusion by accustoming the boys to march, which they do with great precision, headed by a band of young performers from their own body.

The most striking feature in this plan of instruction is the active character assumed by the boys in the government of the school. Framing their own laws, and bearing likewise the whole burden of their execution, they are interested in communicating to them a character of equity, simplicity, and clearness, which may ensure their own well-being, by their easy and rapid operation. By the same means they are led to make some serious inquiry into the real nature of laws in general; into the frame and original circumstances of our nature which first gave rise to them; into a comparison of prevailing institutions with their first archetypes as they exist in the mind. It lends to education also a more earnest and less severe air; a feature of business and reality, instead of that mystery and listlessness which used too frequently to pervade it.

The first wish of the institutor of this system seems, therefore, to

* Plans for the Government and liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers; drawn from experience. London: printed for G. and W. B. Whitaker. 1822.

be, to infuse into the pupil the power of governing himself, and, together with that power, to impart a genuine love of knowledge, and the capacity for acquiring it. This includes the whole art of education.

The manner in which this end is attempted to be reached, though it should not ultimately succeed to the desired extent, is highly calculated, notwithstanding, to sharpen and expand the mind. For, not to dwell upon the fact of their enacting their own laws, the mere circumstance of being subjected, like little citizens, to a code peculiar to themselves, could not fail to raise a desire of excellence in their breasts,—the mind passing easily from the consciousness of peculiarity to a belief of superiority, and such a belief necessarily giving birth to extraordinary exertions in order to maintain it. But when to this is added the practice of pleading and judging their own causes among themselves, a source of eloquence, a habit of discrimination, of grave and circumspect bearing, of emulation, in short, of enlarged humanity, is created, which never could have been equalled by the method of the old rhetoricians.

To persons examining the matter carelessly, remote and exempt from the operation of these laws, they may appear trivial, and exposed to some degree of ridicule; but neither children nor men ever esteem those things trivial which are competent to affect their well-being, or pleasures, or the exercise of their personal abilities for any length of time. But there are men, who at the bottom of their hearts despise also the laws of every country but their own, and more especially those of the ancient democracies. For viewing them through the cold medium of distance or time, and from behind the encircling pales of other habits, manners, and modes of thinking, they appear to them as the efforts of immature minds, as the fluctuating approaches towards perfection of persons unendowed with our high legislative capacities. Innovations in the art of education, on the other hand, appear to them as attempted improvements of what is already perfect; or as wilful deviations for the worse, from the good old ways of our ancestors.

It is very true that our ancestors seem to have excelled us in carrying genius to its goal; but it was simply through their going to work with more earnestness, and attempting fewer things than we do; and not from any advantages they had over us in the method of education. We wish to create sciolists, and only dissipate our energies to a fine mist of learning, which easily floats over the face of things as it is driven by the breath of fashion. The Hazelwood system has a commendable tendency to attach youth to its particular preferences; and were this its only excellence, it would possess one important advantage over every other system with which we are acquainted.

Whatever end this system aims at, also, it endeavours to reach

with the least possible pain to the pupil. It does not admit of corporal punishment, nor of increased tasks, which only degrade the mind, and harden it against the delights of study. On the contrary, it is a system of encouragement and cheerfulness, appealing, in a very pure manner, to our love of rank and distinction. The minds of the pupils are constantly kept in a state of pleasing excitement and watchfulness, looking out for new honours, and taking care not to lose those already in their possession.

The school consists of about seventy boys,* who are arranged into classes for each department of study, according to their proficiency in that department. Thus, a boy, who stands in the highest class of Latinists, may be in the second of Arithmeticians, and so on.

The studies pursued in classes are orthography, geography, parsing, shorthand, the mathematics (commencing with common arithmetic, and including mensuration, trigonometry, geometry, and algebra,) French, Latin, and Greek.

This studying in classes facilitates, in a surprising manner, the acquisition of knowledge. There is ample time for explanation; and the teacher not being hurried, proceeds with comfort and good temper through his duty. The boys stand round him in a circle, and, if the business be arithmetic,

The operation is chalked upon a large black board, in the same manner as it is usually written upon a slate, except that the calculations are performed aloud, the teacher merely writing the figures as they are named by the boys. But much time is employed by the teacher and his class in entering into a complete investigation of the problem to be solved.

But the best illustration of this method, perhaps, may be the mode in which they carry on analytical construing.

The business commences by one of the pupils reading the sentence to be construed, (if more than one pupil offer to read the sentence or to perform any other part of the exercise, the preference is given to that candidate who stands lowest in the class;) the personal verb of the sentence is next ascertained; if there be more than one they are all named; the theme and signification are then discovered by means of the grammar and dictionary. This operation is repeated upon the other words of the sentence, according to the order in which they occur in the original; immediately after a preposition, however, is taken the word which it governs: the pupils then attempt to repeat the signification of the words without recurring to the grammar and dictionary. If this attempt fail, recourse having been made as occasion may require, it is repeated until successful; the sentence is next construed, and if in performing this the class require any assistance from the Master, the operation is repeated until his aid is no longer necessary. Perhaps this exercise may be best illustrated by example; we will suppose the class to commence with the sentence, "*Jacent sub arbore poma.*" The passage having been read, a pupil names "*Jacent*" as the verb; after which the boys, each speaking as often as he is able, but always waiting for the Master's approbation or disapprobation of that which was last said, thus proceeds:—"*Jacent* like *moment*—*Moment* from *momento*—*Jacent* from *jaceo*—*Jaceo*, to lie—*Moment*, they advise—*Jacent*, they lie—*Sub*, under—*Sub* is a preposition."—"Examine what case it

* Now increased to about one hundred.

governs."—"It governs the accusative or ablative."—"Find an accusative or ablative."—"Arbore is an ablative—Arbore like parente—Parente from parentis*—Arbore from arboris."—"Consult the dictionary."—"Arboris from arbor—Arbor, a tree—Sub arbore, under a tree—Poma like regna—Regna from regnum—Poma from pomum—Pomum, an apple—Regna, kingdoms—Poma, apples." The class now repeats—"Jacent, they lie—Sub arbore, under the tree—Poma, apples." Having accomplished this without any assistance, it proceeds to construe, "Poma, the apples—Jacent, lie—Sub arbore, under the tree."

It is obvious that, in performing this exercise, *Jacent* might have been compared to *regent* or *ament*—Arbore to *facie*, *felice*, &c.—Poma to *musa*, *opera*, &c. This would have occasioned some variation in the method of proceeding. Thus, if a pupil had compared *Jacent* to *ament*, the class would have thus continued:—"Ament from amo—Jacent from jaco."—"No such word in the dictionary."—Therefore *Jacent* is not like *ament*.

To follow this up by what little we have to say on the method of teaching languages:—the Hazelwood system approximates as nearly as possible to the manner of nature. Those things which can be brought under the cognizance of the senses, either actually or by representation, such as armour, weapons, dresses, are provided and brought into play in dramatic representations. The peculiarities and individualities (if we may venture the expression,) of a language appear nowhere so conspicuously as in its drama. There the business of life is imitated most nearly; the familiar objects about which domestic language is conversant, are constantly passing before the eye; the rich streams of the passions are let loose upon the scene; and adequately to express all these, language must "search her coffers round," and muster the whole body of her forces. Carefully to represent a play, therefore, must be to pour an overflowing stream into the channel of memory, instead of cheating it with the meagre drippings of a cold routine of lessons only.

Besides the acting of plays, the institutor recommends to teachers of the classics to supply themselves with ancient maps and plans, and with plates or drawings of ships, temples, houses, altars, domestic and sacred utensils, robes, and of every object of which they are likely to read. A classical garden, he adds, or a collection of plants and shrubs mentioned by the poets, would be a desirable accession to a school; nor would a collection of models of ancient warlike machinery be less useful.

Rank is endeavoured to be made of as much importance as possible in the school, and is conferred in proportion to mental and moral excellence.

In determining this rank the criterion for one week is Greek, as far down the school as it is taught, some other study being sub-

* As no grammar contains models for the numerous modes in which nouns of the third declension form their genitives, it is obviously expedient that the young student should trace the inflexions of such nouns to their genitives, before he attempts to discover their themes: in the same manner, it is proper to trace certain inflexions of verbs first to the preterite.

stituted in its stead for those who do not learn that language. Latin determines the order for another week; Geometry for a third; and so forth.

As no rank is secured to its possessor for more than one week, without corresponding improvement, a constant spur to exertion is maintained; and the frequent examinations and promotions for propriety of manners and general good conduct, cannot be of less efficacy in preserving the morals of the youths.

A weekly register is made of the rank of each boy, and at the end of the half-year the prizes are awarded, in the order of their value, to those boys whose aggregate rank is found to be the highest.

In order still more strongly to excite emulation, and make success pleasing, according to their rank they take precedence of each other at their meals, and in delivering their exercises to the teachers for examination. The boys of superior rank, likewise, acquire most influence in the committees, and consequently are gratified with a greater exertion of power.

The rewards conferred consist chiefly of certain counters, which the boys obtain by their superiority in their classes, for voluntary labour, &c. Short imprisonment, and the forfeiture of these counters, constitute the punishments of the guilty or negligent. The former is rarely resorted to. The greater portion of the wealth of the boys is obtained for exercises composed voluntarily during play hours. Excellence, in almost any study to which they may apply themselves, is rewarded by these marks; and as they are afterwards received in liquidation of fines, and the premial, or higher kind, even for the purchase of holiday, it is easy to imagine the ardour with which they are sought to be acquired by the boys. As the choice of the kind of study is left entirely to the pupils themselves, it is a powerful means of determining their tastes and genius.

In order that every moment of time the boys are in the school may be advantageously employed, every thing is performed at its appointed hour with the utmost punctuality. For the purpose of marking with precision the time of being in the school-room, of the classes assembling, of going to their meals, &c. the monitor rings a bell at stated periods. If he should do this too soon or too late, he pays a considerable fine. Some idea of the arduous nature of his office may be formed from the fact of his being obliged to ring the bell more than 240 times in the week.

According to the suggestion of Milton, music has been introduced into the establishment. The boys assemble in their classes, proceed to the places where they are taught, as well as march to bed, and to their meals, always accompanied by music. The hand is formed from among the pupils. The boys rise at six o'clock in the morning, and go to bed at eight.

The pupils have abundant exercise. For, besides the usual methods allowed at other schools, they have a gymnastic society; they build little edifices for the reception of tools, &c.; they learn to swim in a large place constructed for the purpose; and they practise land-surveying, which necessarily leads them out into the fields, and employs them usefully, while contributing greatly to their health.

Our account of this system would run to too great a length, were we to enter into all the details of its practice. It may be sufficient to state, that the whole bears the stamp of benevolence, and profound knowledge of the nature of the human mind. Its author is aware how much depends on the administration of principles, and he has been as strongly bent upon perfecting the mechanical as the theoretical part. His conclusions are the result of a long experience of the practicability of his plans,* and he has pursued his researches with a degree of patience and equanimity which nothing but an unfeigned veneration for the "majesty of youth" could have given birth to and supported.

At the conclusion of the volume from which we extract our information, is a chapter on the old question, whether the preference be to be given to public or private education.

However antiquated the theme, this is the most important question of all. It is remarked by Helvetius, and the most extensive examination of the history and nature of mankind confirms the remark, that in whatever country private education is generally encouraged, liberty is sure to be sooner or later destroyed. We have somewhere also read, that private education renders men more *moral*, and less *virtuous*; and this makes for the truth of what Helvetius advances. For morals are the substitute of virtue, and are weak, retiring, selfish, and contemptuous; whereas virtue, which may exist in a less confined habit, is active, communicative, sympathetic, productive, and therefore fitted to be the informing principle of a free state. Were there nothing more to be said in favour of public education, this consideration alone would be sufficient to place it infinitely before the other.

But the founder of the Hazelwood system, Mr. Hill, has other arguments in favour of public education, which to us appear to be unanswerable; among which one of the most striking is, that it is a *science*, whereas the other is rather to be accounted an *art*. Now the result of discoveries and improvements in the sciences, it is well known, is as so much added to the elevation of an edifice, which remains part of the building when the architect has ceased to be; and other persons, possessing neither the knowledge nor skill of him who made the addition, may mount nevertheless this

* This system has been followed in the Hazelwood Establishment near Birmingham for many years past, with increased and increasing success.

additional height, and enjoy the utmost extent of the prospect. In the arts this is not practicable. Every man must rear his own edifice. It is true the principles, which are as the materials, have been brought together; but this, from the very nature of things, is all that is possible, since it is a matter of individual exertion; and in proportion as excellence in art is more difficult than in science, so is it more honourable and rare. Few teachers, however, possess the enthusiasm of artists: the prejudices of society, fostered by the spirit of all monarchical governments, the injudicious interference of parents, the nature of the employment itself, tend to dissipate and repress it. It is advisable to leave as little as possible depending on the capacity of the teacher; every thing should be made to spring from the system, and be brought down to the competence of ordinary minds. It is thus things shape their course in society. The lawgiver is accounted the first among men; but the expounder of laws is not necessarily anything extraordinary.

But to come more immediately to the question. Helvetius enumerates five advantages which public education has over private: the salubrity of the place where youth receive their instruction; the rigour of the discipline;* the emulation it inspires; the superior discernment of the teachers; and, lastly, firmness.

To these Mr. Hill has added others of equal importance. In the first place the boy is more free, especially in the Hazelwood establishment, to select those studies which are most congenial to his mind; he has the advantage of the instruction addressed to other boys, and of hearing the elements of his acquisitions repeatedly recalled to his mind; he is not, through a mistaken opinion of his genius, pressed beyond the extent of his powers; he is more happily associated with his equals, and in consequence has more of that kind of independence which is necessary for the enjoyment of life. We add, he has opportunity for forming those friendships and attachments, for which, should he lose them, he will find no compensation or equivalent in the whole compass of human things.

We have now placed before our readers the principal features of this system of education; it remains for us to speak of some of the advantages which Great Britain might reap by its introduction into the schools now establishing in India, and particularly among the Indo-British inhabitants of that country. This numerous race is gradually forming an important portion of the

* "La règle n'est jamais aussi exactement observée dans la maison paternelle que dans une maison d'instruction publique: Tout dans un collège est soumis à l'heure. L'horloge y commande aux maîtres, aux domestiques; elle y fixe la durée des repas, des études, et des récréations; l'horloge y maintient l'ordre. Sans ordre, point d'études suivies. L'ordre allonge les jours; le désordre les raccourcit."—*De l'Homme*, sect. 10, c. 3.

population of India; and, from the nature of things, must be more open than the *aborigines* to the influence of civilization and improvement. And if it be desirable that the English nation should ever become extensive, and take root as a people in the East, it is of the highest moment that the improvement of this race should be cultivated with care, as most certainly it is the only means through which this great object could be effected. With a natural predilection for European manners, they unite the habitudes of the climate, and a strong attachment to the country of their birth; and by having their own intellectual powers raised by the accession of knowledge, might be made the conductors of the whole force of science, laws, and literature into the bosom of India. They are the point of connexion between us and the Hindoos; the natural leaven, which, if properly prepared and scattered through the mass of the population, would ferment the whole into an active and virtuous society.

But there are persons, it seems, even in this age, who imagine that an empire founded upon ignorance is of a nature to be more lasting and productive to the governors,* (which is no small matter,) than one taking rise from enlightened and cheerful obedience. They confine their views, of course, entirely to the ruling party; not thinking the subjects of government of consequence enough to awaken their sympathy. There always have been persons of this description; and those who look carefully into human nature will perceive that there always must be. They are such as the necessities of their rank have forced upon the acquirement of some little knowledge, have driven to hide the nakedness of their understandings with the fig-leaves of other men's conceptions. But ideas, in passing into their minds, have not been molten down by any fire of genius, so as to form one whole with their other notions, but through a strong antipathy keeping aloof, and refusing to mingle with such base matter, have at length forced their way out, confounded with, mutilated, and disgraced by their vile companions.

This is the secret cause of what little reason and understanding these people seem to possess. But it is in no sense their own, nor has it any kindred to their minds; and were they not numerous, and thrust by a kind of fatality into office and power, it would be a proceeding of little wisdom to confute, or even to render them ridiculous.

But to proceed. Knowledge is the only permanent basis of

* D. "Pourquoi donc est-il des pays où l'on proscriit la liberté de la presse, et jusqu'à celle de penser?"

R. "C'est qu'on trouve un pouvoir plus facilement voler l'aveugle que le clairvoyant, et duper un peuple idiot qu'un peuple éclairé. Dans toute grande nation il est toujours des intéressés à la misère publique. Ceux-là seuls nient aux citoyens le droit d'averir leurs compatriotes des malheurs auxquels sont en train de les exposer."—HELVETIUS, *De l'Homme*, sect. 10.

empire, it is the only thing that can communicate robustness, and the necessary sap and covering to the roots of power. A free state must rest in great measure upon a general knowledge of politics and laws; for without this knowledge it is impossible for men to judge correctly whether they be free or not; and mistaking through ignorance the wise restraint of a free constitution, for the oppression of despotism, they may be driven into rebellion without any criminal design, seeing that they do not understand the extent of their rights; seeing that their government has neglected to make it known to them. Therefore, must just power rest upon knowledge—and no power is safe from the charge of tyranny that is exercised over ignorance. For if it be just in itself, who shall assure the people that it is so? They know not the necessary distinctions. They cannot distinguish between an exertion of lawful power and an act of despotism. It is as much the fault of the government, therefore, if they are dissatisfied without reason, as if they had reason to be dissatisfied. It should have taught them better: it should have looked to their education.

The high and useful knowledge of which we are speaking might be planted at little expense in India, by introducing into that country the Hazelwood system of education. The simple government of the school would be a better lesson in the science of legislation to the natives, than all the experience they have gained by feeling the operation of our laws upon their happiness. They might there see in miniature how conducive to our well-being is the obedience we pay to wise laws. They might see that subjection to principles is not slavery; and that as nature and destiny have decreed that we must submit to these, human wisdom can only exert itself in choosing the best and most dignified.

From putting this plan in practice among the Indo-Britons, it would find its way of itself among the other inhabitants; for mildness and freedom have natural charms for the human understanding. They would see that, in spite of other appearances, we had some wish to make them partakers of our higher blessings; and that there were methods within the range of possibility, of governing enlightened men by little more than the sway of principles. This conviction could not fail of being beneficial to us; and this (if we must constantly refer every thing to our own advantage) should have no little weight with us.

But in reality the race of which we are speaking have stronger claims than those on our compassion or policy: they have claims upon our justice, the denial or neglect of which must affect our character as a nation. They are nothing more than shoots or scions of the British tree, and demand their proper culture, although transplanted to a foreign soil. Instead, therefore, of their being left open to the vices of ignorance and superstition, it is the duty of the Indian government to see to the development and full employment of their minds.

It would be an easy experiment to try the effect of the Hazelwood system in *one school* at Calcutta. This, indeed, would be the only way of carrying conviction to the minds of the prejudiced and half-thinking, affording an opportunity of comparison, of looking into the actual working of a machine which they would never be able to conceive from description.

This system of education would likewise operate more effectually towards the diffusion of Christianity, than the sending out of a thousand missionaries. The force of innovation would be broken upon this middle race, whose relations to the natives would be so many imperceptible channels, scattering its influence through the very heart of the country. Religions are not to be set up or discredited in a day. Even when false, they should be allowed to crumble away, like their own temples, by slow and gradual ruin; and not be shaken down by political earthquakes about the heads of their devotees. This process may be hastened; but it should be by withdrawing the worshippers through their curiosity and inquisition for change; by otherwise exciting their attention until their altars cool, and their smoke and incense forget to send their savours up to heaven; and not by setting up openly a rival shrine, and attempting to compel them to the desertion of their gods.

It is impossible that an enlightened religion should exist in an ignorant breast. Truth is an awful and sublime thing, and holds no fellowship, and abides not in the same tabernacle, with ignorance and error. It is associated with wisdom where it is found pure—it is nothing but superstition if connected with ignorance. Men may be in the right way, without being the better for it; for it is only when after having examined all things, to “hold fast that which is good,” that they deserve well, or are at all to be esteemed or imitated. If England, therefore, would extend the blessings of her purer faith among her Indian subjects; if she be desirous of lifting them gradually from the “slough” of superstition, and of rendering them fit receptacles for the light, she must begin by striving to enlighten that race which forms the connecting link between them and us; she must communicate to it those powers of mind which preserve religion from degenerating into superstition. “Every government (says PLATO), in as far as it is government, considers which is best for nothing else but for the governed, and those under its charge.” Those governments, therefore, which evidently do not consider what is best for “those under their charge,” are not to be esteemed legitimate governments, but come under the list of such as “make laws for their own advantage; and when they have made them, they show that to be just for the governed, which is *advantageous* to themselves; and punish the transgressor of *this* as one acting contrary both to law and justice.”

But allowing that government is to consult nothing but its own advantage, it must be clearly true that a people imbued with a love of justice, with an active, enterprising, discerning spirit, would be

productive of more wealth to their rulers, than a population, rendered turbulent, morose, unconfiding, and selfish, through ignorance. The Romans, who are well known to have made the most of their conquests, did notwithstanding impart in as full and perfect a manner as was possible, all the science and learning they were masters of, to their provincial subjects. Had they possessed India, their education, and those manners and opinions growing out of it, would have been the first-fruit of their power. The Hindoos would have had knowledge in exchange for independence; and if their religion had not been greatly refined, it would have been because paganism was too lax and tolerant to meddle with foreign superstitions. It must be owned that modern improvements have an aversion to emigration. They are *national*; they are not "citizens of the world."

But it has already repeatedly been urged that at least a respectable body of artisans might be raised out of the Indo-Britons. This would require no extraordinary efforts. A slight education, turning chiefly on the side of morals, would be enough. But such an indiscriminate condemnation of a whole race to mechanical labour, is, to say the least of it, cruel and impolitic. The world opens many prospects to an industrious and well-cultivated race; but commerce, the higher branches of art, and the professions of the law and medicine in India, might afford respectable employ to the superior portion of these men. Trade and agriculture would demand the rest. Mankind, however, are averse to having their path of life chalked out to them by others; and, indeed, it is but justice to leave it to their own choice. The state has nothing more to do than to take charge of their youth; this is its duty as the public parent; this is what God and man expect of it. Education will spread the scene of life before the mind, and store it with the judgment and foresight necessary for choosing the best and most congenial way. Governments that neglect education are careless of their own force, and destructive of the energy and happiness of their subjects. That government is the best, which draws into action the talents of the greatest number of men; which knows how to appropriate to every one the business he is fitted for; which has no contempt for genius, when found among the useful classes; which is rapid in rewarding enterprise; in promoting intercourse with foreign people; in preserving the persons and dignities of its subjects from insult; in taking care that the ignorant never predominate long. Is this the character which our government bears among the nations of Asia? If it be not, the only way to arrive at it, is to "break up the fountains of the great deep" of knowledge upon them—these "fountains" are Education and the Press. Let them be taught to think; let books be multiplied among them; they cannot resist the influence of these. No men are unchangeably stupid or bad; but are moulded by circumstances, and contract new habits, and suffer old ones to decay

Bigotry and superstition, Europeans know well enough from home-experience, are not to be taught to vanish at once like a dream. They are tough and obstinate realities, that hold their own with amazing tenacity. They are like the brother of Æschylus; when their hands have been cut off, still do they keep hold with their teeth. In conquering them, we must *begin with the beginning*—we must keep the minds of youth clear from their pollution; nor afterwards suffer them to be idle. Knowledge is a habit which must be kept fresh by constant wearing. It only becomes mean and useless when put by, or attempted to be spared for holidays. It is like robust health, requiring air and exercise, and killed by confinement and restraint. Education and the Press are its creators, and, like Providence, they must watch over it, or it will sink back into the night from whence it rose.

Εἰς Ἑλλάδα.

Ὅπότεν Μοῖρα ὑπὸ ζυγὸν τυράννων
 ἔθεσ' Ἑλλάδος γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ θεῖαν,
 Τότε ὁ ἔχλος ἀγρίων Μουσουλμάνων
 Πάντ' ἐρημώνει, κ' ἔσθισ' ἐλευθερίαν.
 Ἄλλ' ἴδ' ἡγέρθη παλιν Ἑλλήνων γένος
 Ὡς γήγας, κ' ὅπλων κλαγγὴ δεινὴ κινεῖται,
 Μάχονται πάντες μ' ἀνδρίαν καὶ μὲ μένος,
 Καὶ σῆμ' Ἑλλάδος παντοῦ αἰετοῖνιται.
 Βόζαρχς πίπτει ὡς ἄλλος Λεωνίδας
 Διὰ τὴν πατρίδα, στεφανοθεὶς μὲ νίκημ'
 Ὅ δὲ Νικήτας ὁρμᾷ ὡς Πελοπίδας,
 Κ' εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους θέσ' Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν φρίκην
 Μαυροκορδάτος δ' εἰς Πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας
 Φέρει Παλλάδα, Μούσας, καὶ θεῶν Δίην.

Φιλόπατρις.

Greece! On thy beautiful and sacred soil
 The barbarous tyrants trod. Thou doomed to be
 Th' Osmanli's heritage, th' Osmanli's spoil—
 A waste—the tomb of vanished liberty.
 But like a giant bursting from his toll
 Thou rousest thee. With ancient bravery
 And arms' loud clangor thou dost wake thee—while'
 Thy glorious banners float rejoicingly.
 Yea! thy Leonidas is Marco now,
 Dying for Greece—a conqueror! Nicetas
 Is brave and bold as Pelopidas was:
 Ulysses wears old garlands on his brow,
 Spreading wide terror. Justice—wisdom—peace,
 Mavrocordato showers again on Greece.

B.

COLONIZATION OF INDIA.

WE adverted in our last Number to the publication, in India, of "A Letter to the President of the Board of Control, on the latent Resources of India, by John Wheatley, Esq.;" and promised to give a further notice of this production. It was at first our intention to have given only extracts of the more striking portions of its contents, with such comments and illustrations as the subject might suggest; but as the Letter, though printed, has not yet found its way into many English hands, and is not likely to be widely circulated in this country, we have thought we should render a more acceptable service to the reader, and do more for the interests of India, by printing the greater part of the Letter entire. Its most valuable feature is its undisguised advocacy of a system of unrestricted Colonization in India; the only system that can ever make that country what it ought to be,—happy in itself, and beneficial to Great Britain; but which the East India Company nevertheless oppose with all their influence, as if the greatest curse that could be inflicted on India were the settlement among them of English gentlemen and respectable families! When pressed on this topic, they are always ready to claim great praise for the improvement which India has derived from the blessings which *they* have imparted to it by the residence of their servants in Asia. But, as if these servants had a monopoly of *virtue* as well as of trade, they pretend to feel the greatest alarm at the settlement of any other persons *except* their servants, among those whom they denigrate the mild, the timid, and the peaceable Hindoos!—by whom fathers are murdered by being thrown into the Ganges alive; mothers are destroyed by being burnt with the dead bodies of their husbands; and children are remorselessly slaughtered;—all under the influence of a religion, which the Governors of that country not merely tolerate, but authorize, patronize, draw tribute from, and publicly support; while they prevent others from settling among them to plant a better system and a better faith in its stead! In that enslaved land, no printer dare publish this, without the certainty of fine and imprisonment for his pains: and, accordingly, the author of the "Letter to the President of the Board of Control," though he gives his own name, issues it without that of a printer or publisher affixed: a fact that in itself furnishes a sufficient comment on the natural effects of the existing restrictions on the Indian Press, to prevent all useful public discussion in that country, on questions in which its vital interests are most deeply concerned.

We may add, that Mr. Wheatley is a barrister of respectability, who has not long resided in India; but being, like most others who personally visit that unhappy country, convinced from ocular

proof and experience, of the extreme misery and degradation of its inhabitants,—though the East India Company endeavour to delude the people of England into a belief of their being contented, prosperous, and happy,—he has had the virtue and courage to address this public Letter to the President of the India Board. If the press of India were really free; or if the power of transporting Englishmen without trial were abolished, we should see a hundred intelligent pens exercised for the benefit of that country: but in the present state of thralldom and dependence, when no servant of the Company dare speak his honest sentiments, without risking all his prospects in life; and those not in their service, may be banished without a hearing, it is of great importance to get even such a production as the present from that quarter.

We proceed, therefore, to give such portions of the Letter as appear to us most valuable; and as this will occupy considerable space, we must leave further comment to a future opportunity.

As every thing that relates to India is necessarily at the present moment particularly interesting to you, from your official situation as President of the Board of Control, I beg leave to address the following observations to you on the “*Latent Resources*” of this country, and the vast means she presents of adding to the wealth of England, if the measures are taken which the interests of the two countries require.

As the whole wealth of a nation consists in its agricultural and manufactured produce, in the produce of the country and the produce of the towns, there must either be an increase of the one or an increase of the other to cause any addition to its wealth. If all the land belonging to the nation that can be cultivated is cultivated, and all the corn that can be raised is raised, there can be no addition to its agricultural wealth, or the produce of the country; and if the agricultural surplus, or that proportion of the corn which is not consumed by those that raise it, is sent to the towns to be exchanged for manufactures, and no foreign corn is imported, all the manufactures that can be raised will be raised, as towns cannot produce beyond the supply of food they receive, and no addition can be made to the produce of the towns. No addition can, therefore, be made to the wealth of a nation so circumstanced, without introducing foreign corn, which, by supplying the towns with more food, will cause them to increase their produce to a correspondent amount. But if foreign corn be prohibited altogether, a prohibition will be put to all further advancement in wealth; for as no more ground can be brought into cultivation than is already cultivated, no addition can be made to the produce of the country; and as towns cannot produce beyond the supply of food they receive, no addition can be made to the produce of the towns. The productive power of the nation will therefore be brought to a full stop, and no addition whatever can be made to its wealth.

This is in reality the existing state of England. Almost all the land that can be brought into cultivation is brought, and but little addition can be made to the home growth of corn, or the produce of the country; and as no foreign corn is admitted, and her manufactured produce cannot exceed her agricultural surplus, or the food for which it is exchanged, there

can be no addition to her manufactures, or the produce of the towns. The wealth of England is, therefore, brought to a stand-still, and, without the introduction of foreign corn, without the introduction of more food from independent states and her colonies to increase the produce of her towns, can never be greater than it now is.

Should, however, a free corn trade be established, a doubt may possibly arise, whether the produce of our towns could be raised at so much cheaper a rate than the produce of the towns of other countries, as to attract more of the agricultural surplus of the world than the towns of any other nation; and whether, if they were capable of attracting a larger share, it would be possible to increase our manufactures to such an extent as to be equivalent to the surplus corn. But as the coal and iron of England enable the steam engine to be worked with more ease, and machinery to be carried to a greater perfection, than in any other country, there can be no hesitation in deciding, that the towns of England will long continue to raise the greater proportion of our manufactures at less cost than the towns of any other nation can do; and can, therefore, allow them to be sold cheaper, or more to be given for the same amount of corn, than can be afforded elsewhere. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that our towns could not produce manufactures to a sufficient amount to equal all the corn that can possibly be imported. If there could be a sudden inlet of corn to an inordinate amount, say to the amount of a hundred million, there would certainly be no means of making such an equivalent addition to our manufactures, at any given moment, as the additional hands that would be required for the labour of production could not be procured. But in the natural order of things, no such sudden increase can occur. The existing amount and occupation of the agricultural population of the world, could no more admit of such a sudden increase of corn, than the existing amount and occupation of the manufacturing population of the world could admit of such a sudden increase of manufactures. No new land can be broke up, and brought into bearing, without much preparatory and arduous toil; and, therefore, the extension of corn must always be slow and gradual. There can scarcely indeed be such an addition to the average amount of corn in any one year, as to make even a perceptible difference in the market; and as population is always pressing hard on the means of subsistence, there are in all manufacturing towns a certain number of hands but half employed; a certain number of loose hands unemployed; and a certain number of the rising generation eager to obtain employment, but incapable of procuring the situations they aspire to. There can never, therefore, be any difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of hands for the increase of orders, or to return manufactures enough, for an increased supply of food. The difficulty always is in obtaining orders enough, or food enough, to give the manufacturers what is their due, and progressively improve their condition. There can, therefore, be no fear that the gradual introduction of a larger agricultural surplus will not find a competent number of manufacturers to create an equivalency in manufactured produce to exchange for it.

Having thus explained, that there is no possibility of adding to the wealth of England without adding to her agricultural surplus, as there are no means of increasing her wealth without increasing the produce of her towns, and no means of increasing the produce of her towns without

increasing the supply of food ; all that is necessary for ministers to do, is to increase this surplus as much as possible ; as, in proportion to its excess above the home supply of corn, will be the addition to the wealth of the nation, by causing a correspondent addition of manufactures. On opening the corn trade, a considerable proportion of the agricultural surplus of independent states will naturally flow in. But the vast means which England possesses of adding to her wealth, arise from *the extent and productive power of her colonies*. But unless the policy that is now held towards them, as well as the system at home, be altered, no material good can result either to them or to England, as there is very little use in creating a large agricultural surplus, unless, when it is created, the towns of England will be permitted to receive it ; and to obtain this permission much prejudice must be overcome.

As a larger agricultural surplus may be derived from India than from any other part of the British empire, it is of more importance to review the policy that is pursued towards her than to any other dependency. And here it is impossible not to lament that so little has been done, during the long period we have been in possession of India, to improve her condition, and raise her to the same rank in the scale of civilization with ourselves. If there were any reason in nature, why she should not be brought to rival Europe in wealth and prosperity ; why she should not possess great and opulent towns, good roads, and extended canals ; why she should not abound with beautiful seats, large parks, and delightful pleasure grounds ; why agriculture, manufactures, and navigation should not be advanced to the same degree of perfection ; and why the same science and intelligence should not be made to subsist ; all inquiry into the measures that are necessary to produce such a result would be utterly idle : but if it be true that nature has been more bountiful to India than to Europe, and that a higher state of prosperity ought, therefore, according to her laws, to prevail here, no inquiry can be productive of more good, than that which will point out by what process such a prosperity is to be brought about.

There is no possibility of establishing a prosperous state of things, either in England, India, or any other country, without providing a large agricultural surplus ; for as all the disposable wealth of a nation consists in its surplus food and surplus manufactures, in the surplus produce of the country, and the surplus produce of the towns, where towns exist, it is necessary that this fund should be as large as possible, in order that the disposable wealth of the nation may be as great as possible. If all the food that was raised in a country were consumed by those that raised it, and no surplus were left, there could be no disposable wealth ; and, therefore, there could be no towns, no manufactures, no commerce, no revenue, no army or navy ; nor any thing that required the existence of a disposable fund, or the application of surplus food to create and maintain it. In every country, therefore, where the agricultural population is pushed to such an extreme as to consume all that is raised, poverty and misery must be the inevitable consequence, as none can have more than the bare necessities of life, or some surplus would remain. There are no means, therefore, of advancing a country, in such a state of agricultural over-populousness, from poverty to wealth, without drawing off from this population and diverting to other objects such a number as will allow a large agricultural surplus to exist.

This state of agricultural over-populousness, or nearly this state, is at the present moment the condition of India. The equal law of inheritance, which divides property into such small shares, gives rise to so redundant a population, that almost all that is raised is necessarily absorbed in supporting those that raise it; and scarcely any surplus can be said to remain. It is true, that the Company do collect from the whole of their dominions, consisting of 800,000,000 of acres, an extent of territory equal to all Europe, which pays to its different governments about 300,000,000*l.* a year, the comparatively insignificant revenue of 20,000,000*l.*: but no stronger proof need be given of the total want of all surplus wealth, than that this sum, small as it is, compared to the vastness and productive power of the empire, is not collected without great difficulty, and innumerable sales, all over the country, of the small properties of the defaulters to make good their arrears. Even, therefore, if it could be said that this sum constituted a surplus, which I know not how to consider it, WRUNG AS IT IS FROM THE NECESSITIES AND MISERIES OF THE PEOPLE, yet is it all that exists; and no residue is left for the supply of the towns to be exchanged for manufactures, or for any improvement public or private.

As it is totally impossible, therefore, that under the existing state of things, a large agricultural surplus, or a large fund of disposable wealth, can ever be created; and as it is equally clear, that neither India, nor any other country, can be raised to prosperity without such a fund, it is absolutely necessary that ANOTHER SYSTEM should be established, that will eventually lead to a large agricultural surplus. There are two ways of bringing about this result—one, by changing the law of equal inheritance into a law of primogeniture; and the other, by allowing British subjects to become purchasers of land: nor is there any reason why both of these measures should not be adopted. I was some time since apprehensive, that as millions of expectants were looking up to the division of the property belonging to their families, the substitution of the law of primogeniture for the law of equal inheritance would give great dissatisfaction; but, upon conversing with some of the most respectable and intelligent natives on the good that would arise from such a change, I found a much nearer correspondence of sentiment than I had anticipated. They were well aware, that by the law of equal inheritance, their own wealth would, in all probability, be so divided in three generations as to reduce their descendants to a level with the mass of the people; and so far were they from being insensible to the just pride of founding a name and family, that they assured me they should hail the introduction of any law that was calculated to have such an effect, with gladness and gratitude. But still there would be great disappointment in many families: and were the law of primogeniture to come into immediate operation, there would be some cases where the most serious injury would ensue, from the younger branches being wholly unprovided for. Should it, therefore, be deemed advantageous to make this alteration, the law should not be permitted to take effect till a distant year; and in no case to take effect, unless the party subjected to the law died intestate. By continuing the freedom of disposition, all those who were desirous of leaving their property, in conformity to the existing Hindoo law, would still have it in their power to do so.

The other mode of conducting to a large agricultural surplus, is by al-

lowing British subjects to become PROPRIETORS OF LAND; and it is matter both of regret and surprise, that this privilege was not granted at an earlier period. Had it been conceded to us from the first, many proprietors of Indian estates would now have been resident in England, and have contributed to her wealth, by causing an addition of manufactures equivalent to the produce remitted from India for the payment of their incomes. Had it even been given us so late as the first administration of Lord Cornwallis, much the greater part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, would now have been in our possession, as most of the property of these provinces has changed hands since that time, and been bought by our banyans and sircars, or the servants of the British, instead of by the British themselves.

If this privilege, however, be now yielded to us, not many years will elapse before we shall acquire considerable possessions—before we shall establish large estates and large farms, and provide a large agricultural surplus. When this is once provided, every thing else will follow of course, progressive improvement, a wealthy population, and large revenue.

Should these alterations ever take place, should the law of primogeniture be substituted for the law of equal inheritance, should British subjects be allowed to purchase lands, and should freedom be given to the introduction of the science and intelligence of Europe, by an UNRESTRICTED SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION, the face of things would in a short time undergo an entire change, and India would be brought more nearly to resemble Europe in prosperity of aspect. Instead of a dreary extent of country, saddened rather than relieved by mud-hut towns and villages, and inhabited by a painted pagan semi-barbarous race, a new order of beings would spring up, a body of rich landholders, with a respectable tenantry in the country, and a body of rich manufacturers in the towns, who would new model all things after the manner of Europe, and gradually raise the character of the natives to a level with their own. It will be denied by few, that if the natives are ever to be brought to follow European laws and customs, they can be brought to follow them by example only, not by precept; by seeing the practical good that flows from these laws in the wealth and happiness of the people who live under them: but never will they be converted to the religious, civil, and moral institutions of Europe by the missionary system.

The benefit that England would derive from this ameliorated state of India, would consist in the increased agricultural surplus that would be remitted, to cause a correspondent increase in the produce of her towns, though it is perfectly useless to discuss this point unless it be conceded, that when the agricultural surplus is remitted, it will be received. Taking this at the present moment for granted, the extent of the remittance will depend on the number of landed proprietors who become resident in England, and form an Indian absentee class, similar to the body of West India planters—on the use of British manufactures among the owners and managers of estates in India—and on the fortunes sent home for investment in England by those who come out as temporary residents. There are now no remittances but for the latter purpose; and these amount to about six or seven millions annually. But to what extent remittances would be made to pay the incomes of the absentee proprietors, and to what extent they would be made for the purpose of purchasing a correspondent amount of manufactured produce to be sent out here, I will

not pretend to form any conclusive and satisfactory calculation. The result is so prodigious, under any estimate that can be made, that it must necessarily be considered extravagant, let it be contracted as much as it may. But as India consists of 800,000,000 of acres, if it be granted that British subjects would eventually possess a half, and that a fourth of the proprietors would reside in England, estimating the net produce of an acre at a pound, the remittances for the income of absentees would amount to 100,000,000*l.*; and if it be granted that those who remained in India would lay out one-third of their net income in British manufactures, the united remittances to be exchanged for British manufactures would amount to 200,000,000*l.*; or England would be enriched by an increase to the produce of her towns of 200,000,000*l.*, an addition equal to three times the extent of her present export trade. This calculation is certainly enormous; but should the policy here recommended be strictly followed up, I know not on what principle it can be materially lessened.

The agricultural surplus of which these remittances would consist, would be food and raw produce. The food would be corn, flour, sugar, coffee, rice, spices, tobacco, tea, and various other articles of subsistence, which British skill and industry would introduce; and the raw produce would be cotton, silk, wool, indigo, saltpetre, lackdye, cochineal, timber, &c. But there is no reason why remittances should not also be made in manufactured produce, if the towns of India could raise any particular manufacture at a cheaper rate than the towns of England, as the great body of the people of England would be benefited by having it at a lower price, whatever might be the partial injury to those who were concerned in the inferior British manufacture. But under the existing prohibitory system of England, but few of the enumerated articles would be allowed to be landed.

It is certainly a most unfortunate circumstance for England that the corn question continues to be so little understood, and that, even in the Cabinet, the most erroneous opinions still find favour. I particularly allude to the declaration of Lord Liverpool, that England grows too much corn. Now, when the whole wealth of a country consists in its corn and manufactures, and there are no means of adding to its wealth but by adding to its corn, as manufactures can never be more than commensurate with the supply of corn—and when, but for this inauspicious assertion of the minister, England might now have had almost any addition of corn, and her wealth been as great as those who wish most for her prosperity could desire, I know not how it can be sufficiently lamented, that such an opinion should ever have been entertained. It is true, that this opinion has simply led to the prohibition of import, and to the putting a stop to all further wealth; but had it been followed up to the letter, and a real diminution in the growth of corn had ensued, there is no saying what mischief it might not have produced. Lord Liverpool has not thrown out any opinion as to the extent to which we grow too much corn; but as any diminution of corn causes a correspondent diminution of manufactured produce, I will assume that we grow too much, in his estimation, by the whole amount of our cotton and woollen manufactures, and that it would be better to lessen the quantity, till every weaver in cotton and wool followed the fortunes of those who were expatriated by the corn bill. If this should not be enough, and the system of

contraction were pushed still further, till all supplies were withdrawn from the towns, every manufacturer must quit the country; and the trade, wealth, and prosperity of England would be remembered but in name,

"To point a moral or adorn a tale."

But there are other persons as well as Lord Liverpool impressed with the conviction that the agricultural surplus may be too much; and the West India planters have taken the same alarm at the introduction of East India sugar, as the landed interest at the import of foreign corn; and as the country gentlemen contend that they can grow corn enough for the consumption of England, the West India planters contend that they can grow sugar enough for its consumption: and I regret to say, that their arguments have been attended with the same success; and corn and East India sugar are alike placed under the bann of the empire. But as sugar is an article of subsistence, and its increase, like the increase of any other article of subsistence, as of corn, meat, rice, coffee, wine, tea, &c. tends to a correspondent increase in the population and produce of the towns, its interdiction is just as impolitic as the interdiction of corn, or any other food. But till the country gentlemen allow the admission of corn, I know not on what principle the prohibition of any other kind of agricultural produce can be opposed. Yet, nothing can be more prohibitory of an increasing state of wealth than proceeding on this policy; for as there can be no increase of wealth without an increase of produce, if the grower of every other kind of produce is to succeed in the same manner as the grower of corn and sugar, in preventing an increased supply of what he cultivates, there can be no increase of wealth at all, and the country must necessarily continue in a stationary state.

When three such formidable bodies as the landed interest, the West India interest, and the interest of the minister, are opposed to the admission of the principles contained in this letter, I certainly cannot flatter myself with any reasonable prospect of success. But I fear that I have still another opponent not less formidable. From the erroneous views that have been formed of the real means of augmenting the wealth of a nation, a blind notion has long been prevalent in England, that it would be of no advantage to us to take possession of the land of India, as the only good of foreign dependencies was supposed to be in the specie that was to be obtained from them by a favourable balance of trade. But though the long and despotic reign of this mercantile theory has at last terminated, the opinions to which it gave rise unhappily survive; and Mr. Canning, in one of his speeches on India, made it the peculiar boast of England, that though we had been in possession of India, or a considerable part of India, for almost a century, not a single acre of it was held by a British subject;* and it may be presumed, if he were now urged to concede the

* It is surprising that a person of so enlarged a mind as Mr. Canning, should not see through the miserable sophistry of such a distinction as this. The East India Company, forsooth, are the most modest and most moderate of all the conquerors that were ever heard of, if you take *their own* account of the matter. They never violate the property of the mild and unoffending Hindoo by taking possession of his land. Oh no! not they indeed. But did it not occur to Mr. Canning that these mild rulers over a mild people take from them nearly all the *produce* of that land in the payment of revenue, leaving them barely enough for their subsistence? The Hindoos would no doubt much rather give up half their soil than nine-tenths of its produce: but of what use would the bare land be to those who can reap its

privilege of possession, he would still be desirous of bestowing on his country the same praise of disinterestedness, and withhold the boon : and yet without our obtaining possession of the land, India can never be more to England than she now is. Instead of sending over 200,000,000*l.* a year, as, according to my estimate, she may be brought to do, she can never send more than the 7,000,000*l.*, or whatever is the amount of her present remittance. *The possession of the land is the key-stone of the arch, on which the whole superstructure of increased wealth depends;* for unless British subjects are allowed to be proprietors of land, no large agricultural surplus can ever be raised for the use of England. If this disability, therefore, is not to be removed, the matter is decided at once, and all discussion is superfluous.

The whole question, therefore, turns on whether the prejudices that are entertained on this subject, by the public bodies and public characters of England, are to prevail or not? If they do prevail—and prevail they most probably will—the doom of England, as well as that of India, is fixed. If the prohibitory system of England is to continue, and the agricultural surplus of other countries is never again to be admitted, her wealth is hermetically sealed. And if the present relations between India and England are to undergo NO CHANGE, then is every hope which a chosen few now cherish of realizing Europe in India, and seeing the East rival the West in all that elevates the character of man, idle and visionary. Nor can I conceive any mortification to be greater than that which a Governor General must experience, who comes out here with the sanguine expectation of being able to accomplish every good, and finds at last, after all his efforts, that he can do no more than make some slight improvement in the administration of justice, and give some slight relief in the collection of the revenue. He has no authority to change the law of equal inheritance into a law of primogeniture—no authority to allow British subjects to colonize and settle—no authority to hold out to the natives the practice of purer morals and better habits, by the example of European manners. He can effect no change of system, by which he can enrich the

harvests without the burden of tilling or sowing? This is the great forbearance of the East India Company; “they neither toil nor spin,” but live upon the labour of others, and maintain a state not far removed from that of “Solomon in all his glory,” by the sweat and groans of millions. They suffer their degraded subjects to sow in trouble what *they* reap in ease; and after sweeping the earth of all its fruits, like locusts settling on a fertile country, leaving just enough to give the miserable labourer some hope of subsisting through another season, to produce a second harvest for their future gathering, they claim infinite praise for their abstinence in not taking from him the land also! If such a man as Mr. Canning can be deceived by such wretched sophistry as this, it is not to be wondered at that others should be so easily deluded. But there is certainly no man in England who would thank a foreign conqueror for his forbearance, if he took from him all the produce of his estates except just sufficient for his bare subsistence: he would be much better pleased, no doubt, to see his farms purchased by the new government; and, being possessed of their value in money, turn it to some other account, than be condemned to perpetual toil and slavery, on the soil which had formerly yielded him pleasure and abundance. Yet such is the state of things which the East India Company claim praise for permitting to exist in India. How long will it be before the people of England are awakened to a sense of their interests, in promoting the speedy abolition of the exclusive monopoly of such a Company of chartered despots!—EDITOR.

landed interest, or raise even a single poor family to a state of comfort; nor can he make any addition to the supply of the towns to increase their population, and produce and create a powerful manufacturing body. He can bring in no science and intelligence to advance the state of agriculture, and add to the fertility of the soil. He can construct no aqueducts to draw off the water of rivers at a high level, and bring it down to a lower, to irrigate large districts. He cannot even relieve the ox from his burden by the simple improvement of roads and canals. Wherever he turns, his hands are tied, and his powers crippled. He can do nothing but keep things as they are; and *keeping things as they are, is to eternize the reign of poverty,* superstition, and, savage ignorance.*

Calcutta, June 1823.

JOHN WHEATLEY.

* When the father of a Hindoo family is ill, and conceived to be past hope of recovery, it is not unusual for the sons to take him to the side of a river, and suffocate him in the mud; and then, by way of preventing the widow from sharing in his property, they work upon her superstitious fears to induce her to burn herself with his body. Yet persons are not wanting who will talk of the innocence of a superstition that authorizes children to smother their father, and burn their mother!—AUTHOR.

SONG.—MY HEART STILL TURNS TO THEE.

I.

Alone! alone! unchangingly
My heart, my soul, still turns to thee;
 Tho' busy day
 May call away
My thoughts to fame or fellow men,
 When fades the light,
 The silent night
Beholds each thought thine own again.

II.

My thoughts of fame they fleet away,
As glow-worms fade when breaks the day,
 As that plant † dies
 In Eastern skies,
When morning's splendour gilds the plain;
For when the night
Doth meet my sight,
Each thought, my love, 's thine own again.

R. R.

† "The *Asagusa* is a magnificent flower before sunrise, but which immediately afterwards fades and falls."—TINSICH's *Illustrations of Japan*.

COMBINATIONS AMONG EAST INDIAN DIRECTORS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Argyleshire, 15th January 1824.

I, BEING an old Indian, long since retired from the bustle and smoke of the metropolis to the solitude and pure air of a country life, cannot but congratulate the public on the recent appearance of new monthly lucubrations, on colonial affairs, whence individuals in my situation may periodically depend upon fairer statements of such matters than have yet been published in any other work of a similar nature. As a proprietor also of East India stock, I am deeply interested in the permanent stability of a liberal journal like yours, whose editor dares to be honest and upright in his narrative or strictures, in the worst of times, and in the face of every foe, whenever he attempts to enlighten the community at large on any theme. Amidst a variety of abuses that exist in the Company's home concerns, whether commercial, domestic, or literary, there is no one strikes my eyes with so much disgusting prominence as the barefaced methods now adopted to render the contingent or annual elections of Directors a mere farce, and the boasted security of a ballot an *imposing* Comedy of Errors, in which the actors, from first to last are all in the wrong box; because this glaring iniquity may soon terminate with a tragedy that our present State Performers will probably play more successfully than any of their wily predecessors in Anglo-Indian politics. Though my principles, as an honest man and a good member of a free state, be diametrically opposed to every species of monopoly, still my private interest prevails over conviction, whenever I reflect that my *income* may be greatly impaired by the transfer of our empire in the East to a government in the West, which still casts a longing lingering look after the boundless patronage of the fairest portion of the globe.

That a downright *quid pro quo* traffic has for years been carried on between the electors and elected in Leadenhall-street, no person who is not determined to be blind can possibly deny; but the evil has at last reached so shameless a publicity, that even the veil of hypocrisy generally worn by way of homage to insulted virtue, is now rudely torn away from the electioneering face of Corruption, that she may stalk with impunity in open day; though a prostitute, in fact, more infamous, cannot be found, either at the tread-mill, in the house of correction, or at Botany Bay. It would be endless to enumerate the successive cabals, composed of both saints and sinners, who have been flourishing through the glowing columns of ephemeral prints, as eloquent recruiting sergeants, to enlist mercenary voters on the side of their favourite competitors for casual vacancies in the Court of Directors; thus gradually reducing every independent Proprietor to a state of helpless bondage, months before he can conscientiously pledge his suffrage to any candidate, coming in so questionable a shape on that stage, where ultimately the *shadow* of unbiassed choice alone remains, as the miserable ghost of *bona fide* election for the general good.

To venal sycophants on the spot this mockery may have its charms, in the subsequent distribution of loaves and fishes among a time-serving

crew; but what must be the lot of absentees, unable or unwilling to engage in scenes so revolting to every well-constituted mind; through which it is clear as the noon-day sun, that the commonweal of our Indian conquests must be sacrificed to the private advantage of busy canvassers or greedy politicians. Myself, and hundreds more, from infirm health, family impediments, with a variety of causes, besides a natural repugnance to every jobbing junto of voters, can have no chance of influence enough to serve our connexions in either hemisphere, let their respective merits be ever so conspicuous; unless, indeed, we could act, like a certain hospital for incurables, by proxy—a remedy you will certainly deem even far worse than the present disease.

The only cure, in my humble opinion, would be to throw the doors of election as widely open as practicable, by fixing a day for every qualified candidate to appear, in *propria persona*, before a Court of Proprietors, purposely assembled to choose, by ballot, at once, the individual who has then given the best account of his previous conduct to those judges of comparative claims about to decide the fate of himself and rivals for a seat in the Direction, by the still small voice of reason and justice. To this ordeal, likewise, the six vacated members by rotation should be yearly subjected, and on similar grounds, which would effectually obviate the repetition of a gross dereliction of duty that occurred only three weeks ago. My town correspondent, in a letter, writes me in these words: "I would of course have faithfully executed your commission last Friday, had I not been detained at the India House, along with thirty other gentlemen and their *protégés*, from ten A. M. till five P. M. because *even two* members of the Military Committee for Passing Cadets could not be found at their posts till so late as five o'clock, when the ceremony closed in twenty minutes. Thank God, our young relative passed at once, though I lost a whole day in dancing attendance; but, as things are, these mishaps cannot be helped, and silence is best." In spite of my prudent friend's caveat, I must proceed to assert, that permanent power invariably tends to spoil the very best of hearts, whence the insolence of office too frequently supplants competitionary humility, after a long lease of it has been obtained by hook or by crook.

Should this, my first communication, be favourably received, I may hereafter furnish your Review with a variety of animadversions on men and things belonging to that *imperium in imperio*, which may be termed a mercantile phenomenon in the history of the world. The shipping, china, warehouse, collegiate, and other miscellaneous departments, with the grand actors in them, are all perfectly known to my intelligent correspondent in London, and from his judicious information I may be able to send you occasionally more authentic particulars than those most deeply concerned may like to read in a publication which must command unlimited circulation, from its intrinsic worth, both at home and abroad.

Permit a stranger to your person, but not to your sufferings and deserts, to wish you all the happiness you so richly deserve in the bosom of Old England and your own family. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

MACALPIN.

[We shall be happy to receive the communications of our Correspondent on the topics to which he adverts, and be proud to forward the public-spirited views with which he appears to be actuated in his distant

retirement. We thank him also for his good wishes, and hope to deserve the approbation and enjoy the assistance of all who think and feel like him on public grounds.—ED.]

CLAIMS OF EAST INDIANS.

To the Editor of the Colonial Review.

SIR,

Bath, 18th January 1824.

THE lively interest which you have always evinced in the happiness of those who inhabit the East India Company's domains, points you forcibly out as the man who esteems the welfare of that country a supreme good to our own, and a writer that will naturally admit an appeal on their behalf on all proper occasions, such as the following.

There was formerly admission to the Company's service freely conceded to the sons of native women, by European fathers, when properly qualified by education for that high calling, in every subordinate department; this indulgence, however, was abruptly prohibited, for motives that I shall not harshly censure, lest they might be proved in reality praiseworthy, if the measure were ever probed to the bottom. By one political blow the fair prospects of an innocent race of beings were in this manner levelled with the dust, whence, like Lucifer, they never could hope to rise again, by any intellectual efforts or physical energies within their reach, for ages to come. The above rigid prohibition was followed of course by a wider chasm and demarcation of separate interests between the whole and half castes, which disunion continues increasing visibly to the present day, and may yet terminate in results devoutly to be deprecated by every lover of his king, his country, and of mankind.

When steps are taken by the rulers of any state, evidently calculated to accelerate some impending crisis, instead of preventing or procrastinating the evil day, it becomes the bounden duty of an honest member of society to lift up his voice, though alone, and to sound the alarm before it be too late. I have been credibly informed, that an individual, himself actually descended from native East Indian progenitors, has had the merit of imitating the Mosaic law, by visiting the iniquity of the parent on the second generation, in a new regulation, just adopted, for shutting the door against the sons of every person, whose father or mother had, what is illiberally termed, black blood in their veins. Being myself in that degraded predicament, I dare not trust my pen to write what my heart dictates against the enemy to his own race, who has dared to propose such a law, or those who have inhumanly sanctioned it, without weighing the consequences on thousands yet unborn, who will despise the authors of their unmerited disgrace so long as they live.

You may again hear from, Sir, your desponding servant,

GRANDSON OF AN INDIAN PRINCESS.

STANZAS WRITTEN AT NIGHT.

I.

THERE 's something sweet in sitting thus alone,
 Thinking of hearts, alas! which beat no more—
 'Till fancy peopleth with their voice the moan
 The night-breeze makes, as with the poplar hoar
 It passing struggles :—on the pebbly shore
 Seated at night, when winds and waves were still,
 I've thus the dark stream, whispering evermore
 While lapsing to the ocean, heard—at will
 Would I could wake such strains as now my spirit fill!

II.

I listen to the wind—it speaks of days
 Of youthful study and of youthful bliss,
 When the wild, deep, deep-rooted thirst of praise
 Was wakened first on such a night as this—
 When wandering forth from sports I well could miss,
 I saw the bright round moon in purest sky,
 Listening the sea's blue wavelets curling kiss
 The silver shore, which to my raptured eye
 Stretched glittering far and wide in heaven's bright panoply.

III.

Gods! there is inspiration in the night!
 Unknown, uncherished in the busy hour,
 When all things walk abroad by common light,
 And bound upon the turf, or crop the flower
 Of day; now purer thoughts exert their power
 With simple, perfect, undistracted sway:
 Night stilleth those rude cares that would devour
 Our soft serenity, and drives away
 Those useless sluggish drones, who waste our hours by day.

IV.

Now muster round the awful shades of those
 I might have loved, alive—and worship, dead;
 And each great spirit, as it sitting goes
 Back to the world of night, a thrilling dread,
 Severely pleasing, leaves: I bow my head
 To all and each of this immortal throng;
 Hoping—vain thought!—that when my earthly bed
 Receives me, then this mighty train among
 I too may walk, a sprite immortalized by song!

Sept. 1823.

Brown

PRESENT STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

(Concluded from p. 104.)

ACTUATED by a desire to mingle information with entertainment, and to make our pages a record of important *facts* as well as a receptacle for accurate *opinions*, we obtained from the laborious investigations of one well qualified to prosecute the inquiry, the mass of statistical details embodied in the article given in our last Number (p. 91,) "On the Present State of Great Britain, compared with former periods of her history." The result of the information therein exhibited was not of the most gratifying nature: but the accuracy of the data is an object of far greater importance than the nature of the inferences: if the first is established, we may regret, but ought not to conceal, the truth of the last, however unpalatable to those who would fain indulge visions of pleasure even when painful realities stare them in the face. We are satisfied that the motive of the inquiry, was not to establish a favourite position, nor to support a previous pledge: there was no resolution to come to any particular result—no interests of party to be served in exhibiting an unfavourable view. The investigation was commenced, as all such inquiries should be, with a determination to follow wherever truth should lead: despising the timid policy which would restrain the ardour of investigation, from a fear of its disclosing too much. If the data are correct—and no one can be justified in presuming the contrary without something beyond mere assertion to enforce it—the inferences are inevitable: and it would be worse than idle to resist such evidence.

The flourishing state of the revenue has by some been opposed to the state and condition of the population exhibited in the article in question: but the actual condition of the mass of people in a country like this, is not to be determined by such a criterion. They are happy and well provided, in proportion as they retain the wages of labour to command the means of enjoyment. The revenue flourishes by their necessary expenditure of these means, often in a way that lessens instead of increasing their pleasure. The wealth of the people is to be considered on the increase when they are able to lay by a portion of their earnings for a day of need. The increase of the revenue is often made up by all this being expended instead of saved. Increased consumption of stamps, and conveyance of letters, will swell the revenue in these particular departments: but vexatious law-suits, ruinous to both parties,—bankruptcies,—and such public excitements as the proceedings against the late Queen—and the recent trial of Thurtell, will increase this: the revenue will be thus augmented; but are the people the better off for this? In short, as a general rule, it may

be said that the revenue increases by so much as is *taken from* the means of enjoyment possessed by the people: while their comforts are increased by so much as is *left to* their command: so that, as in times of war, the revenue may be greatly increased, while the comforts of the people may be greatly diminished, and in times of peace the reverse of this may happen; for it is beyond doubt that the greatest quantity of pleasure might be enjoyed if taxes were altogether abolished and the revenue reduced to nothing. Such a state of things is not, of course, possible in a civilized country, and under an organized government: but, unless it be true that the greater the amount of taxes the greater the happiness of those who pay them,—it can never be an accurate mode of reasoning to say, that the mass of the people cannot be suffering more than at any former period, *because* the revenue is flourishing.

We have thought it necessary to preface the conclusion of this article, "On the Present State of Britain compared with former periods of her history," with the few observations thrown out above, in justice to the individual to whose laborious investigations we are indebted for the interesting and valuable facts brought together with so much clearness in different points of view. It would have been more gratifying to our feelings, if the results shown by him had been more indicative of prosperity and happiness: but our feelings ought to have nothing to do with a question of fact. It may be painful and humiliating; but our only inquiry should be—is it true? We are satisfied that the unwillingness to meet truth face to face, which is so common to almost every class of readers in the present day, is a base desertion of moral duty, and a degree of mental cowardice which will ere long be held in deserved contempt.

Having said thus much, to meet the objections of those who think these inquiries might be spared in a publication like our own, we shall let the writer speak for himself; and concluding the article in the present Number, shall not perhaps again have occasion to recur to the subject.

In speaking of the consequences of the late war, it has been usual to estimate the expense which it incurred, at the additional amount of taxes and loans raised within the period 1792—1816, which amounted to about eleven hundred millions of pounds sterling; but this appears a very fallacious conclusion. The expense of the war, in the strict sense of the term, being only the sum or value of the substance or products of the country exported, over and above the value of the substance or foreign products imported; which in the twenty-three years, including the 91 millions value of gold coined at the Mint since the restoration of Charles II. (all of which had disappeared by 1811), amounted to from 550 to 600 millions, being but about half the amount usually inferred as the expense of the war; or to a sum, corresponding (or thereabouts) with the sum raised by loans, and the increased issue of bills or non-intrinsic representations of amount.

The excess of export over import, as far as the commercial adventurers were concerned, being equalized by the amount of bills drawn by the commissaries and agents of the British Government in foreign parts, to sustain the external operations of the war, and which bills prove to have amounted to a sum corresponding (or thereabouts) with the excess of export over import, and also with the amount raised by funding and the increased issue of ideal representations of amount in bills. The difference between such sum and the sum total of the additional amount of taxes and loans raised, resolving itself into a mere nominal increase in the denomination of amount, operating to the *ideal* advantage of one class of the community, and to the *real* injury of another class, (the greatest in number,) constituting a derangement and perversion of the resources of the country, rather than an exhaustion or waste, which alone can be said to be entitled to stand under the head of expense.

The effects, however, of such derangement and perversion since the termination of the war, have led to an extent of waste and exhaustion, more deplorable than all the consequences of the war put together. It will be seen, on a careful examination of the tables inserted in our present Number, that Great Britain, since the termination of the war, has greatly increased the quantity of her products exported, for a progressively decreasing value; a circumstance which might have proved of no importance, had the foreign products imported increased in a corresponding quantity, as such increase in the quantity of imports could only have taken place at a corresponding decrease of value; the country, collectively, would then have had a *quid pro quo*, and although the derangement resulting from the variation in value might have produced injurious consequences to some, they would have been but temporary and insignificant, when compared with the permanent benefits which must inevitably have resulted from an extended interchange of productions, on mutually reciprocal terms. But the fact is, so far from any increase of quantity since the termination of the war, the quantity of foreign products imported annually, on an average of the three last years, is actually less than it was annually, on an average of the five years, 1798—1802, whilst the quantity exported has nearly doubled since that period, and the value thereof consequently decreased one half. The quantity of British produce and manufactures exported annually, on an average of the ten years, 1798—1807, was 24,467,721*l.*, the *real* value of which was declared to average 40,707,491*l.*; whilst in 1822 the quantity of British produce and manufactures exported, amounted to 43,568,490*l.* the *real* value of which was declared at only 36,176,897*l.* being an excess of quantity exported in 1822, not only in comparison with the quantity exported annually on an average of the ten years 1798—1807, but over and above the quantity of foreign productions imported, of no less than 21,822,724*l.* the value of which, according to the value of the same commodities on an average of the ten years, 1798—1807, amounts to no less a sum than 37,220,298*l.*, in reference to which, it may perhaps be said, that machinery has contributed to this increase or excess of export; and that the decrease of value is a consequence, and a natural one too, of its effectual application; but admitting this explanation, the just inference, and conclusion to which it leads, is this, viz. that the important discoveries of Arkwright and Watt, with the whole host of inventors, have been applied to the benefit of any one and every one but Great Britain herself.

Machinery, as at present existing in Great Britain, is unquestionably all powerful and unparalleled in its means of contributing to the enjoyment and happiness of man ; but power requires to be estimated not exclusively in reference to its extent, but in reference to its application, and the restraints by which it is controlled ; and, let it be remembered, for on this its advantages or disadvantages exclusively turn, that unless it be controlled by restraints and regulations, applicable to and commensurate with its extent, it is calculated to produce disorder, devastation, and distress, in a greater degree than it is calculated to produce advantages under the most judicious restraints and regulations that can possibly be applied in its control.

It is, however, not material to the present view of the question, whether machinery has contributed to the excess of export or not. It will be found, that the aggregate remuneration for manufacturing labour, has been reduced, as near as possible, to a corresponding sum annually, to the difference in the value of British produce and manufactures exported ; but this, although a curious and interesting coincidence in itself, might be of no importance, because, had the quantity of foreign productions imported, increased in proportion to the quantity of British produce and manufactures exported, as that (as previously stated) would inevitably have led to great national benefits, the artisan would then have obtained a quantity of all the means of subsistence and comfort, proportionate to the quantity he obtained under the higher money rate of remuneration for labour—proving that price and value are mere relative and not positive terms. But the most important feature of the case, and one which constitutes a coincidence still more curious and interesting than the one just adverted to, is this, *viz.* that the *increase* of taxation since 1798 exactly corresponds with the *decrease* in the value of British produce and manufactures annually exported since that period ; and also with the annual diminution in the remuneration for manufacturing labour, and then, although the diminution in the value of one order of production (manufactured or artificial) necessarily produces a corresponding diminution in the other order of production (agricultural or natural), or *vice versa*, the increased taxation occasions the consuming price of all foreign productions, as well as of all taxed internal productions, to be as great, or greater, than they were previous to 1798 ; consequently the artisans and labourers, in their collective capacities, sustain a privation equal in extent to the aggregate annual diminution in the amount of their remuneration for labour, say of 37,220,298*l.* per ann. ; which sum, corresponding exactly with the annual increase of taxation, it proves to demonstration, that the entire burden and expensive consequences of the war have fallen not upon those on whom it ought in justice to have fallen,—those who excited and aggravated it,—but upon those who sustained it under its operation, and who bore its evils with enduring patience under the false and delusive promises held out to them, of the advantages they were ultimately to derive from it,—the artisans and productive labourers of the country : and what adds to the aggravation of their case is this, that those who are maintained in luxury out of the produce of the taxes, are benefited by the circumstances in a corresponding ratio to the injuries and privations sustained by the suffering classes, the produce of whose labour and industry, indirectly or insidiously, is laid under contribution to support them.

TABLE (G, concluded from p. 112.) of COLONIAL AND FOREIGN PRODUCTIONS IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN, from all Parts of the World (except Ireland), in each of the Years 1814-22, stated at *Official* Rates of Valuation, which implies Quantity rather than Value.

Isinglass	18,686	18,197	14,356	29,535	11,175	16,690	14,675	14,401	21,460
Juniper Berries.....	16,653	26,106	6,001	14,046	15,211	14,362	16,164	25,100	10,718
Lemons and Oranges	33,701	33,578	48,341	41,424	40,401	54,818	50,115	59,369	57,190
Madder.....	392,093	244,918	217,768	316,738	719,672	206,532	584,948	541,854	541,854
Oil, Olive	134,385	40,957	46,153	33,433	123,192	61,586	65,511	83,965	119,050
Pitch and Tar	96,731	208,556	111,879	87,149	131,846	82,244	113,748	91,382	116,921
Quicksilver	18,265	136,925	66,413	185,164	261,856	109,867	237,706	36,401	92,934
Rauins	86,268	117,264	65,527	51,984	101,560	82,559	104,547	70,359	16,166
Shumac	20,857	17,588	22,068	16,628	20,128	14,052	21,553	54,455	16,166
Skins and Furs	27,771	199,377	113,743	173,335	228,150	193,226	221,486	271,518	255,348
Smalts.....	15,616	11,004	4,382	10,331	10,655	7,537	11,730	8,810	13,495
Timber, Deals, &c.	403,890	591,603	501,671	516,988	565,060	631,730	590,963	602,425	609,150
Tobacco.....	47,840	414,696	283,488	181,534	418,775	238,901	342,576	213,853	329,116
Turpentine.....	23,094	99,382	70,258	73,793	140,234	84,881	75,840	72,511	93,105
Wax, Bees	37,094	16,123	5,351	21,092	16,379	19,192	20,114	27,457	24,665
Wines.....	758,305	760,921	445,395	679,604	892,198	575,622	558,036	594,493	675,962
Spirits, Brandy & Gen.	164,632	157,961	147,373	152,866	213,990	218,443	301,823	176,038	218,426
Liquorice	38,519	31,722	29,408	46,692	23,812	15,960	8,720	24,930	22,712
Malagany	88,506	192,620	132,403	74,647	172,835	135,299	136,000	102,557	145,378
Isle of Man Produce	46,438	50,833	28,733	26,962	25,542	26,741	51,231	...	...
Almonds	30,946	11,346	12,023	15,182	29,530	15,928	16,160	20,574	17,023
Anatto	48,641	8,606	9,578	8,377	14,526	8,757	4,706	9,150	11,214
Cortex Peruvianus	27,923	17,630	2,064	5,081	6,150	1,396	8,584	20,737	11,494
Feathers	9,812	7,083	3,967	1,772	2,533	2,513	1,641	1,396	2,161
Japan	305	6,013	2,716	6,990	3,777	12,358	8,252	560	4,788
Salt.....	12,483	4,425	10,358	12,369	24,803	4,225	4,134	5,010	5,752
Uncenumerated	1,066,560	1,075,041	957,703	1,095,340	1,239,574	1,081,980	1,150,134	1,289,220	1,270,501
Total of Imports	32,620,770	51,822,053	26,374,920	29,916,320	35,819,798	29,654,890	31,517,891	29,724,174	29,401,807
Re-exported each Year	19,157,818	15,708,434	13,441,665	10,269,271	10,835,800	9,879,236	10,328,026	10,602,090	9,811,928
Refined Sugar do.....	1,513,865	1,688,253	1,626,321	1,942,573	1,964,225	1,466,648	1,879,467	1,765,037	949,450
Imports retained for Home Consumption	11,959,087	14,425,366	11,506,934	17,704,476	23,019,773	18,309,006	19,110,398	17,357,047	19,240,429

TABLE (H) of the PROPORTION of COLONIAL and FOREIGN PRODUCE IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN, from all Parts of the World (except Ireland), RE-EXPORTED in each of the Nine Years 1814-1822.

	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.
Cassia Lignea.....	21,833	33,446	60,896	27,412	10,003	31,941	21,257	33,891	37,371
Cinnamon.....	98,780	80,363	98,363	124,808	118,397	86,841	76,674	74,634	76,106
Cloves.....	102,149	115,893	85,506	85,097	118,548	116,180	54,166	7,880	15,890
Mace.....	50,527	51,731	33,405	33,626	64,580	63,609	46,407	39,686	53,372
Nutmegs.....	39,066	46,917	46,632	64,664	56,407	63,710	37,138	36,333	18,146
Pepper.....	557,619	456,837	419,180	214,431	234,803	206,854	211,960	84,804	240,353
Piece Goods.....	1,595,775	1,381,932	1,416,194	1,911,665	1,268,806	1,070,127	1,194,013	1,176,698	1,088,621
Indigo.....	1,058,132	820,997	808,038	465,459	568,247	599,340	839,297	572,222	456,003
Saltpetre.....	19,154	41,729	101,859	114,511	151,680	66,705	163,838	142,423	127,402
Tea.....	9,29,208	544,987	140,877	122,277	153,180	124,378	92,886	90,563	74,356
East India Produce.....	4,172,233	5,872,872	3,210,730	2,463,950	2,676,853	2,461,685	2,736,656	2,259,084	2,170,020
Sugar.....	3,104,906	1,749,279	1,934,711	898,990	770,096	593,344	981,354	950,251	547,941
Coffee.....	8,032,527	6,063,369	4,976,628	3,362,856	3,144,642	2,670,581	2,753,553	2,997,560	2,917,080
Cocoa.....	166,353	71,835	54,946	29,649	35,515	48,741	63,579	55,567	99,293
Rum.....	1,150,639	1,039,303	819,048	932,677	934,310	708,062	1,103,864	930,251	547,941
Pimento.....	58,636	71,063	51,704	34,743	42,834	72,982	40,496	92,610	41,307
Dyewoods.....	204,385	96,706	112,862	46,973	74,883	75,428	90,711	73,034	82,317
Fish: Cod, &c.....	60,306	28,478	34,244	32,817	15,268	12,488	33,893	44,589	34,774
Oils.....	50,141	22,339	42,474	16,313	21,074	10,820	19,840	23,485	8,940
East and West Indies ..	15,980,166	15,025,644	10,559,447	7,820,348	7,703,275	6,555,031	7,828,726	7,004,431	5,749,615
Wool, Cotton.....	337,695	367,512	331,006	662,632	1,124,488	1,016,086	370,610	1,092,302	1,279,363
Silk.....	10,374	53,326	184,451	38,734	60,784	23,170	10,667	5,950	11,782
Rice.....	74,331	58,765	54,178	150,011	139,786	147,765	97,536	103,241	139,310

Asbes	20,555	1,885	48,040	14,430	8,635	42,832	44,134	87,644	32,045
Barilla	7,781	5,998	4,139	11,881	1,014	4,192	7,980	2,105	2,311
Cochineal	71,292	89,148	100,202	83,674	122,533	92,445	17,586	54,256	66,787
Cortex Perm	91,751	36,566	12,462	22,906	23,088	4,940	17,534	403,902	20,885
Corn, Grain, and Flour	78,495	126,996	47,164	121,011	32,415	48,744	184,436	403,902	315,958
Currents	15,300	38,900	35,660	6,134	15,498	7,625	12,034	15,432	13,723
Flax	94,641	39,779	51,144	11,379	5,418	24,853	37,966	18,641	15,474
Hemp	30,845	59,577	93,411	29,954	44,049	29,956	17,474	29,937	11,447
Hides	134,131	211,393	211,684	30,843	54,638	87,411	79,113	67,697	57,229
Iron	114,721	170,402	106,114	39,063	48,763	40,938	40,988	41,805	44,938
Linen	177,287	103,488	36,845	14,704	14,661	5,325	2,755	828	1,250
Oil, Olive	59,203	13,524	3,562	11,236	18,300	15,158	11,379	9,796	4,374
Raisins	23,013	14,774	30,388	6,668	4,091	15,107	11,850	19,245	15,388
Skins and Furs	27,688	21,316	29,733	26,607	34,972	40,910	43,521	54,286	34,454
Spirits	310,306	178,302	123,887	139,630	279,175	212,218	244,493	166,980	201,257
Tobacco	202,081	206,678	212,992	174,292	91,806	560,607	288,206	329,338	156,429
Wines	521,666	227,934	206,555	161,492	128,514	135,203	162,768	176,396	134,048
Unenumerated	778,268	687,231	1,033,171	708,732	879,705	869,760	946,697	1,008,518	836,208
Total Re-exported	19,157,818	13,708,431	13,441,665	10,269,271	10,833,800	9,879,236	10,525,026	10,602,090	9,211,928
Refined Sugar do.	1,513,865	1,688,235	1,626,320	1,942,573	1,964,225	1,466,648	1,879,467	1,765,037	949,450
British Prod. & Manufactures	31,686,715	40,023,749	33,148,200	37,292,824	39,999,202	31,456,977	35,938,569	38,429,856	42,609,040
Total quantity of Exports	52,358,398	57,420,456	48,216,185	49,504,668	52,798,327	42,802,811	48,543,062	50,797,982	52,770,418
Total do. of Imports	32,680,770	31,892,058	26,374,950	29,916,320	35,819,798	29,654,890	31,517,891	29,724,174	29,401,807
Excess of Exports over Imports at Official Value ..	19,677,628	25,528,393	21,841,235	19,588,348	15,979,529	13,147,911	16,825,171	21,073,808	23,368,611
Real Value of British Produce & Manufactures exceeded Official Value by ..	10,246,792	7,941,945	5,354,420	1,101,721	3,224,722	1,321,920	..	..	..
Official Value of E. P. & M. exceeded the Real Value ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Excess of Exports over Imports at Declared or Real Value ..	29,924,420	35,539,626	27,395,655	20,690,062	20,704,251	14,472,831	14,573,805	16,704,979	13,927,018

TABLE (1) of BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES EXPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN to all PARTS OF THE WORLD (except Ireland), in each of the Nine Years 1814-22, stated at the Official Rates of Valuation adopted in 1694; the Amounts, therefore, require to be regarded in reference to Quantity instead of Value.

	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.
Cottons	16,535,528	21,480,791	16,183,975	20,133,965	21,294,104	16,631,709	20,509,980	21,639,493	24,566,920
Woolleens	4,931,667	7,122,571	5,586,364	5,676,921	6,344,100	4,602,270	4,563,973	5,500,921	5,940,147
Linens	1,524,457	1,590,074	1,539,367	1,943,194	2,158,311	1,547,352	1,933,186	2,303,443	2,594,783
Silks	173,543	224,875	161,874	132,734	167,560	126,808	118,371	136,402	141,008
Cotton Yarn	1,119,850	808,853	1,380,486	1,125,257	1,296,776	1,585,753	2,022,153	1,898,695	2,333,217
Iron	897,080	956,423	937,894	1,065,488	1,288,239	960,545	1,025,193	1,059,193	1,140,480
Brass and Copper	329,616	559,919	576,194	725,080	668,204	521,937	653,058	672,496	611,819
Tin, unwrought	80,570	87,039	127,463	171,608	123,408	99,048	93,572	104,291	129,096
Tin Plates & Pewterware	211,932	305,267	314,303	256,878	300,134	183,016	186,033	183,100	194,606
Hardware	280,413	809,914	739,864	439,287	580,463	442,672	342,634	455,194	534,900
Plate, &c.	158,274	232,931	294,302	344,556	430,183	278,258	276,591	199,410	176,400
Leather	158,427	158,364	116,179	122,341	133,410	129,475	117,142	168,700	148,450
Saddlery and Harness	76,495	122,014	112,799	127,626	130,210	103,454	92,850	123,830	114,992
Earthenware	78,193	127,184	108,838	90,125	95,896	69,508	64,160	78,373	91,232
Glass	154,165	213,727	214,627	195,196	187,314	122,663	117,818	121,565	136,061
Lead and Shot	84,853	152,152	194,412	191,744	138,775	154,626	201,971	168,700	148,450
Bacon and Hams	51,509	51,170	43,540	54,056	40,731	27,035	33,509	42,735	29,838
Beef and Pork	128,732	121,527	111,784	121,125	140,005	108,010	106,348	87,477	79,040
Beer and Ale	82,912	95,369	89,219	82,716	81,485	56,481	56,863	63,694	68,173
Bread and Biscuit	166,980	61,168	53,599	69,277	68,242	57,948	38,379	59,527	46,678
Butter and Cheese	56,295	69,466	69,922	73,074	61,280	61,557	64,980	53,103	64,490
Corn	219,215	281,009	191,808	341,565	82,574	60,436	29,778	20,228	25,874

TABLE (K) of the DECLARED or REAL VALUE of BRITISH PRODUCE and MANUFACTURES EXPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN to all PARTS of the WORLD (except Ireland), in each of the Nine Years 1814-1822, specifying the several Articles Exported, and the Value of each.

	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.
Cottons	17,841,884	18,946,836	12,948,944	13,996,820	16,372,131	12,182,448	13,696,116	13,786,958	14,534,253
Woolens	6,372,494	9,338,142	7,844,855	7,163,471	8,143,193	5,986,807	5,583,430	6,461,567	6,484,728
Linen	1,701,384	1,777,563	1,452,668	1,703,631	1,949,815	1,391,943	1,653,804	1,981,465	2,192,761
Silks	530,018	622,118	480,523	406,323	499,175	376,798	371,114	373,987	381,455
Cotton Yarn	2,791,248	1,674,021	2,628,448	2,014,181	2,585,305	2,519,783	2,836,643	2,307,830	2,700,437
Iron	953,725	1,090,939	976,793	1,050,486	1,278,670	924,448	947,177	894,590	843,833
Brass and Copper	448,365	750,962	657,284	776,157	797,022	653,860	722,769	678,976	597,861
Tin, unwrought	122,231	137,302	170,645	198,181	147,505	104,083	92,171	104,550	138,847
Tin Plates & Pewterware	222,514	511,507	320,330	461,647	306,087	187,812	189,984	187,511	196,798
Hardware	819,401	2,161,561	1,855,750	1,073,630	1,557,930	1,149,511	779,955	1,050,475	1,145,466
Plate, &c.	173,403	262,321	291,491	537,327	399,715	280,170	271,402	206,255	181,364
Leather	451,241	472,597	342,837	326,931	382,604	349,148	297,710	310,539	288,774
Saddlery	77,312	122,014	112,729	127,626	131,210	103,434	92,850	90,098	86,694
Earthenware	386,778	663,496	587,168	480,259	515,602	366,221	312,076	357,442	427,487
Glass	491,768	723,426	752,592	731,622	777,547	431,547	498,813	508,564	538,330
Lead and Shot	198,568	304,701	315,331	331,321	319,447	331,540	405,572	347,964	297,345
Bacon and Hams	74,522	65,359	51,888	61,575	57,672	56,820	44,608	49,630	31,710
Beef and Pork	345,049	230,340	162,208	231,593	309,881	228,555	207,402	125,649	103,615
Beer and Ale	314,504	383,296	350,026	334,092	353,664	224,058	223,686	250,209	257,581
Bread and Biscuit	239,976	85,076	75,652	127,928	112,985	89,616	52,589	47,542	47,581
Butter and Cheese	189,209	243,136	200,247	201,179	212,881	183,939	170,566	149,090	154,873
Corn	548,359	597,053	427,343	1,026,393	263,588	173,364	83,141	54,688	54,694

Fish.....	\$71,300	379,380	304,669	539,583	293,737	278,905	267,993	171,587	192,331
— Oil.....	43,917	191,072	191,072	57,439	130,382	73,067	142,372	70,497	24,844
Coals.....	89,349	114,547	115,417	109,403	117,780	100,660	108,660	119,997	113,510
Salt.....	243,415	204,590	135,715	140,177	248,300	174,583	193,044	146,937	164,718
Alum.....	12,397	19,673	15,936	16,565	12,632	6,828	4,917	4,537	6,342
Cabinet Wares.....	109,581	128,489	134,211	125,732	134,759	110,536	88,066	89,865	65,729
Haberdashery.....	411,029	535,460	451,600	565,408	407,956	270,416	242,667	266,117	278,170
Stationary.....	184,208	197,352	166,943	174,900	184,827	141,495	133,976	151,787	143,874
Musical Instruments.....	53,247	72,175	79,363	74,391	66,729	61,903	67,250	58,536	55,058
Hata, Beaver.....	291,570	288,158	239,138	252,161	393,319	299,819	218,327	207,436	197,185
— Silk, &c.....	143,291	113,876	47,763	49,753	49,544	29,532	24,717	18,597	18,558
Soap and Candles.....	266,865	303,703	67,674	171,936	180,150	136,018	197,765	175,543	146,917
Horn and Seeds.....	30,376	20,578	24,596	32,183	15,796	15,606	20,623	28,580	29,976
Whalebone.....	24,957	9,485	16,280	19,434	11,514	22,443	30,187	26,341	26,341
Tobacco Manufactured.....	15,993	7,074	12,990	9,330	18,114	25,667	34,745	14,303	11,056
Cordage.....	246,432	220,494	178,506	136,431	131,688	126,543	137,415	108,143	93,788
Saltpetre.....	30,106	13,139	43,514	23,408	18,266	26,263	57,535	65,758	39,780
Molasses.....	188,279	146,646	50,993	47,402	43,568	9,048	5,793	810	554
Refined Sugar.....	2,813,419	2,813,419	2,064,804	2,408,189	2,461,617	1,446,352	1,768,893	1,507,958	678,495
Unenumerated.....	2,802,870	3,133,515	2,800,737	2,798,092	3,093,144	2,527,797	2,314,764	2,764,960	2,187,980
Total.....	43,447,572	49,635,245	40,338,940	40,337,118	45,183,249	34,248,495	35,268,670	52,826,082	56,176,897
Colonial and Foreign.....	19,137,818	15,708,434	13,441,665	10,269,271	10,835,239	9,879,236	10,525,026	10,602,090	9,211,928
Grand Total.....	62,605,190	65,361,679	53,770,605	50,606,369	56,024,049	44,127,731	46,093,696	46,428,172	45,388,825
Imports.....	32,620,770	31,822,033	26,374,920	29,916,380	35,819,798	29,634,900	31,517,891	29,724,174	29,401,807
Excess of Export at } Real Value.....	29,984,420	33,539,626	27,395,685	20,690,069	20,204,254	14,442,831	14,575,805	16,703,998	15,987,018
Ditto at Official Value.....	19,737,628	25,598,583	21,841,265	19,388,348	16,979,529	13,147,911	16,925,171	21,073,808	23,568,611

YEARS.	IMPORTS.				TONS OF SHIPPING ENTERED INWARDS.		GRAIN AND FLOUR IMPORTED From all Parts, except Ireland.				AVERAGE PRICES.		
	East Indies and China.	British West Indies.	All other Parts.	Total.	Foreign.	British.	Quarters of Wheat.	Qrs. of all other Grain.	Cwts. of Flour.	Jan. 1.	July 1.	Annual.	
1792	2,701,547	4,182,066	12,774,735	19,659,358	..	..	18,951	623,667	7,757	42	4	42 11
1793	3,499,024	4,392,158	11,563,536	19,256,718	..	..	415,736	675,405	211,588	47	2	48 11
1794	4,458,475	4,782,616	13,047,803	22,736,889	..	..	316,086	650,162	13,013	49	8	51 8
1795	5,760,810	4,099,291	12,876,788	22,736,889	..	..	274,522	389,417	124,319	55	7	74 2
1796	3,372,689	3,940,345	15,874,286	23,187,320	..	..	820,381	749,996	258,132	89	5	77 1
1797	3,942,384	4,970,888	12,800,685	21,013,957	..	..	420,414	369,310	2,785	55	9	53 1
1798	7,626,930	5,411,962	14,813,998	27,837,890	..	..	378,740	515,279	1,754	51	5	50 3
1799	4,284,805	6,149,514	16,403,113	26,837,432	476,596	1,375,169	430,274	223,660	64,234	49	2	67 6	
1800	4,924,276	7,352,510	18,275,820	30,570,606	763,236	1,380,137	1,174,523	863,242	343,870	92	7	134 5	
1801	5,424,442	8,418,153	18,956,605	32,799,200	780,155	1,378,620	1,186,257	901,387	123,714	139	0	129 8	
1802	5,794,907	8,471,327	17,143,764	31,409,998	434,174	1,561,909	470,698	280,306	252,756	75	6	67 5	
1803	6,348,887	6,040,067	15,606,902	27,995,856	590,129	1,368,673	224,055	283,429	309,569	57	1	60 4	
1804	5,334,620	7,593,530	16,397,631	29,207,782	560,195	1,181,944	386,191	344,108	54,566	86	2	89 0	
1805	6,072,160	6,636,668	17,636,783	30,345,611	638,616	1,235,592	821,164	187,495	248,927	75	11	79 0	
1806	3,746,771	8,739,085	16,355,004	28,840,860	551,104	1,239,322	136,763	108,180	504,213	76	9	73 3	
1807	5,401,509	7,919,988	17,487,342	28,807,839	696,603	1,196,872	215,776	70,971	19,959	69	5	81 1	
1808	5,848,649	8,716,918	17,067,608	29,633,165	269,970	1,110,901	35,780	70,971	19,959	81	1	79 0	
1809	5,363,025	7,607,693	22,798,767	33,769,385	722,920	1,327,725	243,774	385,462	498,747	90	4	95 7	
1810	4,708,413	8,166,046	28,256,096	41,130,555	1,070,080	1,346,990	1,304,577	248,652	475,998	102	6	106 2	
1811	4,106,251	8,546,911	16,178,160	28,683,322	637,416	1,294,651	179,645	85,968	32,581	94	7	86 11	
1812	5,602,320	7,189,936	15,804,907	28,597,163	469,696	1,310,156	115,811	128,021	53,038	106	7	125 5	
1813	Accounts of Imports & Shipping destroyed by Fire this Year.	..	..	..	..	..	340,846	123,362	5,962	119	10	116 3
1814	..	8,200,506	..	32,620,770	599,386	1,290,248	600,601	331,848	81,745	76	7	73 11	
1815	..	8,571,193	..	31,822,053	764,568	1,372,108	134,462	136,000	207,368	63	8	64 4	
1816	..	7,428,617	..	26,374,920	379,465	1,415,123	202,305	106,120	25,726	53	7	75 10	
1817	..	..	..	29,916,320	445,011	1,625,121	716,515	753,665	114,379	104	10	109 1
1818	7,337,690	8,347,236	20,124,862	35,819,798	762,437	1,886,394	1,410,073	1,939,848	604,823	85	4	84 4	
1819	7,537,563	7,887,669	14,229,688	29,654,900	542,684	1,819,128	In 1819, all Foreign Grain and Flour was prohibited for home consumption.	..	..	..	..	73 0
1820	7,662,648	8,011,355	15,945,908	31,517,891	447,611	1,668,060	..	..	..	..	..	84 4
1821	In the Years that are blank, satisfactory Accounts could not be obtained.	..	..	29,724,174	396,107	1,593,423	..	..	..	..	..	73 0
1822	Accounts could not be obtained.	..	..	29,401,807	469,151	1,663,627	..	..	..	..	..	65 7
							..	..	..	..	..	56 6
							..	..	..	..	..	43 3

MR. GRANT—MR. RANDLE JACKSON—AND THE EAST INDIA
SHIPPING QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, January 15, 1824.

I regret that I was not present in the General Court on the 17th of December last, when an attempt was made by Mr. John Smith, to impress on the Proprietors that the important reform in the shipping of the East India Company had been mainly effected by the assistance of the late Mr. Grant, as I should then, perhaps the only proprietor present able to do so of his own knowledge, have given a direct contradiction to his statements. It appears by the report of the debate, that Mr. Hume did contradict Mr. Smith's assertions; but he omitted to state, or the Reporters to report, some important documents, which, when known, must at once show the unfairness of giving to Mr. Grant the merit that was due to Mr. Henchman, Mr. Randle Jackson, Sir David Scott, and a few other independent Proprietors, with whom I had the honour to act on those occasions.

It was an arduous and important struggle; and, if the saving of many millions sterling to the Company, in the item of freight, is of importance, there is no man at present in the Court, either within or without the bar, who deserves so well of the Proprietors as Mr. Randle Jackson, who, I understand, was present in the Court, but took no part in the debate.

I hope you will give publicity in the ORIENTAL HERALD to the following, being a few of the many documents I have by me on that subject, that the unfair claim on the part of Mr. Grant's friends, both in the ASIATIC JOURNAL and in the Debate, may be properly estimated.

AN OLD PROPRIETOR.

*Documents relating to the Reform in the Freights of the East India
Company's Shipping.*

1773.—The Committee of Secrecy reported to the House of Commons, *inter alia*, "That the chief cause of the Company's *extravagant expense* in freights was, their having taken into their service a greater number of ships than they could properly employ; for of late they had in their service eighty-seven ships, whereas fifty-five were more than sufficient for their trade."—Again: the same Committee report, "That from the great number, opulence, and various interests of the owners of shipping, *due economy is prevented*, as by these circumstances they are enabled, not only to obtain too high a freightage, but are likewise *exempted from the necessary control*."—It further appeared from this Report, "That the freight paid within the preceding ten years, *i. e.* from 1763 to 1773, amounted to £5,018,162. 0. 6. sterling."

In 1781, the Company's Committee of Shipping report, "That they have not had it in their power, notwithstanding they have held out great encouragement to expect a favourable alteration in the cargoes consigned from China, to induce the Owners to relax in their demands; they therefore could not refrain from intimating to the Owners, that the present distress of the Company for tonnage was such, that the Court must be forced to submit to

any terms they should think proper to insist upon, however disadvantageous to the Company, as there was no other channel through which the Company could get a supply of shipping."

In April 1791, in the General Court of Proprietors, Mr. Fiott moved, and Mr. Randle Jackson successfully supported, "That there be laid before this Court, copies of all proposals for receiving of tenders, and also of all tenders for building of ships for the East India Company, and of letting of ships for hire to the East India Company, from the 1st January 1780 to the present time; with the Answers and Resolutions of Committees and Courts thereon; together with the prices agreed to be given for the hire of ships in each of the said years, according to their respective destinations. And also copies of any Agreements or Resolutions of the Court, or any Committee of Directors, which may have been made, respecting all or any of the ship-owners, on the subject of shipping, during the said period."

N. B.—In 1783 the aggregate amount of freight for that season was estimated at 33,000 tons at £33. per ton.....	£1,039,000
In 1792, the exertions which had been made had obtained the following reduction; viz. 33,000 tons, average £21. 5. 0. per ton	701,250
Making the saving then effected in one year	£387,750
But it then became notorious, and admitted by several Directors, that the whole freights might be obtained at £18. per ton, to effect on 33,000 tons a further saving at £3. 5. 0. [See Woodfall's History of the Shipping Question.]	107,250
	£195,000

In May 9, 1792, in the General Court of Proprietors, Mr. Fiott moved, and Mr. R. Jackson seconded, "That it is the opinion of this Court, that, owing to the mode long practised for conducting the shipping affairs of the Company, a higher price than necessary has been paid for many years past, and is now paying, for the freights in its service." This motion was carried in the General Court, but lost upon the ballot.

In the same month, on the 16th of May, 1792, Mr. R. Jackson moved, "That in the opinion of this Court, it is expedient for the Directors, on the part of the East India Company, to engage in future, as well for the building as for the hire of ships for their service, by public contract." This was defeated by an amendment in the General Court of Proprietors, on the 3d of April, 1793.

Mr. Thos. Henshman moved, and Mr. R. Jackson seconded, "That this Court do concur in opinion with the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, that the freight of the ships in the employ of the East India Company should be settled once for all, on a fair and equitable footing; and that the Court of Directors be requested to take the same into their consideration, as well as such further regulations in respect to the hiring and building of ships in future, as shall enable the Company to carry on their trade henceforward to the greatest advantage; and propose and lay before this Court such arrangements as they think best suited to that purpose, in order that some permanent system may be established, upon principles of fair, well-regulated, and open competition. But the said system not to affect the existing ships, which it is the wish and recommendation of this Court to continue in their service, at a fixed rate, and in preference, so long as they shall be judged fit for the same."

N. B. At this period the amount annually paid for freight considerably exceeded a million sterling; and it was alleged, and offered to be proved, that the partial adoption of the system had already (comparing the then price of freight with the highest price of the old owners,) placed the Company in a course of saving half a million per annum.—(See Woodfall's Debates.)

In 1796, the owners demanded for the aggregate freight £1,655,822
 The Directors obtained it for 1,472,506

They saved that year, including 50,000*l.* dismantled
 tonnage 233,316

See their Report, Feb. 5, 1796.

In the General Court of Proprietors (specially called), on Wednesday, May 13, 1795. Mr. R. Jackson moved, "That in the opinion of this Court, it is just and equitable, and will be highly advantageous to the interests of the East India Company, to extend the same principle of regulation to the Proprietors at large, as is ordained by the second, third, and fourth sections of the *Sixth* Chapter of the Bye-laws, in respect of Directors, *viz.*

"Section 3.—*Item*, It is ordained, That if any debate shall arise in the Court of Directors concerning any Director, or any matter or thing wherein any Director shall be personally concerned, every such Director, having been first heard, shall withdraw during such debate, and when the question thereupon is put.

"Section 4.—*Item*, It is ordained, That no Director shall give his vote for any lot of goods bought at the Company's sale, or for making any allowance for any goods so bought, wherein he shall be directly or indirectly concerned."

"And, therefore, this Court doth agree, That henceforward no Proprietor shall be allowed to vote or ballot upon any question, in a general Court, relating to any contract which he may be negotiating, or which he shall have entered into with the East India Company, nor upon any question in which he shall have a direct pecuniary interest distinct from his general interest as a Proprietor of the capital stock of this Company; and that this regulation be made a bye-law of the Company."

This was seconded by Mr. Henchman. It was debated throughout as a shipping question. The Owners, on a division, succeeded in defeating it, *viz.* for an adjournment—Ayes, 110; Noes, 37.

This was nearly the last earnest struggle in the General Court. A majority of the Directors, finding the sense of Government, which almost personally upheld David Scott, had now come round, and were fighting their ground by inches with the Owners in the Shipping Committee.

The following was the conclusion of Mr. Jackson's reply, as reported by Woodfall, in the third volume of his Debates :

"Mr. JACKSON said, he had now humbly endeavoured to reply to the leading arguments against the motion which he had had the honour to make: he had been led into greater length than he intended, but he hoped the Court would have the goodness, not only to impute it to his sense of the importance of the measure, but to his great anxiety (as perhaps it might be the last time that he should have the honour of addressing them upon this subject), that the proposition should stand clear before them. He hoped the Court would now entertain no doubt as to the facts upon which he founded it, or of its legality, its justice, and its expediency. He admitted it to be directly and intimately connected with the great question of Shipping. It was now some years since (in the course of his endeavours to attain to a reform of the affairs of the East India Company), he had been led to the study of that particular question, the magnitude of which soon filled him with astonishment! Had he passed it cursorily over, he might perhaps, like many other proprietors, in voting upon it, have consulted only his feelings, his interest, or his connections. But when he found it to involve not only millions of the Company's property, and every hope of pecuniary aid, which the public might justly build upon, but the welfare of our Indian possessions, and their myriads of inhabitants, who depended upon the facility of import and export:—when he traced (as he had stated upon a former occasion) the melancholy and progressive departure of the carrying trade from the Company to Foreigners, whose interests were in direct hostility with their own, and whom

he found transferring, with most alarming rapidity, the commerce of India, to the Continents of Europe and America, and this to such a degree, that though their quantum of tonnage at first was insignificant and contemptible, it now considerably exceeded that of the Company;—when these facts opened upon his mind, he had no alternative but to pursue the question to the point he had done, or sacrifice every patriotic and manly impulse, to considerations of the most sordid nature. He was not so new to the world as to be insensible to the remarks which might follow one of his profession, pursuing, with so much earnestness, the interest of a Corporation, whose dividend could not be diminished without a convulsion of public credit. He knew that the very powerful and affluent body, whose emoluments he attacked, must entertain against him the greatest displeasure; that the body of Proprietors to whose service he devoted himself, might, at first, think him officious and romantic, and that even the Directors, for whom he had ever felt, and testified the most unfeigned respect, would regard every impeachment of the past conduct of the Company, as in some degree reflecting upon themselves. These were difficulties which he had braved, without being callous to them, and he should ever have reason to be proud of the result.

“Many that were then present in that Court, had beheld the progress of the question, and the conduct of the Shipping Interest, in every stage of it. They had endeavoured to ridicule it in the person of an honourable Proprietor (Mr. Fiott) whose persevering spirit first entered the lists with them; they next attempted to refute, and when that was found impossible, they sought to vilify it, by the most unfounded insinuations against the characters of the advocates, as if those could in the smallest degree affect its merits. All these attempts had proved equally abortive! The question had been gradually unfolded; it had been brought forward in different shapes, and each succeeding debate had been supported by such statements from the records of the Company as it was impossible to contradict. The independent Proprietors waked as from a dream, the broad shame came staring them in the face, and they wondered how they could have been imposed on so long. The conversion of the Directors followed, and with an openness and candour that reflected upon them the highest honour, they declared their ultimate and decided opinion to be in favour of fair and open competition. But they declared it in vain! Their arguments, it was true, were irresistible, but so was the number of their opponents; the Shipping Interest, it had been found, from repeated experience, were able to out-vote them upon every question affecting their own contracts; hence the interest of the Company loudly demanded, that upon those contracts they should vote no longer. This was his last and only remaining proposition; he had always regarded it as the top-stone of his case; if it should be adopted, the evil from that moment was at an end; if not, that very circumstance would complete a body of documents, which the profoundest casuistry would never be able to overcome; documents derived from the Journals of the House of Commons, who had previously examined, not only the Company's officers, but the most experienced persons they could meet with in that line; documents, derived not only from the calculations and declarations of the Directors, but from the calculations, declarations and admissions of the Ship-owners themselves, as appeared from the minutes of the Court which had been published for the last ten years. In what way had these charges been met? By *avowed combination*, *avowed influence*, and an intrepidity of assertion rarely to be met with. By men who, while they pretended affection to the Company, had been unable to refute a charge of extorted millions; who, while they pretended a reverence for justice, sought a violation of its first principles, by establishing themselves as judges of their own cause; and who, while they boasted the sanction of a majority of the Proprietors, did not dare to leave the question to their discussion; but were at that moment exerting all their influence to keep it from the ballot. If facts like these did not reach the conviction of every

unbiased and disinterested man, no reasoning of his could give them force, neither would they believe, "though one should rise from the dead!" As an individual, he could do no more—he had explored the question of their shipping with unremitting industry; he had watched it with undeviating regard, he had sustained it to the best of his abilities under all its trials, and had now travelled with it, to the end of its mortal pilgrimage: if he were fated to meet it again, he understood it was to be in another place; as to what might be its fate there, he professed himself unable to conjecture: if the minister for India should think proper to support the Directors, and the independent Proprietors, against that powerful combination (respecting which he deceived himself, if he hoped to find an alternative, he must oppose it, or truckle to it). Mr. Jackson said, that he was convinced, that no act of his administration, would place him higher in the esteem of honourable men. If on the contrary, he should think it more expedient to stretch the hand of power over the Company, and coerce them into submission, to a mode of managing of their affairs, as repugnant to all rules of commercial policy, as to common sense, and common honesty, he did not pretend to say, but that the contest was at an end: and that the fairest hopes, that any trading company in the world ever had reason to indulge, would be sacrificed to certain political reasons, which he neither did, or desired to understand. The real merits of the question would remain unalterable. To himself, Mr. J. said, the part which he had taken would ever be fruitful of pleasing reflection! he should for ever feel a pride in having shared in a contest, which had already (*as was in proof*) saved the Company half a million of money per annum; and offered to the Proprietors some consolation for the millions they had lost, by pointing out means (which no man had ventured to controvert) of saving nearly as much more. These were facts which would live upon their records, and do him justice with their posterity in that Company, who would judge of the various propositions which he had offered, by their unequivocal tendency, and the simplicity of their terms, rather than by elaborate exceptions to general rules, or subtle refinements upon the most obvious and ordinary obligations of morality. For it is not (concluded Mr. J.), believe me, Sir, it is not, the broad humour of one honourable gentleman; the polished periods, and the flowing numbers of a second; the metaphysical reasoning of a third, or the declamation of a fourth, that will be found capable of shaking from their seat, those principles of truth and justice, which God and nature have implanted in the heart of man! Oh! no, for when my honourable friends and I shall be laid low, and forgotten, when these puny contests shall be buried in deep oblivion, and when all sublunary things shall have passed away, truth and justice will still survive! Unchanged by circumstance, as unimpaired by time, strong in their own strength, perfect in their own purity, immutable! immortal!"

Mr. J.'s Speeches on this occasion were complimented by the Newspapers of the day, and may be said to form a Supplement or Corollary to his Speech of January 1st, 1795—taken together they nearly include the whole history of the shipping question. See *Woodfall*, No. 1.

In the General Court of Proprietors, March 10, 1795.—Lord Kinnaird moved, and it was carried, "That the thanks of this Court be given to John Fiott, Thomas Hinchman, and Randle Jackson, Esqrs. for their active zeal, and able services in bringing the question of Public Contract, and fair and open Competition, to its present issue."

DIRGE,

*Sung by Orpheus and Chorus of Thracian Virgins
over the Tomb of Linus.*

“ To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
“ Whose tender lay the fate of LINUS sings.”
POPE's *Trans. of the Iliad.*

Wail, wail, ye virgin throng!
The Sire of song*
On earth's dark breast for ever silent lies:
No more his cheerful pipe
Its numbers rich and ripe
Shall pour at evening to the listening skies.

No more shall nymph or fawn
O'er dewy lawn,
Listening, on tip-toe through the moonlight come;
Nor shall the shepherd haste
His evening short repast,
Leaving for thy sweet strain the joys of home.

No more shall sylvan maid
Her ringlets braid,
Like morning's golden clouds to meet thine eye;
Or with enamoured cheek
Her growing passion speak,
Or downcast modest look, or chastened sigh.

Nor shall the summer eve
Fantastic weave
Her pall of vapour, and slow-fading light,
To tempt thy steps abroad,
Alone, enrapt, o'erawed,
Watching unfold the starry robe of night.

The slow, far-dying roar
Of ocean hoar,
Tumbling his billows round some distant isle,
Is henceforth dumb to thee,
Dear shade! tho' wont to be
Parent of sweet response, or radiant smile.

* Linus was the inventor of Poetry, and the first who introduced the Phœnician Letters into Greece. Some say he was a native of Eubœa.

And even the gods will want
Thy mystic chant,
Wont still at morn or dusky eve to swell
Along the answering shore,
Or o'er the ocean floor,
Or through the forest wild or lonely dell.

How can the lofty soul
The dull control,
The mystic leaden sleep of Pluto brook?
• Cannot it wear away
Its clogging chains of clay,
And yet enjoy earth's ever-cheerful look?

Alas, alas! we mourn
That no return,
When o'er the Stygian bank the spirit goes,
The gods severe allow;
But all our bitter woe,
Like streams in deserts lost, unheeded flows.

Yet to this sylvan grave,
And crystal wave,
That murmurs music thro' the mournful grass,
These laurels ever green
Shall tempt, as oft as seen,
The feet of heedful travellers as they pass.

And oh! if wakening fame
A right may claim
To cheer a shade on Pluto's gloomy shore,
Thee, thee, the choral lay
Of bards and virgins gay
Shall chant, O LINUS! now and evermore.

For thou hast oped a spring
Which, murmuring,
Deepening, and widening, shall to latest days,
Where'er the passions be,
Float wild, and sweet, and free,
And in its cadenced flow re-echo with thy praise.

Farewell, loved bard! farewell:
I may not tell
How thou dost govern still thy Orpheus' breast;
But every solemn year
The god's permit me here,
My songs shall sooth thee in thy golden rest.

TREATMENT OF A NATIVE INDIAN PRINCE.

DURING the period in which the press of India exercised the greatest freedom in its strictures, it never ventured to touch on the important points to which the press in that country ought to be especially directed, namely, the conduct of the Government towards its native subjects ; as it was well known that such temerity would, even in the best times, have been punished with instant banishment from the country. But if the Indian public are denied the power of investigating such cases of injustice as may spring up among themselves, the British public have at least a right to become acquainted with the manner in which the East India Company conduct themselves towards the native princes of the East, whom they first persuade by fair promises to throw themselves on their protection, and then abandon to all the horrors of despair. The following narrative will set their conduct as a public body in a striking light ; and as we have reason to believe that the case of the unhappy individual, Fyaz Ali Khan, will be brought before the British Parliament in the ensuing session, our readers will be the better prepared, after perusing the following facts, to judge of the merits of the case for themselves.

It has been the policy of the invaders of every clime and age, as much as possible, to divide the interests of their projected victims : " Divide et impera." The necessity of this policy was much felt in the war with Tippoo Sultan. It was considered of the highest importance to detach from his party any of the powers of the Mysore ; and in January, 1783, Hyat Sahib, who held the city and province of Bednore, with its dependencies, as Soubah under Hyder Ali Khan, and after his death under his son Tippoo Sultaun, entered into negotiations with General Mathews, who commanded the Company's forces in that quarter, and who engaged, that if Hyat Sahib would conduct himself to the satisfaction of the General, every thing should be preserved to him that he could desire. In a letter of this General, dated the 28th of January, 1783, he says to this prince :

I shall esteem you as a true friend and servant of the English.

Hyat Sahib, reposing with implicit faith in the character of the East India Company and the English nation, accordingly delivered up his territories, his troops, and forts to this General, who, in acknowledging this voluntary resignation, in a letter of the 30th of January in the same year, says :

The friendship you have shown to the English, by joining with them your troops, and delivering up the forts of the province of Bednore, and every thing that was under your management, deserves every acknowledgment that the English can bestow.

Notwithstanding these solemn engagements, however, the prince

could not preserve even his private property from plunder, on the advance of the English army: In the same letter, of the 30th of January, General Mathews says :

To convince you that I place confidence in you, the entire management of the country will be continued to you, and I will invest you with full powers and authority to take upon you in the name of the Company the direction of the revenues, in as full a manner as before you joined the English.

In furtherance of these dispositions and arrangements, it was concluded by a formal treaty, dated the 15th of February, 1783,

That no person whatsoever should interfere with the civil government and management of the country, the whole being vested in Hyat Sahib. That in case of any accident to Hyat Sahib, his family, wife, children, &c. should be under the immediate protection and care of the Company—[the word care having, in the language used, a comprehensive signification, combining, in the fullest sense, education, sustenance, and provision]—That he receive for the expenses of his household, and in lieu of all other charges whatever, or any thing appertaining thereto, the annual sums of 120,000 pagodas, (equal to 40,000 rupees, or 5,000*l.* sterling per month,) or in proportion to the annual rents received under the sum of a medium of the years that the country has hitherto been under his charge. And this sum I do only fix until the pleasure of the Honourable Company be known.

Hyat Sahib's sincerity and good faith are again recognised in a letter of Mr. Auriol, Chief Secretary to the Council of Calcutta, dated the 29th of May, 1783, addressed to Captain Donald Campbell :

The Board request that you will deliver this answer in person to Hyat Sahib, with assurances from them of every protection and support, which the eminent services rendered by him to the Company give him so good a right to expect, and which they have it in their power to grant; and you will acquaint him that they have further agreed to recommend him in such terms to the Honourable the Court of Directors, as may encourage him to hope for every attention from their justice. Considering the great importance of the acquisition of Bednore to the Company, its proportional disadvantage to the enemy, and the magnitude of the object to be attained by holding out every possible encouragement to the managers of the Mysore country, to throw off a new and unsettled dependance on the enemy's government, in order to obtain a more secure and beneficial tenure from the Company's possession, the Board are more readily inclined to afford this early return to the advances of Hyat Sahib, in the hope that it will inspire him with fresh confidence in the English Government, and rest his attachment to it.

However flattering the language, and elevated the rank, of the individuals already named, it might be said that all these engagements required confirmation, and that until they had been ratified by the supreme power, the good faith of the Company was not yet pledged to the conditions of the agents. Let us now then look at the official letter of the Governor General, Warren Hastings, dated the 8th of December, 1783 :

That you have been induced to give up treasury, ready money, goods, and valuables of every kind, and the keys of the forts, country, and public buildings of your divan, which you have delivered over to the General, and that you are in every respect, with heart and soul, ready in your friendship, I have been apprised in a letter from General Mathews, fully advising me of

all and every thing, the proceedings which have taken place between you and him, respecting the treaty and engagements, and the amicable disposition of your Highness; and immediately that I became acquainted with these matters, myself and Council, who have the government and full powers over all the dependencies and affairs of the Honourable Company, and having authority to enter into treaties on their behalf, came to a resolution, that whatever treaties and engagements had been entered into between your Highness and General Mathews on behalf of the Honourable Company, we conceive to be most binding and most valid on the part of the Honourable Company and the English nation, to be fulfilled. But as the distance is so great, we cannot take upon ourselves to give definitively our opinion on the proceedings of the Bombay Government in respect to General Mathews, and the treaty and engagements entered into by him; on this account we have from hence written to the Government of Bombay, particularly to act up to the spirit and letter of the engagements entered into with the General and your Highness, and not to depart a hair's breadth therefrom; and we are satisfied most assuredly, that the Gentlemen of the Council of Bombay, in regard to the kindness and friendship, and firm disposition of your Highness, from motives of friendship individually, will readily act up to and conform themselves to whatever treaty and engagements may have been entered into.

It would appear that nothing could now afford the least ground for complaint: but, unfortunately for Hyat Sahib, while the pen of the Governor General of India was employed in making "assurance c'en doubly sure," the active enemy was incessantly engaged in harassing our troops, and in a general engagement Mathews was finally defeated by Tippoo, and the provinces of Bednore were for a time in possession of the enemy. Hyat Sahib was obliged to follow the fortunes of the British, and soon after to take up his residence in Bombay. His services, however, continued for a short time to be duly appreciated and recognised by the various British authorities in India, and particularly in letters from Lord Cornwallis, Governor Boddam, Governor Ramsay, Mr. Sandeford, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Talis, Sir Edward Hughes, and General Abercromby, written at various periods, during the Nawaub's residence at Bombay, as well to himself as to persons in high authority there.

But neglect and consequent humiliation, after a time, succeeded defeat. The pension, so solemnly recognised, was never paid. It has been stated that the troops of General Mathews, in taking possession of Bednore, had plundered Hyat Sahib of all his private property; and his loss from this cause alone was immense. He had, besides, accommodated the General with considerable loans. These circumstances having involved him in pecuniary difficulties, naturally called forth repeated remonstrances, and even applications to the Government in England. Such indeed was his distress, that he would have probably perished from want in the capital of the British territories, if the Admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, had not written to the Governor in Council, begging the Governor General to take compassion upon the Nawaub's situation.

The treaty before referred to was communicated in due course to the Court of Directors, with a statement of the important ser-

vices Hyat Sahib had rendered to the Honourable Company: for a long time, however, it remained unnoticed. Sir Edward Hughes at length laid before the King, by the hand of Lord Sidney, the Secretary of State, a letter from the Nawaub. This measure called up the attention of the Court; and the following important document was issued, from the orders of the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated Feb. 1, 1788:

Having taken into consideration the important services rendered to the Company by Hyat Sahib, the late Governor of Bednore, by the surrender of that place, in the government of which fort and country he would have been continued, had it remained in the Company's possession; considering also the policy of affording him protection, agreeably to the promise made to him by General Mathews, we have resolved that Hyat Sahib be allowed four thousand Bombay rupees per month, so long as he shall reside in any of the Company's settlements; such allowance to commence from his arrival at Bombay, and deducting therefrom such sums as may have been advanced to him. You will, therefore, conformably to the above resolution, pay the allowance therein mentioned to Hyat Sahib, and take every means of inspiring him with a confidence in the Company's protection.

It certainly was a notable suggestion that the Governor and Council of Bombay should "take every means of inspiring him with a confidence in the Company's protection." Three years of neglect might furnish some reason why pains should now be taken. We cannot safely trust our indignant feelings with the natural commentary upon such facts. The honourable inviolability of moral and political engagements—the sanctity of treaties, by this order are set at nought, and the despicable substitute is offered of "the policy of affording" protection. And how did the Governor and Council of Bombay seek to redeem the character of the higher personages at home? They also issued their resolution, for though they could not find leisure to pay the paltry pension assigned, they could find time to publish the following general orders, Bombay, July 1, 1788:

Hyat Sahib, the late Nabob of Bednore, to be received by all guards with rested arms and one ruffle, as often as he passes from sun-rise to sun set.

Yes:—it was thus that the treaties with General Mathews, and his engagement to pay 40,000 rupees per month, were melted down into "promises;" and 4,000 rupees only, with "rested arms" and "one ruffle," were offered as compensation for the remaining 34,000, which had been promised but never paid.

New vexations were, even now, heaped upon the Nawaub; the income allowed was paid in bills at par upon the Bengal government, and thus a further loss incurred of 15 per cent. He continued, however, to reside under the government of the Company until his death, which happened within forty days only of the total overthrow of Tippoo's power, and the consequent resumption of the Bednore territory by the Company. These states have ever since remained in British possession; but it clearly appears that

Hyat Sahib anticipated the resumption of his power, as very shortly before his death, he appointed a Killadar (Ali Shereef) to administer the government in his behalf. In his will too he addresses his son in these words—

As soon as Bednore shall be acquired to the Company, they will, according to agreement, instal you in that government, furnishing you until that event, as they have done me, with the expenses of yourself, relatives and dependants.

Fyaz Ali Khan was a minor at the time of his father's death; and no application appears to have been made on his behalf, on the resumption of the Bednore country by the Company. A more liberal policy would, however, be naturally anticipated, when the Company enjoyed full power in these provinces, and assumed the collection of its revenue. But it would seem that Fyaz Ali Khan was destined to be heir to his father's disappointments and misfortunes, as well as to his power by blood; for so far from deriving any advantage from the successful turn in the Company's affairs, the pension of 4,000 rupees was discontinued on the decease of his father, and one of 2,000 was substituted for himself. His guardian—appointed by the Company—offering an acquiescence in their measures which he dared not refuse. So soon, however, as the young Nawaub became of age, he commenced a long correspondence with the Bengal Government on the subject of his claims. The affair was finally referred to the Court of Directors; and this Honourable Court expressing their surprise at any dissatisfaction, again reduced the pension to one half, and ordered him only 1,000 rupees per month! They condescended, however, in answer to his complaints of embarrassment to authorize the Bombay Government to inquire into his statement, ordering,

If fully satisfied, that the embarrassed state of the affairs of Fyaz Ali Khan, had been principally occasioned by the heavy expenses he had incurred, by performing the funereal rites of his late father, and the other branches of his deceased family, that such an allowance should be made on that account as might be deemed reasonable; and as a mark of regard for the memory of the late Nabob.

The Bombay Government acted upon this order as far as respected the reduction of the pension; but nothing was heard of the allowance proposed. And yet it is well known, that amongst natives of rank in India, funeral expenses are very heavy. One funeral alone cost Fyaz Ali Khan 80,000 rupees, and this was not considered extravagant.

Upon the death of Hyat Sahib, Governor Duncan appointed Ardasier Dadee, administrator to the estate, but contrary to the wishes of the family. In vain they urged the inexpediency of this choice, and their suspicions of insolvency; the appointment was persisted in, and the early bankruptcy of the party involved another loss amounting to 190,000 rupees! Of this sum, 40,000 rupees, arrears of pension, had been lately paid to the bankrupt's estate, in spite of the renewed remonstrances of Fyaz Ali Khan.

This unhappy victim of power, finding that he remonstrated in vain with the Government in possession of his country, and still having some confidence in the justice of the English character, had, at different periods, applied for leave to come to England, resolving, like his father, to lay his grievances at the foot of the throne. But this request was denied; and, as the only alternative, he executed a power of attorney, appointing Sheikh Gholam Mohudeen, his vakeel or agent. The vakeel reached England early in 1819, and immediately made application to the Court of Directors. The Court refused to recognise his powers; but alarmed at his presence in this country, they amused him with a correspondence, advanced him considerable sums of money for his maintenance; and at length informed him in their letter of the 25th of August, 1819, that the Court had issued full instructions upon the subject of the claims he was commissioned to establish, to the Bombay Government: and that the Court of Directors being in full possession of all the facts of the case, declined all further correspondence with him. The Right Honourable the President of the India Board at the same time informing him, that such an arrangement had been made as met his approbation; which would no doubt please the vakeel, as it would satisfy the Nawaub his principal.

The vakeel having seen too much reason to doubt the good faith of mere assurances, earnestly pressed the Court for a copy of the instructions forwarded to India. This was denied him; and his persevering endeavours to obtain them, were at last met by a peremptory refusal to hold any further correspondence with him. His stay in England was stated to be injurious to the interests of the Nabob, his master, as the instructions contained a direction that they should not be communicated until his return to India. And, finally, that all further supply for his support should be withheld until he had actually embarked! There was no alternative, and, therefore, though contrary to his positive orders, he was thus constrained, in August 1820, to proceed to Bombay.

Upon reaching his home, and making application to the Government in India, he was informed that the order of the Court of Directors went only to authorize payment of 2,000 rupees per month; and 40,000 rupees towards the expenses of the funeral of the late Nawaub; but that out of this an abatement would first be made of all advances to the vakeel in England. In vain did he protest against these terms, which differed but little from those against which he had been employed to offer remonstrance. There was no remedy in the power of the agents; and the Court of Directors had declared their decision to be final.

Fyaz Ali Khan was, however, advised again to address the Court of Directors, and also the Board of Control, which he did on the 7th of May, 1821. The Commissioners for the Affairs of

India were pleased to acknowledge the receipt of their letter, and to state that their reply should be made through the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay. But the despatch forwarded to the Court of Directors was returned unopened, with information that it was a standing regulation not to receive any address from individuals in India, unless forwarded open through the local government there!!

In the mean time the Nabob had been pressing his claims also upon the Bombay Government; and, on the 11th of March, 1822, he received a letter from the Secretary, Mr. Henderson, stating that the Court of Directors had sent their orders to the Government, and that they amounted to a distinct rejection of every claim!

Sinking under an accumulation of misery, arising from the extent of his embarrassments and the importunities of his creditors, whom his disappointment served rather to exasperate than appease, Hyaz Ali Khan submitted to the terms of the standing regulation above named, and on the 25th of June, 1822, addressed an open letter to the Court of Directors through the Bombay Government, again urging his claim to their attention, and intimating his intention to proceed to England to seek redress, in case it were denied to him in India.

There is no advice of any subsequent proceedings: this unhappy prince has, therefore, resolved to appeal to the justice and character of England. Can it be endured that a monopolizing company of traders, shall violate the most sacred treaties, enlarge their territories, and advance their revenue at the expense of a prince, whose too-confiding ancestor had become the dupe of others, from his high veneration of the British name? We are not ignorant of the powerful influence of Indian interests in the House of Commons; we are prepared in all minor cases to submit to its secret workings: but if these can stifle the voice of honour—the dictates of common honesty, then we say England deserves to lose her proud pre-eminence among the nations of the earth.

We have undertaken the defence of “legitimacy” on better grounds than those who waged war for the restoration of the Bourbons, and who would still maintain the “right divine of kings to govern wrong.” When sovereigns are deposed by the common consent of those over whom they rule, to make room for more worthy successors, we have no objection to such a mode of promoting good government, and rooting out bad: but when a prince, ruling in his own country, voluntarily resigns his power into the hands of supposed friends, on the faith of their solemn assurances of support and protection, we cannot sufficiently express our abhorrence of those who would first persuade another to confide in their honour, and then abandon him and his descendants in the hour of need.

VARIETIES IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

EXPERIENCE has furnished us with abundant opportunities of observing the pleasure with which those of our countrymen, who are separated from their native land, witness the rapid progress in varied and useful knowledge, which distinguishes Great Britain from almost every other nation on the globe. This conviction of her superiority in intellectual attainments is a source of pleasure that tends to increase our interest in her political advancement; and, if "knowledge is power," it may safely be added that its wide dissemination is the best security of freedom. As we have reason, from peculiar local considerations, to believe that our pages will be read "at the uttermost corners of the earth," and that, too, with the avidity peculiar to men in exile from their native land, we shall make it a distinguishing feature of our labours to give, in this department of our Journal, a compendium of all the most curious and interesting facts that we may be able to glean from every source, and which would not otherwise be likely to meet the eye of our friends abroad. In the same department we shall also include, however, much that will be new and interesting to our readers at home, particularly notices of valuable discoveries in every quarter of the globe; and more especially all that can illustrate the natural history, literature, and actual condition of India and the Colonies, between which and their parent, England, we shall thus establish a reciprocal communication of knowledge, that cannot fail to be productive of information and pleasure to the inhabitants of each.

The Elephant.—The second number of Schlegel's *Indische Bibliothek*, published at Vienna, contains an article on the History of the Elephant, in which the learned author has brought together all the notions by means of which it was possible to illustrate and complete not only the natural, but also what may be called the mythological, civil, and military history of this stupendous animal.

Researches in Java.—Dr. Van Hasselt, a Dutch physician, who is at present engaged in researches into the natural history of Java, has discovered numerous species of the genus *Cyprinus*, L. in the rivers of that country; comprising many new ones, most of which appear to form new genera. The species differ altogether from each other, according to the elevation at which they are found; and those of the mountains are quite distinct from such as are discovered in the neighbourhood of Batavia. He proposes to determine, by the observation of the species conjointly with the measure of elevation, the height to which each species extends in the river. In one of his letters he speaks of the trouble he experienced in procuring the least assistance from the Javanese, and of the consequent difficulties which impede his inquiries. They are by no means indifferent to profit; but if what they are requested to assist in appears to require any exertions, the pain immediately strikes them, while the profit is seen only in the distance. The only means to obtain their service is to apply to their princes. A man, who cannot be prevailed on by the offer of ten ducats,

will hasten without the slightest hesitation to obey the orders of his sovereign.

Plants of Nepal.—A paper by Mr. D. Don, containing descriptions of nine new species of *Carex* from the mountains of Nepal, was read at the meeting of the Linnean Society on Dec. 2. The forms are said to approach nearly to the European type.

Flora of Martinique.—Sieber has published in the *Isis*, a Catalogue and Corrections of his *Herbarium Floræ Martinicensis*; which will be found of great service to the possessors of that work. It contains the corrections as far as No. 398.

Barberry of the Nellygerry Mountains.—M. Leschenault de la Tour has brought from the above Habitat, specimens of a new species of Barberry (*Barberia tinctoria*), which is capable of being applied with advantage to the arts. The shrub is about six or seven feet high; but it sometimes attains the height of twenty feet. The bark and wood, which are of a deep yellow, have been analyzed by Vauquelin, and found to furnish a very brilliant and perfect yellow, which is permanent on silk, but is easily washed out from cotton or wool.

New Species of Wheat in Chinese Mongolia.—M. Ant. de Salvaatori, a clerk in the office of the Russian Minister of Finance, has given in the *Bibliothèque Italiana*, an account of three new varieties of wheat, bought by a Cossack officer on the frontiers of China, and which have been cultivated at Semipalatinsk since 1811. They have been named *Triticum æstivum fertile*, *T. æstivum Calmuccianum*, and *T. æstivum Au-*

brum Bactrianum. Of these the first appears to be most advantageous, having produced, according to the author, seventy for one; it has, also the advantage of yielding an excellent flour for the fabrication of all sorts of pastry; but for bread a mixture of it with one of the other sorts is preferred. It has been remarked that continued cultivation in the same ground causes it to degenerate, but that it preserved all its properties if raised alternately with the other two varieties. They are cultivated in Mongolia between the latitudes of forty-two and fifty degrees.

Phrenology.—A very interesting memoir was read to the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh, communicated by Dr. Patterson of Calcutta, with a donation of twelve Hindoo skulls. In human heads, which are not diseased, it was stated, the size of the head indicates power of character. The Hindoo head is to the European about as two to three, or as the head of a boy of fifteen to that of a man of thirty.

Granite Obelisk at Seringapatam.—A letter from Colonel Wilks, contained in the second part of the ninth vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, gives a detailed account of the erection, at Seringapatam, of an obelisk of granite of a single piece, sixty feet high, by native workmen alone, without aid or instruction from Europeans. The following is the manner in which this immense mass of granite, whose original length was eighty-four feet, and the thickness of which at its base is six feet, was detached. A groove of two inches in breadth and depth having been made in a straight line, a great number of workmen were distributed along it, and each of them struck upon chisels placed in the groove, beginning at one of the extremities, and continuing progressively to the other; forming in the stone a fissure commencing equally at one extremity and advancing by degrees towards the opposite. The transport of the obelisk was effected by means of a sort of wooden carriage, drawn by about six hundred men. Pieces of wood were placed on the ground to facilitate its motion. At a short distance from the place from which it was removed, an explosion detached a portion of the stone, which diminished its length. This length is not certainly known; Colonel Wilks believes it to be sixty feet, but every other person who has seen it, reckons it to be at least seventy feet. In order to raise the obelisk it was first brought into a horizontal position, so that the base might approach

the upper surface of the pedestal, on which it was to be supported. The opposite extremity was then raised by degrees, by means of levers inserted under the body of the obelisk, and it was supported in its more and more inclined position by a mass of earth built up between walls. When its inclination became very considerable, this mass was prolonged by a wooden frame, and ultimately, a scaffolding of wood having been constructed on the other three sides of the pedestal, it was placed in the desired position by means of ropes. The workmen assured themselves of the level of the place, into which the obelisk was received, by pouring into it a small quantity of water.

We have been the more particular in our description of the methods employed on this occasion, as it evinces the immense results which may be derived from unremitted perseverance, even when unassisted by the combined exertion of the mechanical powers which Science has placed at our disposal. In comparison with this stupendous monument of Indian industry, the Druidical monuments of England, which we have hitherto looked upon with amazement, sink into pigmies.

Heights of the Himalaya Mountains.—The persevering talent which has been applied to the discovery of this interesting subject by Captain Hodgson and Lieutenant Herbert, has led to the following results:

	Height above the sea in English feet
Uchalaru.....	21,884
Kedar Kanta L.....	19,352
Do. H. left peak ..	20,356
middle peak	20,508
Do. C.	21,787
Sur Kanda G.	20,144
Do. F.....	21,925
Do. A. No. 2.....	25,589
Chur Raldeng.....	21,251
Chandra Badani D.	22,912

The snowy peaks of several of these mountains may be seen in clear weather at the distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles; and they have thus been employed for the verification of that theory of ascertaining altitudes which depends upon the distance at which they become first visible.

Expedition of Houliagou, Founder of the Mongolian Dynasty in Persia, through Tartary.—A very interesting memoir on this subject, by M. Abel Ramusat, is inserted in the *Journal de la Société Asiatique*, 11^{me} Cahier. It refers principally to his researches into the situation of the city of Kara-Koroum, which are to ap-

pear in the seventh volume of the *Mémoires de la Académie des Inscriptions*, and is translated from the Chinese of Sou-houng-kian-lou. The expedition of Houlagou took place in 1252.

Coasts of New Holland.—Captain King, R. N., son of a former governor of New South Wales, has just returned to England, after an absence of six years. The special object of his voyage was to explore in detail the northern coasts of New Holland, and to make those scientific researches which attach to a voyage of discovery. As Captain King is well known for his zeal and love of science, he has no doubt paid the greatest attention to the labours which formed the object of his mission; we are, therefore, justified in announcing that an ample meed of fame will be the fruit of his voyage, which will be speedily published by order of the Admiralty. Thus the delineation of the coasts of New Holland, the first attempts at which may be traced up to the year 1616; and which has been successively improved by the labours of Cook, Vancouver, D'Entrecasteaux, Flinders and Baudin, will be completely finished. It is probable that the attention of future travellers will be directed to the interior of this vast region. We are already much indebted to the activity and intelligence of Mr. Oxley: his zeal for science will surely urge him to undertake new enterprises, which cannot but be seconded by the powerful encouragement of Sir Thomas Brisbane, a distinguished friend of science, and the present governor of that colony.

Atlas of the Pacific Ocean.—The first volume of the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, contains a letter from Admiral Krusenstern to M. Malte-Brun, in which that celebrated navigator informs the society that he has just completed his important hydrographic work on the Pacific Ocean. This long-expected Atlas will consist of thirty-four maps, specified in a list, and of a series of critical discussions on each of them: in which the fullest detail is given of all that is known and determined by skilful navigators, and of what still remains undetermined. It is published at the expense of the Russian Government, and in the Russian language; and M. de Krusenstern announces that he is engaged in translating the *Mémoires* into French, and that as soon as he shall be assured of the sale of one hundred copies to cover a part of the expense of engraving and printing, he will set the engravers to work on a French translation of the maps. In a subse-

quent letter read at the sitting of the 6th of June, M. de Krusenstern announced that his *Atlas of the South Sea* is about to be published in French, at the expense of the Russian Government; and also that the Emperor of Russia has appointed M. Von Kotzebue to the command of a voyage of discovery about to proceed to the South Sea.

Projected Travels in Thibet.—M. DuBois de Beaucherne has announced to the *Société de Géographie* of Paris, his intention of travelling in the interior of Thibet, and his desire of receiving from them instructions concerning the objects of his journey. We have no doubt that our countrymen in India will give to this zealous traveller a proof of that hospitality and love of science, which they so eminently cultivate, by facilitating, as far as lies in their power, the execution of his arduous undertaking.

Map of Bagdad, &c.—The *Société de Géographie* have received from M. Rousseau, French Consul at Bagdad, a manuscript map of the *Pashalics* of Bagdad, Orfa, and Aleppo, which the Society have determined on publishing.

Philology of the East.—Professor Rask, of the University of Copenhagen, has recently returned from a journey through various parts of Asia, which he undertook six years ago, chiefly with the intention of analysing the languages of the East. He made numerous excursions from Tiflis into Persia, passed from Bassora to Calcutta, and afterwards traversed Hindostan in various directions. He has brought back with him numerous manuscripts in Sanscrit, Zend, Bengali, and Persian; among which are four copies of the *Zendavesta*, very different from that translated by Anquetil. His researches in the *Basil* writing, as well as in the cuneiform writing of Babylon and Persepolis, must be extremely interesting, and we anticipate much instruction from the publication of his travels.

Survey of Eastern Africa.—The *Leven* and the *Cockburn* tender left Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, early in September, and arrived at Algoa Bay in the middle of the month, sailed again in three days, and reached Delagoa Bay at the end of the month, when they were joined by the *Barracouta*, which had been left behind at the Cape. Boats were manned to explore English River, the most considerable of three which fall into Delagoa Bay. While engaged in this service one of the boats was attacked and nearly destroyed by a hippopotamus; the crew, however, succeeded in reaching the shore without

less, and the whole party encamped for the night. About midnight a fierce attack was made on them by a body of nearly 800 natives, who were however soon repulsed, and the only casualty was one of the Leven's men being wounded. After an absence of ten days the boats returned to the ships, where a deadly fever soon began to prevail, which in a short time swept off 37 of the crews of the three ships, among whom were Capt. Lechmere and many other valuable officers. As soon as the fever showed itself, Captain Owen sailed for Madagascar, and by the time he reached St. Mary's the contagion had ceased. Preparations were making, at the departure of the latter, for renewing the survey, and, as the unhealthy season was passed, hopes of better success were entertained. By subsequent arrivals we learn that these vessels would be ready to resume their voyage in the first week in June, Captain Owen undertaking an accurate survey of Algoa Bay, (which is very much wanted, as there is a shoal that breaks dreadfully in bad weather, and has never been laid down in any of the charts extant of that coast,) and afterwards proceeding to Delagoa Bay, to complete the former survey. The *Baracouta* will most likely leave Captain Owen at Delagoa, and proceed to the mouth of the great river Zambeze, which falls into the ocean in the Mozambique Channel there; where Captain Vidal, and Mr. Forbes the botanist, with one boy as a servant, will embark in a canoe or other conveyance, and proceed up to Senna, intending to penetrate thence into the heart of Eastern Africa; and, if circumstances are favourable, make their way to the city of Lattakoo, where there is a station of Missionaries.

Discoveries along the Red Sea.—James Burton, jun. esq., who has been for some time employed by the Pasha of Egypt in a geological examination of that Prince's dominions, has made some interesting discoveries in the Eastern Desert of the Nile, and along the coast of the Red Sea, a tract of country hitherto unexplored by Europeans. In the Eastern Desert, and in the parallel of Assiout, is Gebel Dokhan, a mountain, the name of which in Arabic signifies Smoke mountain. As the names of natural objects are every where apt to be derived from some distinctive character, it occurred to Mr. Burton that forges or smelting works might have been once established there; with a view to determine this question he

proceeded to the place, and though he did not find a mineral lode, he soon saw enough to convince him that there had been a mine in the neighbourhood. At Belet Kebye, a ruinous village, situate in a valley on the south side of the mountain, he found a circular shaft, twenty feet in diameter; the walls having fallen in, its original depth is uncertain: its present depth is sixty feet. At the edge of this shaft are long inclined troughs, stuccoed on both sides, and constructed too nicely and expensively to have been intended as drinking places for cattle: they have apertures at one end for the escape of water, and agree with troughs which Dioscorides describes as being used in washing and sorting the ores, except in being made of wood instead of stone. His conjecture of a mine having been formerly worked here was confirmed by a beautiful little Ionic temple in the same village, dedicated by Marcus Ulpus Chresimus, superintendent of the mines under — Proculus, to Serapis, for the safety and eternal victory of Cæsar and of all his house. A still more interesting feature of this mountain remains to be described.—Gebel Dokhan is zigzagged to the top by expensively constructed roads and pathways, which branch off to large quarries of the antique red porphyry, large blocks of which are lying about roughly chiselled, squared, and on supports marked with eucharial characters, and numbered. Where there was a natural crack in the stone, the holes drilled by the workmen generally follow its direction, and in one instance small stones have been rammed into a fissure of this kind, by way of a wedge. There are also to be seen here, unfinished sarcophagi and vases, columns of large diameter, a vast number of ruinous huts, and remains of forges. On the only road which leads into this valley, and at the distance of about four miles to the north of Belet Kebye, is a large dilapidated structure, called Derr Amiasar. The prefix Derr implies that it was a monastery; but though this building may at one period have been inhabited by monks, Mr. Burton is of opinion that it was originally intended either as a barrack for troops, or as the residence of the superintendent of the adjacent mines and quarries, particularly as there is no natural supply of water in the neighbourhood, and government alone would go to the expense of constructing an artificial one. He also remarks that most of the convents about Wadi Halfa, are

on the site of Roman towns or stations. Considerably to the south of this, about the parallel of Eknaïm, and about half-way between the Nile and the sea, Mr. Burton has discovered another Roman station hitherto unnoticed, which is now called Fiteiry; from the inscriptions there it would appear that its ancient name was Mons Claudiapus. Among other ruins are the columns of a large temple of gray granite; and Mr. Burton has collected a great number of inscriptions on this spot. The quarries in the neighbourhood furnish a peculiar kind of gneiss not unfrequent at Rome. The quarries of verd antique, between Gheuné and Cosseir, have also supplied him with a vast number of inscriptions, which are rendered interesting, and may probably become very useful, from the intermixture of Greek with hieroglyphics.

Mortality of Fowls on Ship-board.—The usual sickly state of the poultry taken to sea for cabin provisions, has been discovered, by experience, to arise from the neglect of providing the coops and troughs of the fowls with sharp sand, or, what is better, coarsely pounded flint or gravel stones, out of which the birds will be found to select and swallow the most sharp and angular particles, as necessary towards the trituration of the food in their maws.

Madagascar.—M. Gaubert, the naturalist, who had been sent at the expense of the Baron de Ferussac, to whom science is so deeply indebted, to accompany the expedition fitted out two years since by the French Government to explore Madagascar, had for some time been thought to have fallen a victim to the diseases which have been so fatal to the new colony; this anxiety of his friends, however, has at length been happily removed by the arrival of a letter from him, accompanying a package containing a part of the shells of that island and of the seas which surround it. We may therefore expect, through this medium, to obtain much valuable information on the products of this important island, which are so varied and so little known.

State of the Brain.—The brain of human and other subjects has engaged much of the attention of Sir Everard Home, of London; and, in his recent work on Comparative Anatomy, he advances the novel doctrine that, during life and in the healthy functions of the brain, the same exists in a gelatinous or jelly-like state, which, on the extinction of life, is quickly changed, by a sort of coagulation, into the state

which hitherto has been considered its proper one.

Survey of the Coasts of Syria and Egypt, in the reign of Henry the Fifth.—A Report on the subject of this curious MS. Survey, which was ordered by Henry V. preparatory, as that monarch declared on his death-bed, to his attempting an expedition for the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Infidels, has recently been read before the Royal Society of Literature, in London. The whole details of this valuable paper tend to confirm the highest opinions entertained of the foresight, prudence, and talents of the conqueror of Agincourt. His preparations seem to have been matured in every point of view; and the dictum of Hume, on this particular subject, is unquestionably overthrown by the present paper.

Gunpowder decomposed.—Mr. Marsh, of Woolwich, has discovered that the surfaces of leaden bullets, which had long been in cartridges and in Shrapnell-shells, in contact with or near to gunpowder, had been acted upon by the latter, and part of the lead converted into a hard and brittle substance.

Solima Nation.—Captain Laing, of the Royal African Colonial regiment, has returned to Sierra Leone, after a residence of some months in the Solima territory, to which he proceeded on an invitation of the King. The country, then visited for the first time by an European, possesses a peculiar geographical interest, as the source of the mysterious Niger. The information obtained by Captain Laing is likely to prove both important and interesting, as the Solima are a numerous and powerful nation of the interior, of which scarcely more than the name was known until three years ago, when an army of 10,000 men appeared in the Mandingo country, to terminate a dispute between two chiefs of that nation, the weaker of whom had appealed to the King of Solima. The elevation, and the latitude and longitude of the hill of Soma, whence the Niger has its origin, have, we understand, been ascertained. Capt. Laing is also of opinion that no material difficulty would be experienced in the route from Sierra Leone, through Saukara, to the Niger at Nufi. His journal is expected to be very soon before the public.

Destruction of Cockroaches.—This is said to be effected by strewing bits of the roots of black hellebore, *veratrum viride*, on the floors of rooms or places infested by them; they eat this root with eagerness, and are poisoned thereby.

Mission to the Interior of Africa.—Intelligence has been received from Tripoli that Dr. Oudenoy, Major Denham, and Lieutenant Clapperton, who left London in 1821, arrived at Bournou in February last, and were well received by the Sultan. Dr. Oudenoy is to remain there as Vice-Consul, and the other two gentlemen are to pursue their inquiries as to the course of the Niger. From authorities given by Mr. Brown and Dr. Seetzen, the position of Bournou is pretty well ascertained. It is described as a large city on a wide river, and lies about 1000 miles direct distance from Tripoli (whence the travellers started), nearly as far from Cairo, and 400 miles from the Niger, as laid down in our maps. More than two-thirds of the journey is therefore already performed, and the protection of the Sultan of Bournou will probably render the accomplishment of what remains a matter of little difficulty. It is something new in the annals of diplomacy, that a British Envoy should be stationed in the heart of the African Continent, and that in that remote situation, among tribes of barbarians, he should find the name of his country a protection. All the parties were then in good health and spirits, though they had all, at times, suffered severely from the rigours of the climate. Their route has been over dreary deserts, of fifteen or sixteen days' journey in length; but their undiminished zeal and ardour in the service, augur well of their ultimate success. The fatigue and privations they have suffered have been extremely great.

Barometer.—The rise and fall of the barometer has lately been ascribed, by Professor Meinecke, of Halle, but without probability we are inclined to think, is a principal degree, to an alternate absorption and giving out of air, by the porous strata of the globe.

Climate of the Canaries.—M. de Bach, in a paper on the temperature of the Canaries, states the medium of the coldest month in the year (January) at 54°, and that of the hottest (August) at 79°. The first of these temperatures is equal to the medium of that of the most southern parts of Italy.

Inequality of the Surface of the Gulf of Mexico.—From careful barometrical observations, made by M. M. de Jussieu, compared with those of Humboldt and of Fleuriot de Bellevue, the following extraordinary results have been deduced:—1st. That the surface of the ocean is 2 yards higher on the western coast of Martinique than on the northern side of Guadeloupe; 2d. That it is

12 yards higher there than in the port of Havannah; 3d. That it is rather less elevated there than on the western coasts of Mexico; 4th. That it is there nearly 8 yards lower than the surface of the equatorial Pacific Ocean; and, 5th. That it is there 21 yards higher than the level of the sea at Rochelle. Can these really be facts? They will at least excite the attention of those conversant in such subjects, either to confirm or to destroy them.

Progress of Knowledge in St. Domingo.—In the earlier part of the last year, there was established at Port-au-Prince an academy, in which are taught all branches of medicine, jurisprudence, literature, the principles of astronomy, &c. This establishment is under the direction of Dr. Fournier-Passey, a learned physician, well known in France by his contributions to the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales."

French Scientific Mission to the West Indies.—M. Leschinault de la Tour, who so successfully executed an astronomical and scientific mission to India, between the years 1816 and 1822, has been appointed by the French Government to a mission of the same nature in the West Indies and different parts of continental America. The principal object of his labours will be the amelioration of the agriculture of the French colonies; but they will also be directed to whatever may contribute to the progress of natural history and science in general.

Education.—It appears from the Eighteenth Report of the British and Foreign School Society, read at the General Meeting on May 12, 1823, that although under the restored despotism of Ferdinand, the cause of education is for a time, at least, lost in Spain, it is yet making considerable progress in the cédant Spanish possessions in South America. A school has been opened at Monte Video, and another at Santa Fé, containing 600 scholars. At Lima also a School Society has been formed, under the express patronage and direction of the Government. Thus do Liberty and Knowledge, Despotism and Ignorance, walk hand in hand.

French Colonies.—The following is a summary of the statistical accounts on this subject, published by authority. The total population of the Colonies, in which it is to be observed that Hayti (!) is enumerated, is stated at 232,500; and the detail is as follows: East Indian possessions, 54,000; Africa, 72,000; West Indies, 65,000; North America, 2,100; South America, 33,500.

LITERARY RETROSPECT.

It was intended to have given in our first Number a Retrospective Review of the principal Works on India and the Colonies that had appeared during the past year, with a copious List of all the Publications of interest, in any way bearing on subjects suited to our pages. The great pressure of other matter rendered it impossible to fulfil that intention then; but we take occasion to introduce this Literary Retrospect in our present Number; and, as we know that this department of our labours will be generally acceptable to our readers abroad, we shall follow it up as frequently as materials may present themselves for observation.

Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India: containing Remarks on the Effects of a Free Press, on Subsidiary Alliances, on the Delays of Office, on Superstition, on the Administration of Justice, on Flogging, and on Agriculture; also, on the Dangers of a Free Press, and the Licentiousness of a Censorship. By Leicester Stanhope. 8vo.

When we behold the son of a nobleman separating himself from the thousand captivating nothingnesses with which the sphere he moves in is surrounded, and yielding to the contemplation of objects calculated to refine the intellect and enlarge the heart, we cannot but rejoice, though we confess that a regret mingles with our congratulation, a regret occasioned by the exceeding rarity of such an occurrence. The volume before us is evidently the production of a man of clear comprehension and extended views; and the author, who seems fully aware that he has to contend with prejudices strengthened by antiquity, and to argue in a great measure with those who tremble at the idea of the slightest innovation on established forms, takes especial care to draw no conclusion without submitting a full portion of argument to the consideration of the reader in the first instance. To those whose minds are unbiassed, and whose opinions are not fettered by that bane of society, prejudice, we recommend an attentive perusal of this book, fully assured that it throws much light on that topic of so much interest, "the Liberty of the Press in India," and that it is eminently calculated, from the tone in which it is written, to carry conviction to the minds of those who are open to it, and to dispel the doubts engendered by error, and fostered by narrowness of comprehension.

Asiatic Polyglotta, by Julius Klaproth, (in German.) 4to, pp. xvi. and 384, with a folio vol. of Maps and Tables.

The object of this work is the "classification of the population of the whole of Asia in families;" and in the pursuit of this object the learned author has taken as his guide the vocabularies which occupy the folio volume. He divides, according to the resemblances and the modifications of their languages, the population

of Asia into the following 24 families:—1. Indo-Germans; 2. Shemites; 3. Georgians; 4. Caucasian; 5. Sanoïdes; 6. Yeniseans; 7. Fins; 8. Turks; 9. Mongols; 10. Tunguses; 11. Kuriles; 12. Youkaguirs; 13. Koriacks; 14. Kamtschadales; 15. Polar Nations; 16. Japanese; 17. Coreans; 18. Tibetians; 19. Chinese; 20. Annamese; 21. Siamese; 22. Avanesse; 23. Peguans; 24. Malays. The work contains copious geographical and historical details on all the families and the tribes of which they are composed, the greater part of which is new, and the whole positive and clear. In the Preface M. Klaproth establishes the thesis of community of tongues, and then distinguishes the relations of languages into *Universal Relation* and *Family Relation*. In addition to this, we have a Criticism on the Asiatic Historians, a Chronicle of the Deluge and other great Inundations, the Life of Buddha, and a Universal Alphabet, rendering the work altogether highly interesting to the student of Oriental literature.

A Memoir of Central India, including Malwa and adjoining Provinces; with the History, and copious Illustrations of the past and present Condition of that Country. By Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. K.L.S. 4to 2 vols.

Placed, in 1818, at the head of the government of the Central Departments of India, Sir John Malcolm immediately instituted an extensive series of inquiries into the history, the government, the manners, and the actual condition of the several nations intrusted to his charge. The results of this inquiry, which continued for four years, were condensed into a Report of Central India, which was printed at Calcutta by order of the Government. Despite this contained some imperfections, occasioned by the hurry in which it was prepared, during ill health, and amidst other duties; and as copious extracts from it had been inserted in various journals, he solicited permission of the Court of Directors to publish it in an amended form. Such is the history of the "Memoir of Central India," a publication, which, while it reflects the highest honour on its distinguished author, is calculated to confer inestimable benefit on the historian, the geographer, and the

philosopher. Such a work cannot be too highly characterized; and much is it to be desired that future governors of the various districts of India would devote some portion of the time so liberally recompensed by the public, to the imitation of the brilliant example set before them by Sir John Malcolm.

Diary of a Tour through Southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the years 1821-1822. By a Field Officer of Cavalry. 8vo. pp. 366. Hatchard and Son.

It has seldom happened to us to open a work containing more of the absurd than the one before us, and it is much to be regretted that a great portion of this arises from the improper and ludicrous mixture of what is meant to be reverent, with the most trivial occurrences of the route. We suppose that the author is sincere in his frequent allusions and addresses to the Author of all good; but the style of them is so peculiar, and the circumstances with which they are placed in opposition, in many instances, so mean, that they affect us with no solemnity. It has indeed been observed by a contemporary, that the style is exceedingly unlike that of a Field Officer. Had this defect been avoided, the Tour would have been deserving of high commendation, as the author has passed through many places and scenes which have been hitherto but little known. It is, however, just to observe, that this bad taste is less observable in that portion of the work which refers to India, and which may therefore be consulted with some advantage.

Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore. 8vo. pp. 222. Longman and Co.

The experience of thirty-two years of confidential and quite unrestrained intercourse among the natives of India, of all castes, religions, and ranks, have led the author to assume as impracticable the conversion to Christianity of the Hindoos. It is his decided opinion, that under existing circumstances there is no human possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity, and that the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, so far from conducing to this end, will, on the contrary, increase the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion, and prove in many respects detrimental to it. If any of the several modes of Christian worship were calculated to gain ground in India, he conceives the Catholic the least discordant to the prejudices of the natives, from its possessing sacrifices, processions, images, statues, holy water, fasts, feasts, prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, &c. all of which bear more or less resemblance to those in use among the Hindoos.

And if, he urges, with all these points of similarity, the Catholic form of worship has during the last sixty years made no proselytes, or but a very few; if, having been formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, it is at present become almost an object of horror; can it be reasonably expected that any one of the simple Protestant sects will ever flourish among them? The contrary has till now been the case. The Lutheran missionaries, he asserts, have had no sensible success during more than a century; and respecting the new missionaries of various sects, who have of late made their appearance in the country, he assures us, as far as his information extends, that "notwithstanding the pompous reports made by several among them, all their endeavours to make converts have till now proved abortive, and that their successes are only to be seen upon paper."

The number of converts made by the Abbé Dubois in twenty-five years, with the assistance of a native missionary, amounts to between two and three hundred, of both sexes. Of these two-thirds were *pariahs*, or outcasts, and the rest were composed of *sudras*, vagrants, and outcasts of several tribes, who, being without resource, turned Christians, in order to form new connexions. He declares, "with shame and confusion, that he does not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction, and through quite disinterested motives;" and as a proof how lightly they prize their faith, he states, that when Tippu Sahib seized 60,000 Christians (all that could be found in his dominions) in one day, and carried them to Seringapatam, not one of the whole number refused to abjure and be circumcised, not one of them possessing resolution enough to say, "I am a Christian, and I will die rather than renounce my religion!" Of his own converts many apostatized, and relapsed into paganism, finding that the Christian religion did not afford them the temporal advantages they had looked for in embracing it, and he is "verily ashamed," that the resolution he has taken to declare the whole truth on this subject, forces him to make "the humiliating avowal, that those who continued Christians are the very worst among his flock."

With respect to the circulation of the Scriptures in India, he conceives that the frequent mention of sacrifices of oxen and of calves, the objects of so much superstitious reverence among the natives, would deter most of them from the further perusal of what to them glorious notions would appear, at least, as indecorous; and in support of this he gives an instance in which, after a discourse on the parable of the prodigal son, several Christians told him, in very bad humour, that the mention of the fatted calf was highly improper, and would have prejudiced any of the natives who had happened to be present against the ro-

igion; advising him in future to substitute a *lemb* instead of the fatted *calf*. The humble situations in life of our Saviour and of his apostles, are also a stumbling-block and a stone of offence to the pride of *caste*, which forms so distinguishing a feature of the Hindoos; and the author received a severe rebuke for mentioning the circumstance when preaching at Carriacul. Even in explaining the materials of the Lord's Supper, the author states the necessity of avoiding the mention of bread and wine, which would prove too revolting to the feelings of the Hindoos. He has therefore the precaution to say, that the materials of the sacrament are wheaten bread, and the juice of the *fine fruit called grape*.

The East Indian Calculator; or Tables for assisting Computation of Batta, Interest, Commission, Rent, Wages, &c. in Indian Money, &c. By T. Thornton.

This work, which will be found highly serviceable to persons visiting India, or connected with that country by commerce, contains, in addition to very accurate Tables for the purpose mentioned in the title, several Tables of Exchange of the various currencies of India into each other and into that of England, and of the relative proportions of Indian, Chinese, and English weights. In the arrangement of these last, the author has availed himself of the assistance of Dr. Kelly, and has made use of the results obtained by that gentleman from the actual comparison of verified standards of the Indian weights and measures which had been transmitted from India.

Remarks on the External Commerce and Exchanges of Bengal, with Appendix of Accounts and Estimate. By G. A. Prinsep, Esq. 8vo.

To attempt an analysis of the remarks of Mr. Prinsep would encroach too far upon the limits to which we are by necessity confined, and as the work will no doubt find its way into the hands of all those who are interested in the important questions it agitates, we leave the decision of its merits to their consideration, and to that test, which is the surest one, of all political speculations, the operation of time.

The East India Military Calendar; containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army. By the Editor of the Royal Military Calendar.

This work, of distinguished merit that durable merit of praise which forms so energetic a stimulus to the exertions of future generations, is among the most pleasing occupations of a writer; and the author of the volume before us has conferred a material benefit on the future historians of India, by collecting for their use a series of biographical sketches of the most celebrated military characters of that country,

connected with our era. Among the names thus distinguished, are those of Sir Henry Cosby, Sir Henry White, General Mackay, Sir John Malcolm, Colonel Fitzpatrick, Sir David Oshertony, &c. We regret that the author has not inserted notices of the officers of the earlier times of the British dominion in India; but these he has probably omitted, lest he should be considered as encroaching on the province of the historian. Much trifling and comparatively unimportant matter is too frequently introduced into personal histories; but whatever may be the defects of the volume before us, we anticipate for its author the gratitude of the army at large, and of the Indian portion of it more particularly.

Fifteen Years in India; or Sketches of a Soldier's Life: being an Attempt to describe Persons and Things in various Parts of Hindostan. From the Journal of an Officer in his Majesty's Service. Second edit. 8vo.

Desirous of avoiding the tediousness which frequently attends a barren description of a distant country, the author of this work has endeavoured to render his sketches amusing to the English reader, by embodying into them the personal narrative of three fictitious characters. In this attempt he has in many instances succeeded extremely well; and by thus blending information with amusement, he has produced a work which appears to be becoming deservedly popular.

Transactions of the Linnean Society of London, vol. xiv. part i. London: 4to.

Several important papers, of considerable interest to the naturalist of India, will be noticed at the earliest opportunity. We confine our present mention to the single observation that this part is fully worthy of the Society from which it emanates, and will detract nothing from the high estimation in which its labours are so deservedly held.

Zoological Researches in the Island of Java, &c. &c. with Figures of Native Quadrupeds and Birds. By Thomas Horsfield, M.D. F. L. S. Nos. 1 to 7. 4to.

It would be impossible in this hasty retrospect to do justice to the views of this profound Zoologist. We must, therefore, postpone to some future opportunity, a review of this important work.

Observations sur quelques-uns des Minéraux, &c. Observations on some of the Minerals, as well of Ceylon as of the Coast of Coromandel, brought home by M. Leschenault de la Tour. By Le Comte de Bourmon. 4to. pp. 35. Paris.

This work contains additional observations to those already published by the same author

in the Philosophical Transactions. A stratum of that valuable mineral, the moon-stone, enclosed in a graphic felspar in large masses, at a few leagues distance from Candy is particularly noticed. Descriptions are also given of two new substances: *Candite*, from the neighbourhood of Candy, is of a black and vitreous appearance, like that of gadolinite; and *Bombite*, which is found near Bombay, nearly resembles the lydian stone.

Memnon's Dreiklang, &c. (the triple song of Memnon.) By Von Hammer.

The detail of manners, of ordinary life, or of religious observances, is apt to become tedious to the general reader, when laid before him in an abstract form; but when connected in a series with the history of Beings for whom he is made to feel an interest, the information thus imparted becomes fixed in his mind, and leaves behind it a permanent and pleasing impression. With this view, the author of the triple song of Memnon, who is so highly distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with the customs and literature of the east, has published the three dramatic pieces comprised in the volume cited above. The first of these is an Indian pastoral, entitled *Devajani*; the second, which he calls *Anahid*, is a Persian opera; and the third, *Sophy*, is a Turkish comedy. The first of these is of course the most interesting to us, and we recommend it strongly, as exhibiting in the most attractive and instructing form, a splendid picture of the East, particularly with respect to the doctrines of the Brahmins, and the rites of a nuptial celebration.

Heera, the Maid of the Deccan, a Poem in Five Cantos. By the Author of "Satires on India," &c. Calcutta.

The story of this pleasing poem is taken from the history of the Deccan, by Ferishta, translated by Scott. It is well managed, and reflects considerable credit on the author.

Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. iii.

The importance of many of the articles in this excellent volume is such that we may not venture to touch on it in the brief manner to which we should be now restrained. We propose shortly to return to it, and to endeavour at imparting to our readers some portion of the information which we have derived from its perusal.

Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand. By Richard A. Cruise, esq. Captain in the 8th Regiment of Foot, 8vo. pp. 321.

This unpretending little volume will be found to contain much new and interesting information concerning the character, manners, and customs of the savages of New Zealand. The author had, from the length of his residence among them, opportunities of observation which had not fallen to the lot of any previous

traveller, and he has shown that those opportunities were not neglected by him.

A Narrative of a Voyage round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Capt. Freycinet. By J. Arago, 4to. with 26 plates.

The letters of M. Arago, who was draughtsman to the expedition under Captain Freycinet, which left Toulon in Sept. 1817, are well adapted to convey, in a popular form, much information on the subject of the voyage. The account of the Malays, in the isles of Timor is interesting; as is also the description of the savages of the islands of Rawauch and Waigoo, on the coast of New Guinea. Short in person and ill-formed, stupid in countenance, and repulsive in manners; fishing is described to be their sole means of subsistence, and in this they exhibit great dexterity, despoiling their prey at a considerable distance in the water, and striking it with a bamboo lance. Their canoes and habitations are equally rude; and their cookery is no less so. A pleasing transition is made from the disgusting natives of these islands to the amiable and inoffensive inhabitants of the Carolinas; whose skill and hardihood as navigators are worthy of admiration. In their prams, about four feet wide and forty long, they frequently undertake voyages of 600 leagues; and no perils appear to repress their enterprising spirit, or baffle their perseverance. Our author was much surprised at the sagacity and intelligence of one of their pilots, with whom he conversed, who answered all questions with good sense and precision, rectified incidental mistakes, and often appeared to recur to calculation when his memory failed. Few instances of fighting or quarrelling, which they regard as the future punishment of the wicked, occur among them, and they are highly susceptible of the social affections. At the Sandwich islands vast progress is making in civilization. At Kayeroos a dock-yard is formed, a vessel of 40 tons was on the stocks, and numerous canoes were secured under sheds. Two howitzers were mounted before the house of the chief, and behind was a kind of park of artillery, covered with mats, and guarded by soldiers armed with muskets. Their voyage of discovery was terminated by shipwreck on one of the Falkland isles; whence, after struggling some time with the difficulties of their situation, they were enabled to return to Europe by hiring an American vessel, which was employed in the seal fishery at a neighbouring island.

It will readily be perceived that the work of M. Arago is principally intended for the improvement of the general reader, and this it is well adapted to effect. The scientific details will be published under the authority of the French government; and the following are mentioned as the seven distinct parts into which that work is divided; 1, History of the Navigation; 2, Zoology; 3, Botany; 4, Hydrography;

5, Magnetism and the Figure of the Earth; 6, Meteorology; 7, Researches into the Languages of the Savages. This plan, with, we trust, be persevered in, though we perceive that several detached papers, from the pens of the naturalists, have already been laid before the learned societies of Paris.

One word more. The original work of Arago appeared at Paris in modest octavo; the London translation is a noble quarto: but an octavo voyage would be unsaleable in London.

Voyage in the Pacific Sea during the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814, with particular Accounts of the Galapagos and Washington Islands. By Capt. D. Porter, of the American Frigate, Essex.

The Galapagos islands, hitherto so little known, and of which several were discovered first by Captain Porter, are about twenty in number. They appear, from the numerous volcanic productions which are found in every direction upon them, to owe their origin to that tremendous power; a fact which is farther confirmed by the observation of an eruption which took place in Albemarle island during Captain Porter's stay. They are much resorted to, principally by the English, on account of the fishery, which is very productive, especially that of the whale. No carnivorous animal is found on them, as sufficient subsistence could not be procured. The turtle, which from its extraordinary conformation is called the elephant turtle, alone, lays its eggs in some quantity; and these must have been the principal support of an unfortunate Irish sailor, who lived several years on one of them. Porter island, one of recent discovery, produces spontaneously, cotton, and a species of tree of a very aromatic odour. An accurate map is given of this Archipelago; from whence the Essex proceeded to the Marquesas or Washington islands, which are also particularly described; and much curious information is given on the manners of their inhabitants. Of Madison island in particular, a detailed account is given, which will be found extremely interesting.

Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the river Congo, including Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, &c. By Captain John Adams, 8vo. pp. 265.

This interesting volume is the production of a man evidently well calculated, from personal investigation, for the task he has undertaken; and he has conferred a great benefit on those interested in the colonization of the western coast of Africa, as well as on the general reader, by the publication before us. The author has landed at every important place from Cape Palmas to the Congo, and has penetrated in a few instances some short distance into the interior. These opportunities have enabled him to render his readers better acquainted with the gold, ivory, and palm-oil coasts, and Orient, *Herald*, Vol. 1.

also with many of the states of the interior, of which little more than the names are known to the civilized world; though several of them are of considerable extent and importance. Malimba and Catenda are particularly pointed out as extremely well fitted, by their salubrity, by the facilities they offer for trade, and other favourable circumstances, for the establishment of colonies. In this respect they are considered as far preferable to Sierra Leone, and much pains is taken to prove that it would be well worthy the attention of Government to form other settlements in these parts. Much valuable, as well as amusing information on the manners, customs, and character of the inhabitants, is given in a pleasing style, and the volume is very properly closed by a mercantile Appendix, from which both advantage and entertainment may be derived.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Directors of the African Institution, 8vo.

The present Report, like the preceding ones of this excellent Institution, is full of melancholy interest. The trouble in human beings, which the Government of Great Britain has so long and so strenuously endeavoured to stop, continues still to be carried on to a horrid extent. Much of this is owing to natives of France, the Government of which country, when applied to on the subject, offers merely a tissue of excuses, and pretends that it has not the power, while it certainly does not exhibit the least inclination, to check this inhuman practice.

Histoire Particulière des Plantes Orchidées, &c. A History of the Orchideous Plants, collected in the three southern Islands of Africa—the Isles of France, of Bourbon, and of Madagascar. By A. A. de Petit-Thouars. 4to. pp. vii. and 32, plates 109.

The name of the illustrious author is too well known to the admirers of Botany, to render it necessary to observe that the work before us is of the first scale of merit. The labours of Swartz, R. Brown, and Richard, had considerably added to the stock of our knowledge in the family of the Orchideæ, but there still remain many chasms, which future discoveries alone can fill. Many of these are satisfactorily supplied by the present publication; a considerable number of new species are presented to us, as well as several new genera; and the author engages to continue the work, for the purpose of furnishing what still remains deficient, from his collections during a ten years' residence in the above Islands.

Plantarum Novarum Capensium. Auctore E. F. Jansson. 8vo. Berlin.

Twelve new species of plants, indigenous to the Cape of Good Hope, are well described in the present volume.

The Geography, History, and Statistics of America and the West Indies,

exhibiting a correct Account of the Discovery, Settlement, and Progress of the various Kingdoms, States, and Provinces of the Western Hemisphere, to the year, 1822. By H. C. Carey and J. Lea, Philadelphia. With Additions relative to the New States of South America, &c. &c. Illustrated by Maps, Charts, and Plates. London, 8vo. pp. 477.

This is a reprint of the whole of the letter-press, accompanying Messrs. Carey and Lea's splendid Atlas of America, with copious additional information relative to the new states of South America, and the late Spanish dominions in Mexico, furnished by a gentleman of high reputation in this branch of science. The Atlas itself being too expensive for general circulation in this country, the enterprising publisher of the London edition has given only the most essential maps, to which he has added some correct and interesting views of remarkable places. The style of the work is clear and perspicuous, and the details copious and apparently derived from the best authorities. We consider it a valuable acquisition to Geographical Science, inasmuch as it contains a vast quantity of information, hitherto only to be met with by turning over a great number of bulky and expensive volumes, compressed into a cheap and commodious form.

Description of the Island of St. Michael, with Remarks on the rest of the Azores. By J. W. Webster. 8vo. plates, Boston.

This work is divided into nineteen chapters, preceded by an Introduction, treating of the Discovery and History of the Azores. The first seven chapters give a detailed statistical account of the Island of St. Michael, and more especially of its capital, Ponta Delgada. The population of the island, in 1818, was 80,000, of which 12,000 were inhabitants of the capital. The next two chapters treat of the climate, agriculture, and productions; under this head, we are told that the orange trees of a middle size annually produce from 6,000 to 8,000 oranges each; and we are even assured that 20,000 have been gathered from a single tree, and 20,000 from another. The exports to Great Britain and the United States amount to from 50,000 to 60,000 chests a year. The nine following chapters contain a very interesting Geological Description of the Island, which is entirely volcanic, and covered with extinguentaters. In the valley of Furnas are several hot springs, an analysis of which is given in the concluding chapter. An Appendix contains,—1. A description of the Island of Fayal, which has 22,000 inhabitants. 2. Of Pico, and its volcano, about 24,000. 3. Of St. George, about 12,000; of St. Mary, 6,000; of Flores, Corvo, and Terceira, the capital, and seat of the bishop, containing about 28,000 inhabitants.

A View of the Past and Present State of the Island of Jamaica; with Remarks on the Moral and Physical Condition of the Slaves, and on the Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies. By J. Stewart, late of Jamaica. 8vo. pp. 363. Edinburgh.

"Every particular of moment, relating to the climate, diseases, soil, seasons, agriculture, and commerce of the Island has been briefly noticed; and such views are given of the government, laws, and establishments, as will enable the reader to form an accurate opinion of their more important features. (On the state of society; the different classes of free inhabitants; the character, customs, and moral and physical condition of the slaves, and the means proposed for improving their condition, as preliminary steps to the gradual abolition of slavery, the author has been more circumstantial; these being topics of more particular interest, especially at the present moment, and on which his long residence in the Island has enabled him to supply many important particulars.)" Such are the promises held out to us in the Preface, and we are justified in declaring them fully verified in the performance. The style throughout is plain and unadorned, and the views are at once lucid and impartial.

An Essay on the Causes of the Revolution, and Civil Wars of Hayti; being a sequel to the Political Remarks upon certain French Publications and Journals concerning Hayti. By the Baron de Vartey, Chancellor of the King, &c. Translated from the French by W. H. M. B. 8vo.

The present Essay, proceeding from one of the ministers of the late King Henry, may readily be suspected of some prejudice in the views it presents of political events. It is, however, a work of great curiosity, and furnishes much information on the subject of colonial policy. The causes which produced the revolutions in St. Domingo; the state of the Island under Dessalines; the assassination of the emperor; the subsequent civil wars; the double presidency, and the monarchy of Hayti, are generally discussed at considerable length and with much ability.

Les Antilles Françaises, &c. The French West Indies, and more especially Guadalupe, from their Discovery to the 1st of January, 1823. By Colonel Boyer Peyreleau, with a new Map of Guadalupe, and 14 Statistical Tables, 8vo. tom. i. & ii. Paris.

These volumes contain copious statistical information on the past and present state of the French possessions in the West Indies, together with their political history, and that of Guadalupe more especially, from the time of their discovery in 1493, to the year 1794. This history

will be resumed in a third volume, which will complete the work. As we have as yet seen only extracts from the work, we cannot pretend to appreciate its merits. We observe, however, that the author indulges in the most violent diatribes against the policy of England, especially as regards the colonies. He brings forward the stale assertion that England wishes other nations to abolish the slave trade, in order to carry it on, in fact, for her own benefit; and his alarmed imagination already sees the time near at hand, when she will have Africa under her dominion as she now has India. The accompanying map, which is lithographed, is said to be beautifully executed, and is sold separate from the work.

An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies. By W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. 8vo.

Those who argue against the abolition of slavery appear generally to assume as a principle the immense danger and destruction of property which would result from the sudden and immediate emancipation of the slaves. These, however, who take an interest in its abolition, regard the gradual extirpation as essential to the perfection of the measure; and we cannot refrain from extracting the following powerful appeal as indicative of the feelings of Mr. Wilberforce on the subject.

"Raise these poor creatures from their depressed condition, and if they are not yet fit for the enjoyment of British freedom, elevate them at least from the level of the brute creation, into that of rational nature—dismiss the driving-whip, and thereby afford place for the development of the first rudiments of civil character—implant in them the principle of hope—let free scope be given for their industry, and for their rising in life by their personal good conduct—give them an interest in defending the community to which they belong—teach the lesson which Christianity can alone truly inculcate, that the present life is but a short and uncertain span, to which will succeed an eternal existence of happiness or misery—inculcate on them, on the authority of the sacred page, that the point of real importance is not what is the rank, or the station men occupy, but how they discharge the duties of life—how they use the opportunities they may enjoy of providing for their everlasting happiness. Taught by Christianity, they will sustain, with patience the sufferings of their actual lot, while the same instructress will rapidly prepare them for a better; and instead of being objects at one time of contempt, and at another of terror, (a base and servile passion, which too naturally degenerates into hatred,) they will be soon regarded as a grateful peasantry, the strength of the communities in which they live, of which they have hitherto been the weakness and the terror, sometimes the mischief and the scourge."

Histoire Physique des Antilles Françaises, &c. Physical History of the French West India Islands, viz. Martinique and the Islands of Guadaloupe, containing the geology of the Archipelago of the West Indies, a Table of their climate, the mineralogy of the French possessions, their flora, their zoology, a physiological table of their different races of men, and the topography of Martinique and Guadaloupe; by Alexander Moreau de Jonnes, tom. i. 8vo. Paris.

Of this Work, which is to be completed in four volumes, the first only has yet appeared. It treats of the geological structure and climate of the West Indies, and of the mineralogy of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The author boldly declares war against the systems of all his predecessors in geology, and asserts that the Islands of the Polynesia are better known to us, and that there is no part of the globe respecting which so many incorrect, erroneous, false, extravagant, and ridiculous things have been said. The chapters which relate to the climate, contain very interesting ideas on the local variations of temperature, on the hygro-metric state of the atmosphere, on the chemical and physiological phenomena which result from heat and moisture, and on the hurricanes to which the Archipelago is so frequently exposed.

Flora Medicale des Antilles, &c. A Medical Flora of the West India Islands, by M. E. Descourtilz, M. D. tom. ii. 21th and 25th livraisons, Paris.

This Work, when completed, will contain the figures and descriptions of 600 plants employed in medicine. These have already appeared 25 *livraisons*, each of which contains four plates, accompanied by descriptions. The plan of the Work is more medical than botanical, consequently, neither in the figures nor the descriptions has the author entered into those analytical details which would be so desirable in a botanical point of view. The plants are classed according to their mode of action; and the medical uses to which they are put in the Colonies, as well as their mode of administration, are particularly dwelt on. The Work is highly commended in a Report made to the Academy by Messrs. Cuvier, Desfontaines, and Dumeril, and is every way worthy of their commendation. The matter is new and interesting, the coloured plates are well executed and the price is moderate. In this latter particular it has a great advantage over the splendid work of M. de Tussac.

Recherches sur la Fièvre Jaune, &c. Researches on the Yellow Fever, and proofs of its non-contagion in the West Indies. By J. A. Rochoux, M. D. 8vo. pp. 452. Paris.

The work is divided into three chapters, treating successively of the descriptive history, the causes, and the treatment of the disease. The second chapter contains an interesting discussion on the subject of its contagious nature; it, within the tropics, and 2dly, in the temperate regions.

A New and Comprehensive System of Modern Geography, Mathematical, Physical, Political, and Commercial, comprising a perspicuous Delineation of the present State of the Globe, with its Inhabitants and Productions, preceded by the History of the Science, interspersed with Statistical and Synoptical Tables, and accompanied with a Series of coloured Maps, a great Variety of appropriate Views, and numerous other Engravings, illustrative of the Manners, Customs, and Costumes of Nations. By Thomas Myers, A. M. of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 2 vols. 4to. pp. ccxiv. 792, and xv. 941. London.

Though scarcely coming within the scope of our review, we cannot refrain from warmly recommending to the attention of our readers this decidedly the best system of geography which has made its appearance in this country. At the present moment the publication of a work which should contain correct and copious information relative to the various changes and revolutions which almost all the countries of the civilized world have within a few years undergone, and which have rendered all previous systems, so far at least as relates to territorial limits and forms of government, in a great measure obsolete, was peculiarly desirable. The task of remodelling the science, and adapting it to the actual state of the world, was undertaken by Mr. Myers, a gentleman whose situation and talents peculiarly qualified him for the execution of a design of such magnitude and importance; and we will venture to affirm, that the high expectations which were excited by the announcement of his work, have been most completely and fully answered. In an Introduction, which occupies 224 pages, he takes a review, firstly, of the *Origin and Progress of Geography*, which he traces with a masterly hand from its first dawn among the Chaldeans to its present comparatively perfect state; secondly, of the *Mathematical and Astronomical Principles of the Science*, comprising the figure and magnitude of the earth, its situation in the solar system, the method of determining the positions of places on its surface, the comparison of linear measures, with the construction and use of maps, and various other subjects, on all of which he gives clear and copious explanations; thirdly, of *Physical Geography*, containing elaborate dissertations on the diversities of the earth's surface, the phenomena of tides, of the atmosphere, winds,

climates, seasons, &c. and the effects of these phenomena on the vegetable and animal productions of the globe; and, fourthly, of *Political Geography*, which treats of the principal forms of government, and of the influence of government, religion, education, &c. on the formation of national character. The Introduction concludes with an Alphabetical Dictionary of Terms, which is illustrated by a great variety of appropriate synoptical and other tables.

The system is divided into six parts, arranged in the following order:—Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australasia, and Polynesia. Each of these grand divisions is preceded by a Dissertation, embracing a general view of all the most important particulars connected with it, in the following order:—Name, Situation, Extent, Population, Progressive Geography, Seas, Bays and Gulfs, Peninsulas, Surface, Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, Islands, Climate and Seasons, Soil, Original and Comparative Population, Government, Religion, Languages, Present Division. These subjects are treated of again more in detail, and in nearly the same systematic arrangement, in speaking of each separate country, with the addition of the principal Cities, Towns, and Buildings; the Manufactories, Fisheries, Commerce, and Shipping; the Government and Constitution, Law and Jurisprudence; Army, Navy, Revenue, Political Importance, and Relations; the Religion, Ecclesiastical Geography; Education, the Language and Literature, Arts and Sciences, Manners and Customs, the Antiquities and Curiosities of Nature and Art; the Islands, Colonies and Settlements; and the Description of each Country is closed by Statistical and Synoptical Tables, which have been carefully selected from the most authentic sources, and are highly valuable. The first volume comprehends Europe, and the second the remaining divisions of the World. Prefixed to the latter is an interesting Dissertation on the Influence of Missionary Establishments on the Advancement of Geography, in which our author traces the progress of Missions, from their origin in 1732, under the auspices of the Marquess, to their present flourishing condition; and gives a summary view of the stations which they occupy in various parts of the globe, and of the societies from which these respectively emanate.

The Maps which accompany the work are accurate and well executed; and the numerous views of places, costume, &c. with which it is illustrated are well chosen and carefully engraved. In whatever point of view we regard this work, abounding as it does with information, much of which is entirely new to an undertaking of this description, copious in its details on every subject, popular and scientific, commercial and political, we are of opinion that no previous System of Geography can be at all put in competition with this.

SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN AND COLONIAL JOURNALS.

MISSION TO SIAM AND COCHIN CHINA.

We have been favoured with the official report of the proceedings of the late mission from the Supreme Government of India to Siam and Cochin China, and we are now authorized to lay before our readers the substance of such parts of it as relate to the character, commercial interests, and resources, of the countries which Mr. Crawford visited.

But before we enter upon Mr. Crawford's report, we may briefly notice the endeavours of the East India Company to settle and prosecute trade at Siam and Cochin China. The particulars are to be found in the Appendix (C) to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, relative to the trade with the East Indies and China, published in 1821. And, first, of Siam.

In 1610, Captain Middleton settled an English factory here, which continued for some years. The English at Jacatra (Batavia) were in correspondence with the King of Siam in 1623; but the factory appears to have been subsequently withdrawn.

In 1662, the King of Siam expressed himself desirous that the English should settle a factory in his dominions. The Dutch had at that time a large commercial intercourse with Siam, lading there forty ships yearly.

In 1661, they provoked a quarrel with the King, and the next year obstructed the English trade in these seas, which was the object of their jealousy; the settling of a factory was, under these circumstances, deferred.

In 1671, the Court approved the proposal for settling a factory at Siam, if it could be accomplished.

In 1674, the King of Siam renewed his overtures for an English factory in his dominions, which was accordingly effected in 1676, in the hope that it would eventually produce a trade with Japan.

Upon the opening of this intercourse, the tin trade of Siam was expected to prove beneficial; and it was thought that a Siam trade would prove more beneficial than even a Japan trade.

Siam was also considered capable of affording a mart for great quantities of broad cloth; and the English agent at Bantam wrote a letter to the King of Siam, recommending to him the encouragement of a broad cloth trade, as

necessary to the maintenance of an English factory at Siam.

In 1679, it was discovered that Siam itself consumed but little broad cloth, the sale of that commodity depending on China and Japan.

In 1680, it was resolved to recall the factory at Siam, the trade not answering.

But in 1683 and 1684, it was resolved to re-establish the factory at Siam, the station still being considered favourable to the prosecution of a Japan trade, in which great hopes of success were entertained.

Sir John Child accordingly, in 1685, addressed a letter to the barolong, or prime minister of Siam, describing the difference between the Company's servants and private traders, some misunderstandings having arisen from that difference not being understood. Another letter was addressed to the King of Siam, who, it is observed, is favourable to foreigners, and that Siam was a port of considerable merchandise; and that therefore the Company's former losses were to be attributed to bad management and the malignity of the prime minister, Constantine Phaulkon, who was an Italian.

In 1687, there was an insurrection of the Macassars at Siam, by which the country was thrown into confusion, and the prime minister narrowly escaped. The Macassarese were all destroyed.

It appears, by a letter from the President of Fort St. George to the King of Siam, dated in 1687, that the Company's losses, arising out of the troubles, amounted to 65,000*l.* for which satisfaction was demanded, or war would be declared.

In 1688, there was a massacre in Siam. The Company were this year advised that six French men of war, with 1,400 soldiers had arrived to assist the King of Siam; and that Constantine Phaulkon, the King's prime minister, had been made a count of France.

In 1701, it was suggested that some principal Chinese merchants had built large houses at Polo Condore, and it was believed that trade with Siam, &c. might be carried on from thence; and that the Dutch would settle there when the English left it.

In 1705, the Governor of Fort St. George addressed a letter to the King of Siam, desiring a renewal of former

friendship, which had been interrupted by a late ambitious minister, Constantine Phaulkon.

In 1712, the barcalong, or prime minister of Siam, invited the English to make a settlement there, and offered a cowl, the same as had been granted to the Dutch. It was stated that the Siam trade was advantageous to Japan, as the Siamese carry silver yearly to purchase 4 or 5000 chests of coffee.

It appears that Siam was at this time, and for many years subsequent, in a state of internal disorder.

The following relates to Cochin China:

In 1619, the English at Japan made an unsuccessful attempt to trade with Cochin China. The factors, both English and Dutch, were massacred.

The English residency at Batavia reported to the Court in 1627, the continued measures of the Dutch to exclude the English Company from commerce with the continent and islands of South-eastern Asia, particularly Siam, Cambodia, China, and Japan.

In 1695, the Madras Government sent Thomas Bowyear, a supercargo of the ship *Dolphin*, to Cochin China, with instructions to request commercial privileges for the English. Mr. Bowyear's letter to the Madras Government, dated 30th April, 1696, which gives a detailed account of his proceedings, represents various inconveniences and impediments to trade, to which foreigners were there subjected, arising out of the arbitrary character of the Government of this country.

In 1749-50, the French made an unsuccessful attempt to open a commercial intercourse with Cochin China; and in the latter year, Mr. Robert Karsop was there, from whose report it appeared that the King and nobles engrossed the trade of the country. In 1777-8, the captain of the *Rumbold*, country ship, which had made a voyage to Cochin China, reported favourably of that country as a mart for European commodities. He had brought with him two Cochin Chinese mandarins of considerable rank, who were prevented landing in their own country by stress of weather, and were respectfully treated by the English at Calcutta; in consequence of which, Mr. Hastings, then Governor General, deputed Mr. Chapman to Cochin China, to endeavour to open a commercial intercourse with that country. Mr. Chapman returned to Bengal in 1779, having failed in the object of his mission, and been in fact forced out of the country, escaping with some difficulty; but laid before the Bengal Go-

vernment a narrative of his proceedings, accompanied by valuable geographical and historical memoranda.

In 1793, a Mr. Simpson made a representation to the Bengal Government respecting trade to Cochin China, and requested a letter of credit to the King, with a view to the security of his property. With this request Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor General, did not deem it expedient at that time to comply; and the subject was reserved for further consideration.

In 1803, Mr. Lance was deputed by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to Cochin China, with a view to open commercial intercourse. He addressed a letter to the King in his voyage outward, but being taken ill, proceeded to China, and there resigned his commission to Mr. Roberts, who came immediately to Touraun Bay, and entered into correspondence with the King, the Portuguese missionaries and the French gentlemen who were at the court. The mission failed, chiefly, as was supposed, through the influence of the French.

In April 1804, Mr. Roberts went from China to Bengal, where he submitted the detail of his proceedings to Lord Wellesley, then Governor General, and obtained a letter from his Lordship to the King of Cochin China, with which he proceeded on a second mission to that place, but was less favourably received than on the former occasion. The failure of his second attempt was particularly ascribed to the hostile influence of the French and Portuguese over the King.

In 1807, Lieutenant Ross was sent to the coast of Cochin China, to survey the Paracells, and intrusted with a friendly letter to the King, but experienced the most inhospitable treatment.

In 1808, the Bengal Government consented to interfere (by letter) with the King of Cochin China, to procure payment for some timber furnished to him by Messrs. Abbott and Maitland, merchants of Madras; but this application, which has since been repeated, has proved ineffectual.

Having thus adverted generally to the exertions that have been made during a period of about two centuries to establish a commercial intercourse with Siam and Cochin China, we now come to the substance of Mr. Crawford's Report of the Mission from the Bengal Government in 1822.

Siam.—The kingdom of Siam, though reduced in its geographical limits within the last half century by the encroach-

ments of the Burmans, is probably at present of more solid strength and resources than at any former period of its history. The Siamese territory extends to the south as far as 7° north latitude, and the Malayan tributaries of Siam as far as 3°: to the north the extreme confines of the Siamese territory extend, as far as could be learnt, to latitude 25°. On the Bay of Bengal, however, the Siamese territories reach at present no further than the Port of Tanoy, belonging to the Burmans, in latitude 13° north, and longitude 96° east. On the east coast of the Gulf of Siam, its territories extend to latitude 11°, and to longitude 104° east, as far as the port and town of Athien, or Kang-Kao, which itself is in possession of the Cochin Chinese. The neighbours of the Siamese to the north-west are the Pegu or Monrace, subject to the Burmans; to the north the Burmans and Chinese of the province of You-nau; and to the east and south-east the Kambojans and Cochin Chinese.

The natural advantages of Siam in point of harbours, rivers, and internal navigation, are very considerable. The navigation of the Gulf itself is one of the safest and easiest in the Eastern Seas. On its western coast are the ports of Suagora and Ligor, and that of Bandou, less known. This last is formed by the mouth of a river, where there is fourteen or fifteen feet water, and which is therefore navigable for vessels of considerable burden. At the head of the Bay are three ports, formed by the three *embouchures* of the Me-nam. At the western and the middle one of these, called Mek-long and Ta-chin, no more than eight feet water are found at spring tides, so that they are inaccessible to vessels of any considerable burden. The eastern branch of the Me-nam, or that of Bang-kok, is the great port of Siam. This is navigable with ease and safety to all merchant vessels under two hundred and fifty tons.

Towards the eastern coast of the Gulf, the merits of one harbour, that of the Si-Chang Islands, were determined by actual survey. From this, indeed, down to the latitude of 11°, the coast is so thickly crowded with islands, having navigable channels and good anchorage between them, that it may almost be looked upon as one great harbour throughout. The principal ports of native commerce in this quarter are Chanti-lum and Tang-yai, the principal seats of the culture and trade of pepper, cardamoms, and gamboge. Chanti-lum, the most important, has an extensive Chinese population, engaged in the pep-

per culture. The town is about fifteen miles up a small river, which has no more than five feet water at its entrance, but off this, where there is shelter behind the neighbouring islands, it has water enough for ships of considerable size. To these ports the Siamese do not admit strangers.

The wide extent of the Siamese dominions admits of great diversity of soil and productions, and it may be safely said, that no country in the world is more highly gifted by nature. Its productions in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, are not only of great variety, but such as are well suited to stimulate commercial enterprise, and attract the resort of foreign nations.

In the mineral kingdom, the products are iron, tin, copper, lead, and gold. The iron mines are found at from two hundred to three hundred miles distant from the capital, and to the north of it, either directly in the neighbourhood of the river, or very near to it. Much of the ore is imperfectly smelted upon the spot, and in this state carried down to the capital, where it is fabricated into culinary and other utensils. The Chinese have of late years entered with spirit into the smelting and manufacture of iron, and consequently it forms at present one of the most valuable articles of exportation, and is sent in large quantities to the Malayan Islands, Kamboja, and Cochin China. The small labour at which this product is obtained in Siam is implied in its price,—a picul of the common bar iron costing no more than four rupees.

Tin, in Siam, is diffused over more extensive geographical limits than in any other part of the world, and for productiveness the mines of Junk Ceylon may be considered to stand next in rank to those of Banca, if they be not indeed, in this respect, equal to them: neither, however, the mines of this metal, nor those of copper, lead, or gold, have in Siam experienced the benefit of the industry and enterprise of the Chinese, and the produce therefore is comparatively of small importance. The tin and gold mines are wrought by the Siamese, those of copper and lead by some of the mountain tribes, who deliver them as tribute. The quantity of tin which finds its way to the capital, and is from thence exported, amounts to eight thousand piculs, or about five hundred tons.

Although the alluvial tract of the Me-nam and other spots be highly cultivated, yet from all the information that could be obtained, the far greater portion of the country is covered with

primeval forests. The most valuable productions of these are teak-wood, rose-wood, eagle-wood, and sapua-wood. The teak is of the same quality with that of Ava, and found indeed nearly in the same forests. It is floated down to the capital of Siam, often to a distance of three hundred miles: little of this is exported by foreigners. The Siamese themselves construct their large junks of it, and four or five of these are always to be seen on the stocks at the capital. A close-grained wood of a red colour, somewhat resembling mahogany, and called by the Portuguese "pao roza," or rose-wood, is produced in abundance in the forests of Siam. This wood, which is fit for furniture and ornamental purposes, is exported in very large quantities by the Chinese, particularly to Canton and the Island of Hoi-nan.

The most valuable produce of these forests, however, is probably the dyewood, called sapan. There is no part of the world that gives this production in such cheapness or abundance. It forms the dunnage of all the Chinese junks, and the principal parts of the cargoes of many of them. The precious perfume, called Agila or eagle-wood, is obtained on the islands on the east coast of the Gulf of Siam, and some on the mountains of the continent; this commodity, which is in great demand in all the western countries of Asia, is believed to be the exclusive production of Siam and Cochinchina.

The staple productions of culture are rice, sugar, pepper, and tobacco. The great rice country is of course the tract subjected to the inundations of the Menam. This portion of the country is of remarkable fertility, and yields rice with a comparatively small portion of labour—so that there is no place where, in ordinary years, grain can be had at a cheaper rate than in Siam.

Sugar was first produced in Siam from the cane about thirteen years ago, when the Chinese, in consequence of some additional privileges, conferred upon them by the Court, entered upon the cultivation of the cane: in a very few years afterwards, the commodity began to be exported, and such has been the rapidity of the growth of this branch of industry, that it is reckoned that at present not less than eighty thousand piculs are annually exported.

Pepper is another article, the culture of which is in the hands of the Chinese. —The east coast of the gulf, about the latitude of 11° and 12° are the countries in which this branch of agriculture is

successfully carried on.—The quantity of this article which is exported, and almost entirely to China, is about sixty thousand piculs, which is four times the quantity produced upon Prince of Wales's island, and equal to the whole production of the west coast of Sumatra, hitherto considered to afford the great bulk of all the pepper of commerce. The Siamese minister informed the mission that upwards of forty thousand piculs were annually given in as tribute to the King. The branch of revenue arising from this monopoly is realized nearly on the same principles as the forced deliveries of the Dutch, in this same production, in coffee, and in other articles.

The same portion of the country which produces pepper, produces also large quantities of gum, gamboge, and cardamoms, the latter of a fine quality, and in great esteem among the Chinese. Benjamin is produced chiefly in the kingdom of Lao, and has of late years been exported in considerable quantities. This is a commodity which has commonly been supposed to be peculiar to the islands of Sumatra and Borneo.

Of annual products a remarkable variety, applicable to the purposes of commerce, is afforded by Siam. The Chinese deal extensively in almost all of them. These consist of hides, peltry, horns, bones, ivory, feathers, salt-fish, sticklac, and e-culent birds' nests.

The hides consist principally of deer skins, of which the Dutch used in former times to take from Siam to Japan about one lack, and fifty thousand a year, with buffalo or elephant and rhinoceros hides. The peltry consists of tyger, leopard, otter, and cat skins; besides the horns exported for economical uses, rhinoceros' horns and deers' antlers, in a peculiar stage of their formation, are exported by the Chinese for their supposed medicinal virtues. Of bones, an immense quantity is carried to China. A few of them for medicinal purposes, but by far the greater quantity to be ground down and used as a dressing for the highly cultivated, but exhausted soils of some of the most populous districts of China.

Sticklac of the finest quality, which is any where to be found, forms a very valuable product. It is chiefly obtained from Lou and the northern parts of the country. Of this production not less than eighteen thousand piculs are annually sent to China.

One valuable article remains still to be mentioned,—culinary salt, which is produced in a degree of excellence and

cheapness which is nowhere exceeded. This commodity is manufactured in the district lying upon the central and western entrances of the Me-nan; the whole is obtained by solar evaporation; and the peculiar fitness of the soil and climate for the manufacture is sufficiently indicated, not only by the cheapness of the salt, but by the size and purity of its crystals: this commodity is brought to the capital, and easily distributed over the most populous parts of the country by means of the innumerable canals or small rivers which intersect the tract of inundation: the traffic in it indeed constitutes the largest branch of native commerce.

From Western India, in exchange for these, they receive opium, cotton piece goods, and a small quantity of embroidered silks. Of opium, from the best information that could be obtained, the annual consumption seems to be about two hundred chests. The whole of this is the product of our Bengal provinces, and indeed it is believed that no other description of opium has ever been tried in the Siamese market, notwithstanding the enhanced price; the consumption has been increasing from year to year with the increasing foreign commerce of the country. The current price, previous to the extraordinary rise, was five thousand ticals a chest; allowing this price for the quantity consumed, it appears that the Siamese pay a million of ticals a year for our opium, or about a million and a quarter of Calcutta rupees.

The cotton piece goods of India, especially the chintzes of Surat and the Coromandel coast, appear from time immemorial to have been articles of considerable demand. About the capital especially, a very large proportion of the population is clothed with these articles. The Mission was informed that the annual quantity either imported direct by European vessels, brought by Junks from Batavia and the Straits of Malacca, or across the Peninsula, does not fall short of five hundred bales.

Of European manufactures those most in demand among the Siamese, are white cotton goods, cheap woollens, fire-arms, and glass ware. The taste for this class of commodities appeared to be so good amongst the Siamese, that nothing seemed wanting to give the branch of trade connected with it, value and stability, but a moderate share of freedom and security.

The foreign trade of Siam is conducted with China, Cochin China, and Kamboja, certain native ports of the

Indian Islands, Batavia, the European ports in the Straits of Malacca, British India, and America.

Of all these the trade with China is incomparably of the greatest value and amount. This is conducted with almost every port of that great country, being by no means confined like the trade of Europeans to one part of that empire, or two at the most. The trade with the provinces of Canton, including the island of Hoi-nan and Fonkien, is the most considerable; but there is also a trade carried on with the more northern provinces of Chi-Kiang and King-nan.

The trade of Cochin China and Kamboja is chiefly conducted with the ports of Saigun and Kang Cao, and compared to the latter is very inconsiderable indeed in point of amount. These Junks are also exclusively navigated by Chinese mariners. The main exports from Siam are iron, and the imports raw silk.

The trade with British India is conducted principally from Surat and Bombay, and occasionally from Bengal. During the long war with France, when every other branch of this trade ceased, the Surat ships, generally from two to three, annually continued to frequent the port of Bang-kok. The super-cargoes of these vessels have generally been Parsees or Mohammedans; they have commonly imported gold and silver, silk tissues, and printed cloths, the manufacture of western India, and have carried away benjamin, gamboge, eagle-wood, sapan-wood, and, of late years, sugar.

It appears that the native trade of Siam, conducted exclusively by the Chinese, amounts to near thirty-nine thousand tons, and that supposing the Chinese vessels require, as is probable, three times the number of mariners that an European vessel does, that this trade gives employment to above eight thousand hands.

If to this Chinese trade be added eight hundred tons annually for the American trade, and one thousand for that of British India, and we conjecture the native Malayan trade also to amount to about this last sum, then we shall have an aggregate for the whole trade of forty-one thousand and eight hundred tons.

The Custom-house duties consist of impost upon goods imported and exported, and duties upon tonnage or measurement. The imposts upon goods often purport to be an *ad valorem* duty, but rudely assessed. Upon the import cargoes of European vessels it is levied as a per centage upon the whole value,

as appreciated by the officers of Government. With respect to the tonnage or measurement duty, it varies with the place or nation with which the trade is conducted. The direct trade with the continent of China, and which is really carried on by the native shipping of the port of Bang-kok, is on that account free from all impost, whether on goods or tonnage. The Junks trading with Hoi-nan, and which actually belong to the ports of that island, pay a measurement duty at a certain fixed rate per fathom of the breadth of the beam, and European vessels twice as much. The amount of revenue derived from the customs it was found impracticable to obtain.

With regard to our commercial relations with Siam, which are highly deserving of attention, it is believed that there is no country of India in proportion to its extent and population, with which, were the intercourse placed upon a fair and liberal footing, a more valuable commerce could be conducted by Europeans, but especially by our own nation.

It may be remarked, that the great obstacle to the extension of European commerce is not directly the arbitrary character of the Government itself, and the insecurity of property which may be supposed to result from it, for the property of strangers is as secure from positive depredation in the Mo-nan, as in the Hooghly; nor from contempt of foreign trade in general, for the Government holds this in the highest esteem,—nor from political jealousy itself, for even of this the foreign trade does not experience the effects,—but almost entirely from the injurious principle of the Government interfering in commercial matters, and appearing itself as the chief trader in all the most valuable productions of the country, as well as exercising a monopoly over much of what is imported by strangers.

Upon the principal articles of monopoly, a fixed price is placed, and there is no trade carried on in them with private individuals, except clandestinely. Unrestrained dealing on the part of an European merchant is by no means a matter of course, even when the established regulations of trade are implicitly complied with; for a specific licence must be obtained, and every licence so granted is considered as a boon on the part of the Government.

The import duty amounts to eight per cent. The export duty is a fixed and specific impost upon each commodity. Thus upon the great article of European

export, sugar, it is one and a half tical the Chinese pecul. The presents are considered to amount generally upon vessels of every description to about one thousand ticals, but as a return is made to the extent of at least fifty per cent. of these, the real amount is no more than five hundred ticals. Upon the exportation of bullion, or even of the coin of the country there is neither duty, restriction, nor prohibition; and upon the whole it must be acknowledged that there is nothing illiberal, nor oppressive in the nominal and ostensible regulation of the Siamese trade in its relation to Europeans, and that it is the practice only which is vexatious and oppressive.

Cochin China.—This Empire, which took its existing form in the first years of the present century, comprises the whole of Cochin China, the whole of Tonquin, the principal part of Kamboja, and the little state of Champa. Its geographical limits extend from the point of Kamboja in about 6° 30' north latitude to the northern confines of Tonquin, which reach within very few miles of the Tropic, and from the longitude of 105° to about 109° east. It is bordered to the north by the Chinese Provinces of Canton, Kenangsi and Yun-nan, and to the west by the kingdoms of Lao and Siam; the Gulfs of Siam and Tonquin, and the China Sea, bound it in every direction.

The kingdom of Cochin China, although apparently inferior to Siam in fertility of soil, and in variety and richness of production, possesses extraordinary advantages for commerce, both from its central situation, its navigable rivers, and its innumerable and excellent harbours.

Within the whole kingdom there appear to be no less than five great or considerable navigable rivers, viz. that of Kangkno, of Kamboja, of Saigun, of Tongkin, and of Hué.

The first of these empties itself into the Gulf of Siam, and upon this are situated Athien and Pontiamas. This river, which connects itself with the great river of Kamboja, and through it leads to the capital of that kingdom, Panompin, was much frequented about a century ago by European traders. This is the place to which in the negotiation with the Cochin Chinese Court, the Mission was anxious to obtain a free access, as being the only considerable Cochin Chinese port upon the Gulf of Siam, and affording a direct access into the interior of Kamboja.

Cochin China Proper has no navigable river of any magnitude. The river of

Hué having but a very short course, and although broad, being but shallow, is not of extensive utility either to external or internal navigation. Its estuary, however, forms a fine harbour, and in the south-west monsoon, ships of two hundred tons burden may enter and quit it in great safety. In the opposite monsoon, on the contrary, it is almost inaccessible.

In Tonquin there is one river, which in former periods was well known to European navigators, and appears to have been then accessible, notwithstanding the bar at its mouth, to vessels of four or five hundred tons burden. From the best information that could be obtained, the entrance appears at present to be much obstructed by sand banks, and the river consequently not navigable for vessels of above two hundred tons burden. Cachao, the capital of Tonquin, is situated upon this stream at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth. This river, which fertilizes a great tract of country, is the principal source of the productiveness of Tonquin; and having its origin in the centre of the great Chinese province of Yu-nan, and extending throughout the whole of Tonquin, it would appear to afford a very extensive and useful internal navigation.

In regard to harbours, Cochin China appears to be singularly fortunate: within the six degrees and a half of latitude, which intervene between Cape Saint James's and the Bay of Turan, there are no less than nine of the finest harbours in the world, accessible with every wind—safe to approach, and when attained, affording the most complete protection.

The principal products of the country, in reference to their importance as articles of foreign trade, are thus enumerated—Sugar is the most valuable of them. This article is chiefly produced in the central districts of Cochin China Proper, and both in agriculture and manufacture is the result of the labour of the natives of the country, and not of that of the Chinese as in Siam. The article is what is called in commerce *clayed sugar*. Upon the whole, the commodity, though of a good grain, is inferior in whiteness to that of Siam. The whole exportation appears to be about thirty thousand piculs, and has principally been sent to China.

Raw silk is the next article in value. Of this there is little or none produced in Kamboja; but in Cochin China, the culture, as the Mission had an opportunity of observing, is extensive, and

in Tonquin it is still more so. The quantity of this commodity, which the whole kingdom could export, was estimated at about one lack and twenty thousand pounds weight a year. The objections to it are the shortness of the skein, and therefore its unsuitableness to our machinery. A seer of it, duly examined in the Calcutta market, was calculated to be worth eleven rupees, being considered somewhat better than Bengal silk not produced at the Company's filatures. The French ships which lately visited Cochin China, carried home considerable quantities of it, and it appears that the coarser kind was found to answer very well in the French Market.

Cochin China produces the true cinnamon. The whole produce of this article for exportation appears to be about two thousand piculs, or two lacks and sixty-six thousand pounds. Its growth is confined to the mountains of central Cochin China, from whence it is exported to Kamboja and Tonquin, but principally to China, where it is much more highly valued than any other quality of this aromatic. Although in taste highly agreeable, and aromatic in its present state of preparation, it is not suited to the Indian or European markets. To render it suited to our consumption, it would be necessary that the natives should be instructed in freeing it from the *epidermis*, and otherwise packing and preparing it as practised in Ceylon, a matter which might be communicated without difficulty through the Chinese.

Another exclusive product of the central part of the kingdom, which is extensively cultivated and supplied to the neighbouring provinces, is tea. This is a very coarse and very cheap commodity, the price seldom exceeding a penny or twopence a pound. Whether under other circumstances of our relations with this part of the world, this tea might not be exported for the consumption of the poorer classes in England may be a subject for consideration.

The productions of alluvial districts of the kingdom, and the adjacent forests, are nearly identified with those of Siam, and it will only be necessary to enumerate the principal of them. These are for Kamboja, gamboge, cardamoms, eagle-wood, areka, ivory, sticklac, hides, horns and bones, dried fish, dye-woods, and woods for palanquin and domestic architecture. For Tonquin they are varnish, sticklac, and woods and roots for dyeing.

Of these commodities it will only be necessary to specify two or three. Valuable timber is only found at Kamboja. A small quantity of teak-wood, but undeserving notice, is found in the forests of this country. The wood used for ship-building, for the manufacture of gun-carriages, and for almost all architectural purposes, is one called in the native language *Sao*. Not having seen the tree which produces it, the Mission had no opportunity of ascertaining its botanical character. This timber, from all accounts, is strong and durable; it is carried to the capital in large quantities, and from it were constructed the whole of the public buildings, as well as the numerous and very beautiful gun-carriages which the Mission had an opportunity of examining in the royal arsenal. A hard black wood, called in the Cochin Chinese language *Qo*, is extensively used in cabinet work, and being of large dimensions and affording a fine polish, seems extremely well suited to this purpose, and may probably answer for exportation to our settlements. Kamboja also produces the timber called by the Portuguese rose-wood, and this the Chinese export as they do from Siam.

Of the vegetable products exported from Tonquin, only one is adverted to—this is a species of root called in the Anam language, *Nao*, and in that of Canton, *Shulong*. It forms the dead weight of all the Chinese cargoes exported from Tonquin. This, which is a very cheap material, is extensively used both throughout Tonquin and Cochin China, as well as in China, as the material of a red dye, which might be applied to similar purposes in our own manufactures.

Tonquin is the only portion of the Cochin Chinese empire which yields the metals. Among these are iron, gold, and silver; the iron of Tonquin, which seems to be nearly as cheap as that of Siam, supplies the whole kingdom; with the exception of Siagon, which is furnished from the latter country.

The commodities which the Cochin Chinese receive in the course of commerce, in exchange for the productions now enumerated, are the manufactured products of China, certain of the productions of the Malay Islands, and of India, and a few of the manufactures of Europe.

The productions they receive from China, are manufactured silks, porcelain, medical drugs, and a very large supply of paper, principally for religious purposes, and some fine tea. From

the Malayan countries they receive pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, with sandal-wood, and tin, and from India, opium and salt-petre. From Europe the present importations consist only of broad cloth, a few cotton goods, fire-arms, and unwrought iron.

Pepper of a good quality, but in small quantity and of high price, is produced in the central provinces of Cochin China. The quantity is inadequate to the demand which the Chinese trade creates for its exportation, and this article as well as tin, may be pointed out as commodities likely to be imported with advantage into Cochin China. Of opium the consumption of the kingdom, estimating the wholesale price at three thousand five hundred Spanish dollars the chest, is stated to be about one hundred and fifty chests per annum, two-thirds of this being estimated for Tonquin, and one-third for Cochin China and Kamboja: until the establishment at Singapore, the whole of this supply has been obtained indirectly from Canton, some portion of it by the junks, and a good deal by land communication.

Broad cloth seems long to have been consumed in Cochin China, and at present the army, amounting to forty thousand men, is uniformly and amply clothed in British woollens—consisting chiefly of strong coarse scarlet broad cloth, of a small quantity of yellow and green of the same texture, with a few serges and camblets. Independently of these, there is a demand for some woollens of a finer fabric among the better classes of people for occasional winter dress.

From Canton and Singapore, the junks have of late brought small quantities of fine heavy cotton goods, which are much in request amongst the better classes. Chintzes and other coloured cotton goods, so well suited to the state of the Siamese, are not at all consumed by the Cochin Chinese, with the exception of handkerchiefs; neither are our coarse white cottons, such as are manufactured in India, fit to be imported into Cochin China; for from the specimens which the Mission brought from that country, it does not appear that we are capable of competing with them in this description of their domestic manufacture.

The Cochin Chinese, notwithstanding their skill in the fabrication of cannon, and the manufacture of ammunition, are incapable of supplying themselves with fire-arms; and they have at all times been furnished with these by Europeans. One of the French ships,

which came out in 1819, supplied the king of Cochin China with ten thousand stand of arms, which still continue articles in demand. Notwithstanding the apparent cheapness of the native iron, both of Siam and Cochin China, still this does not exclude the importation of the same commodity from Europe, the use of which, from the little loss it sustains in the operation of forging, compared to the native metal, has advantages over it even in point of economy.

The foreign trade of the Cochin Chinese empire is almost exclusively with China. The trade which it carries on with Siam is inconsiderable, and that with European nations still smaller. The Cochin Chinese, like the Siamese, and it is presumed for the same reasons, are prohibited from going abroad, and whatever foreign trade they possess, is carried on, not by themselves, but by the natives of those countries with whom they hold intercourse. The subjects of Cochin China however, are permitted to go abroad by licence, and in this manner a few of them visit China, and within the last two or three years several of their merchants have visited the European ports in the straits of Malacca, and particularly Singapore. It may here be remarked, that were the Cochin Chinese permitted the liberty of going freely abroad, no people of the east seem so well fitted to make expert mariners, from their hardiness, their activity, and their prompt and cheerful habits of obedience. The Cochin Chinese, although not permitted to go abroad, conduct a considerable traffic by sea between one part of the empire and another. In the course of this, as well as the transporting of the tributes to the capital, they acquire a good deal of maritime experience.

The Chinese trade of the empire is chiefly conducted with Cachao in Tonquin, Saigon in Kamboja, and Taito and Hué, in Cochin China; but there is also some intercourse with the minor parts of Pungtea, Yatraung, Fu-yiu Sam-chao, Kwin-nyou, Kwang-yi.

The whole of the Chinese trade, at the rate of 16 piculs to a ton, amounts to nearly twenty thousand tons, being very little more than one half the Chinese trade of the single port of Bang-kok: such is the benefit derived to the latter from the numbers and free enterprise of the Chinese residents of that country; for the Cochin Chinese Government is in theory nearly as despotic and arbitrary as that of Siam, but in practice it is, if not milder, certainly of a more manly and candid character. The Cochin Chinese,

in their form of government, as they do in their other institutions, imitate the Chinese, but they fall as much short of those people in the administration of their law as they do in ingenuity and industry. The only rank amongst them is official, and this, as in China, is divided into two great classes, a civil and a military arrangement, which creates, throughout the provinces, a sort of double administration.

The form of the administration is regular, and the habits and modes of transacting business, equally prompt and methodical.

An erroneous opinion appears to be prevalent amongst European nations, communicated by some of the most recent writers, respecting Tonquin and Cochin China, that the resort of European traders in a great measure interdicted in this kingdom, on the same principle as in Japan, and in all the ports of the Chinese empire, with the exception of one. This is so far from being true, that it is believed in no Asiatic country are European Merchants admitted upon terms more easy and liberal than in Cochin China. European ships had indeed been subjected to higher rates of duties than the vessels of Asiatic nations, previous to the year 1818; but in that year, the late king established a new Tariff for the foreign commerce, and all foreign traders were upon that occasion placed upon an equality.

By this regulation all vessels pay a rated measurement duty, moderate in its amount, are exempted from all import duties or examination of import cargo, and pay a small export duty upon a few articles only. Vessels driven into the ports of Cochin China by stress of weather, or visiting them for the purpose of making commercial inquiries, are free from all charges, and four of the principal ports of the Cochin Chinese empire are open to European commerce.

These moderate and liberal arrangements have little to be desired in the way of mere regulation, but it is of little more consequence to the interests of foreign trade, that in Cochin China, neither the sovereign nor his officers are traders themselves, that there are no royal monopolies, and no claim of right of pre-emption, the exercise of all of which is infinitely more mischievous even than the heaviest duties.

The French are the only people who have yet availed themselves of the new regulations of the Cochin Chinese government in favour of European trade.

Four French ships of considerable burden have since then visited Cochin China. They brought out fire-arms, iron, copper, woollens, and some curiosities for the court, and all received full cargoes of sugar, with considerable quantities of raw silk. A respectable mercantile house at Bordeaux has left two French gentlemen as agents at Turan, for the purpose of providing them with cargoes.

There is reason to hope that the trade of Siam and Cochin China will also afford an indirect channel for the employment of our capital, still more extensive and advantageous, than the direct trade with those nations themselves, namely, a trade with China. This is more particularly applicable to Cochin China than to Siam, because it lies more in the direct route of trade, and the Chinese vessels which frequent its ports stand more in need of return cargoes than they do in Siam: but it applies indeed to both, and embraces an aggregate trade amounting to sixty thousand tons.

By this channel, an indirect, but still an easy, intercourse may be kept up with every port of China, from Hoi-nan up to the Yellow Sea, and by these means may be conveyed to the ports of China, all the commodities of the Indian Archipelago of India or of Europe, known to be suitable to the Chinese market; while, by the same course, we might receive in return direct from the principal marts, the teas and raw and wrought silks of China. This is a commerce which might exist independent of the caprice of the Chinese government, and which would increase in proportion to the freedom with which it was conducted. The Chinese merchants of Cochin China, with whom Mr. Crawford conversed constantly, urged this branch of commerce upon his attention, and showed themselves most solicitous to enter into it.

Independent of the advantages which we may draw from the maritime intercourse between Cochin China and the ports of the Chinese empire, it may be observed, that the internal intercourse between Tonquin and the Chinese provinces to the north and west of it, and which is chiefly conducted through the great river of Tonquin, may afford another channel of disseminating our productions in parts of China, which have at present no cheap or direct communication with the only port which we are allowed to frequent. We should receive as returns in this branch, the precious and useful metals, which are productions either of Tonquin itself, or of

the great Chinese province of Yu-nan, which borders immediately upon it.

From a public notification in the preceding part of this day's Gazette, it will be seen that the government of Cochin China has consented to the admission of all British vessels into the ports of Saigon, Han, Faifo, and Hué, on the terms specified in the tariffs or regulations of trade, included in the same official document.—*Calcutta Government Gazette.*

SUPREME COURT, CALCUTTA.

Monday, July 21, 1823.

THE REV. JAMES BRYCE *versus* GEORGE BALLARD, JOHN PALMER, and JOHN FRANCIS SANDYS, Esquires, THOMAS Holders, and Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.

Counsel for the Prosecution, LONGUEVILLE CLARKE, and J. J. PEMBERTON, Esquires; Attorneys, THOMAS DENMAN.—Counsel for the Defence, The Advocate General, and T. E. M. TURTON, Esquire; Attorneys, COMBERBACH and HOGG.

BEFORE THE HONORABLE SIR A. BULLER.

BEFORE the cause was called on, Mr. Fergusson moved, that the Clerk of the Papers do attend with the depositions in the case of *Buckingham v. Larkins* and others. The cause was then called, when Mr. Pemberton rose and opened the pleadings. This action, the learned gentleman stated, was brought to recover damages for a libel on the character of the plaintiff. The plaint was filed on the 7th of May, 1823. The 1st count is, for a libel, published in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 22d of February, 1823, in a letter headed "Important Queries," and signed "Crispus." The 2d is for a libel, published in the same *Journal*, on the 24th of February, 1823, in the form of an Epigram, with the brand or mark of one of the Honourable Company's penknives subscribed. The 3d count is, for a libel in the *Journal* of March 1, 1823, in the editorial note to a letter signed "Presbyteros." The 4th count is, for a libel in the same day's *Journal*, headed "Secular Emoluments," and signed "Peter Pounce." The 5th and last count is, for a libel contained in the *Journal* of the 12th of March, headed "Clerical Avarice Reproved," and signed "An Englishman."

The damages were laid at 100,000 rupees.

Mr. CLARKE then rose and addressed the Court to the following effect:—

the case on which I have now the honour of addressing the Court, it is my province to call its attention to the description of the injury sustained by my client, a clergyman at the head of the Scotch Church in India, and a chaplain in the Honourable Company's Service. Two of the defendants are proprietors, and one is the editor of the Calcutta Journal. The plaintiff comes here to-day to seek reparation from the defendants for the libels they have published against his character. I feel that no language of mine, did I possess even that power of oratory which distinguishes my learned friends, who are opposed to me, could ever appeal so forcibly for redress as the simple statement of the case of my client: he is a minister of the Gospel—the priest of the Creator—a servant of the Most High—a preacher of the Sacred Word, and either does or ought to surpass other men in purity and rectitude of conduct. Never will British law—never will British justice suffer his sacred character to be blackened with impunity. It is not on the mere circumstance of his situation alone, on which he claims redress for the injury done to his character, but he, as a clergyman, has no other protection but the law. I am aware that it is the duty of a clergyman to sustain injury with meekness and forbearance, and with Christian patience, but I have yet to learn that it is his duty to suffer himself to be reviled and not to come forward to justify his character and seek redress. I do not mean to say that many well-meaning persons may not blame him for coming forward to seek for reparation—many may think him wrong in coming here: I shall, however, relate a simple tale that will, I think, place this matter in another light. There is a certain point beyond which forbearance even in clergymen becomes a fault. To show that he has exercised this virtue of endurance, I need only refer to his long residence in this country, during which he has never come forward to claim reparation, and I will prove, that from the establishment of that paper, the Calcutta Journal, from its fifth number, in which there was a most virulent attack upon him, almost every number, every copy contained abuse of my client, until in 1819 ill health obliged him to return to Europe. On that occasion an address was presented to him. On his return to this country these attacks were renewed—they have been continued up to the present hour without his coming before you for redress. Of Mr. Buckingham, I have nothing to say; but

that these attacks continued till he was ordered home on the 12th February last, when his paper was put under the management of another Editor, who has continued the same system. On the first day of his management, there is a scurrilous attack on my client; on the second day there is the first libel in the plain; and day after day these attacks continued until, at length, finding that forbearance was of no avail, he decided to come before your Lordship. A general belief had gone abroad that he was guilty, and however high his character might once have stood, it had suffered most severely. I will put witnesses into that box to swear that a change had been effected in the minds of his friends by the libels published by the defendants. He determined, if possible, to avoid any such measure, when his persecutor (for so I may term him) had quitted the country. But finding that he had left behind him the same vampire spirit feeding on his character, that his friends were falling off, his character seriously injured, what other course, I ask, could he adopt to vindicate himself than the one he has chosen? He has done so in the fairest manner, and instead of instituting a criminal prosecution, he has brought a civil action against the defendants, to enable them to prove their accusations. They might have pleaded in justification, they have not done so; but have pleaded the general issue.

The doctrine that a clergyman ought to bear and forbear, has been urged in condemnation of the measure resorted to by my client. (The Advocate General intimated that he did not mean to advance any such argument.)

I certainly thought my learned friend had too much judgment to rest an argument on such a basis—but as I was going to observe, there is a peculiar aggravation of the injury in selecting a person so circumstanced as that he could not defend himself. After my client had been attacked in the most unprincipled manner, is it not most ungenerous to turn round on him, and say,—‘aye, now we have ruined you, you have no right to defend yourself?’ I do not mean by this to say, that because he is a clergyman, that, therefore, even when he acts wrong, he ought to be held sacred. No! if he does act disgracefully, he deserves to be singled out and separated from his flock, that they may not be contaminated by the shepherd. Charges of the most absurd description have been urged against my client. One is, that having merited the confidence of

this government, they thought proper to give him a place; and because he is still felt to be worthy of the confidence of government, therefore, it appears, he is held up as an object of attack and detestation. I shall show, however, that this situation is not incompatible with his clerical duties. I will put a number of witnesses connected with the Scotch Church, into the box, to show that it is not at variance with the duties of a Scotch clergyman to hold it, in order to refute this most futile, this most absurd charge. But however ridiculous it may be to advance this as a charge, I will take even that semblance of truth from them, and show, that at this very day, it is the practice to allow, and that such secular employments always have been allowed, to Scottish clergymen.

Another objection to this prosecution that has been urged is this: it has been said, that now that the stormy period of discussion is passed away, and we have begun to repose in peace under the shadow of the restrictions which were enacted to ensure this tranquillity, that therefore it was ill-judged to come forward now and disturb this repose, when under those restrictions the act of Government in appointing my client cannot be arraigned without endangering the licence of the paper. But I contend, that this can be of no use to his character; and I would say, in the words of Sir F. Macnaghten, when passing those restrictions, let any individual that is injured by them, come to him. It is said, indeed, that my client need not now fear attacks of the press on him, but the fact is, he stands just where he did—those restrictions do not at all protect him*—they protect the Government only. But even suppose that this was the case, in these publications, direct appeals are made to the Court of Directors and to the General Assembly, to strip the gown off my client's back—who could say what might be the effect of these appeals on these bodies?—they were 16,000 miles off—who can say that the Court of Directors may not refuse to confirm my client's appointment, or the General Assembly take away his licence? They may say, you might have brought an action on the spot to vindicate your character, if it could be vindicated—you have not done so, and the inference is, therefore, that

it could not. We will, therefore, deprive you of your gown, for not availing yourself of the laws of your country. Even if the restrictions would have been enough to protect my client, they would not have been sufficient to remove the impression that may be made on the minds of the Court of Directors and of the General Assembly—that must be wiped off by your Lordship's opinion this day. The next point I come to, is the connexion of the defendants with the property of this paper; I am perfectly willing to admit that the individuals themselves are in private character most respectable—but private character cannot interfere to palliate such an injury as this, but rather tends to aggravate it. Had the defendants been persons of no weight in society, the publications at issue are so much in the spirit of what has proceeded from it, that little weight could have been attached to them. But the proprietors, the defendants in this case, are men of character; they came forward to enable this paper to go on, and so far they have identified themselves with it, and no distinction can be drawn between the Shareholder and the Editor. They were aware what the conduct of that paper would be, they knew that four prosecutions* had been instituted against it, that Mr. Buckingham had been sent home. They saw the present Editor put in, and were aware that this prosecution would be brought, though the plaint was not filed against them till the 7th of May. Yet with all this knowledge before them, instead of aiding to suppress such a paper, they come forward to give it a helping hand; and by

* As the learned counsel has taken the trouble to rake up all the errors of this paper from its commencement, we feel it incumbent on us as a duty we owe equally to the public, our absent predecessor, and ourselves, to give a brief history of these four prosecutions, to which the learned gentleman alluded as ground of condemnation against us and the proprietors who voluntarily stepped forward to sign the necessary affidavits to procure the licence required by Government.

The 1st of these prosecutions was the case of Greenway, in which a verdict was pronounced against the Editor—Damages One Rupee.

The 2d was the case of the "United Secretaries," in which our predecessor was honourably acquitted by the verdict of a Jury.

The 3d was that of the *Ex-Officio* Information, which was dropped, because, we suppose, it was deemed hopeless; and the 4th is the present trial. To what lengths a feigned counsel may be licensed to go in pleading we will not presume to decide. But we certainly think it is hardly candid to advance as a charge the fact of a prosecution having been instituted, even when the result was an acquittal.—*Editor of the Calcutta Journal.*

* If the learned gentleman deemed it necessary to introduce the restrictions as matter of argument, he ought to have been correctly informed as to all the facts connected with their operation—we refer him to a notice in the Journal of the 16th May last, page 226.

this act they are identified with its Editor, and responsible for all he has published in it. I would address these gentlemen in the language of my learned friend on a former occasion :—" If gentlemen chose to indulge in the strange taste of vesting their property in newspapers, they must be responsible, and it will not do to say that they are not concerned with the Editor." I am sorry these gentlemen have so soon forgot the language of my learned friend—they were bound to see that their Editor did not publish any libels, if they did not, the law will make them liable. But I will quote the law laid down by my learned friend. He said that proprietors are liable civilly and criminally. But it seems that in this the proprietors differ with him, for notwithstanding this, we are told in their paper, in direct opposition to this, that they are no more liable for the acts of their Editor, than the managers of Chowringhee Theatre are for the faults of their actors.

I have now stated generally, and I fear at too great length, what compelled my client to come into this Court. He fears the effect of these publications on the Court of Directors and the General Assembly. I have now only to call your attention to the libels themselves. The 1st libel is a letter published in the Calcutta Journal of the 23d of February, headed " Important Queries," and signed " Crispus."—It first alludes to Mr. Buckingham's transmission, and then goes on to say that the appointment bestowed on my client was given to a person of " Address-writing notoriety, generally engaged in pursuits not very compatible with the clerical character."

The ADVOCATE GENERAL here submitted that neither in this nor in any one of the counts had it been stated that the plaintiff was libelled in the character of a clergyman.

Mr. CLARKE.—The 2d libel is in the form of an epigram, published in the Journal of the 24th of February, 1823, and subscribed " One of the many of the Honourable Company's Penknives," marked thus (shown): the penknife speaks my Lord.

Mr. TURTON.—Then no doubt it's a cutting remark.

Mr. CLARKE.—The 3d libel is an editorial note to a letter signed " Presbyteros," published in the Journal of the 11th of March, 1823. Your Lordship may see the consequence of such continued libels, by their being deemed here matter of mirth and unfeeling sport (alluding to the laughter excited by

some humorous remarks elicited by the Penknife Libel.)

Mr. CLARKE then read the note alluded to, which is given in another place, and observed that it was imputed in it as a token of guilt on the part of his client, that he had not denied being the author of the libels attributed to him. But, said Mr. Clarke, he found that denying was no avail; for in the former instance when he did so, it had no effect—the attacks on him still continued, and so he was compelled to come to this Court.

I come now, my Lords, to the fourth libel, which is a letter published in the same journal as the last, headed " Secular emoluments," and signed " Peter Pounce." There can be no doubt, my Lord, that this refers to Dr. Bryce, and I shall put witnesses into the box who will swear that it does. And perhaps of all the libels that I have enumerated, not one could have a more serious effect on the character of my client; for, if true, he who himself conducts a Magazine did cause a man to be expelled the church for doing the very same thing. Mere ribaldry might pass away, but this, if true, must for ever ruin him and blast his character. But before they published such a grave accusation, ought they not at least to have had some foundation,* to have known

* To convince the learned counsel that we know something of the circumstance, Peter Pounce was supposed to have alluded to, we refer him to the Calcutta Journal, Vol. VI. 1820, p. 232-6. Dr. Bryce brought forward an overture (which he carried by a majority of one) respecting an article in the " Christian Instructor," which had called a majority of the Assembly " silly and malignant drivellers," William Inglis, Esq. W.S. opposed it, because there was no instance on their records of the Assembly having taken notice of an anonymous slander. Mr. Thomson showed that many other such attacks had passed unnoticed, as accusing the Assembly of want of principle; infringing the rules of the church; that one clergyman had called his Highland brethren " idle dogs," " slow bellies." And he concluded with the following remarks :

" And now, Sir, before I sit down, allow me for a moment to advert to the time and the circumstances in which this business is submitted to us. It is, Sir, when we are met to part, never all again to meet in this world; it is when we are met to take a respectful leave of the noble representative of our gracious Sovereign, in the hope that he will report favourably of our proceedings to his Majesty; it is when we are met to receive from you, Sir, those wise and paternal admonitions which you are so well qualified to give, before we return to our families and our flocks; it is when we are met to exchange our tokens of mutual kindness, and of mutual forgiveness for any asperities, which, from the weakness of human nature, may have mingled in our discussions and debates—it is when we are met for these purposes, under the peaceful and har-

the author. Instead of exercising this caution, they did not, until four months afterwards, even call on the writer for his authority, they then publish, on the 19th of July, the following notice :—“ Peter’ Pounce, who addressed a Note to us above four months ago, ‘ On Secular Emoluments,’ is requested to communicate with us in a private and confidential letter respecting the circumstance therein alluded to.”

The fact is, my Lord, they have got some hint of a tale, but they do not know what it is; I will tell them :—A minister in Scotland had published in the Christian Instructor a gross libel on the General Assembly. My client moved that it should be considered in the General Assembly, and Mr. Thomson opposed the motion. It was objected to by others, who moved that proceedings should be commenced and suspended over him. Dr. Bryce opposed this reference to the Procurator General, and succeeded in preventing the individual from being brought to the bar of the General Assembly, or prosecuted for the libel. He had stated, that the General Assembly were a set of drivellers capable of any act of injustice. Such was the conduct of my client, and yet this humane and tender conduct is misrepresented in this way. It is by the mere providence of God that he has a witness here who can prove this. Now I appeal to your Lordship to pronounce what reputation can withstand attacks like this.

I come now to the fifth libel, signed “ An Englishman,” published in the Journal of the 12th of March.—(The

monising influence of that Sabbath of the Lord, which has intervened between our present and our former meeting—it is at this time and in these circumstances, that we are called on to discuss an oxerture, which, I must not say was intended, but which, I will say, was calculated to rouse our angry passions, and to render that, which should have been the scene, and nothing but the scene of brotherly love, a scene of discord and of strife. O Sir, must not every generous feeling revolt at this intrusion on the holiness and the charity of our farewell meeting? Do not all the sentiments of good will, which, in spite of our dilident parties and our different opinions, still glow within our breasts, rise up in arms against such an unlooked-for, and such an unprecedented violation of our sanctuary? And must not we retire to our homes under a painful impression, that, when we are just about to give the parting salutation, there was forced on us a subject of complaint, which, it is disgusting in contemplation, can scarcely be discussed without occasioning keen contention, which had escaped the notice, or only excited the interest of those among whom it circulated, and which is forced upon us by the zeal of whom it least of all concerns—the Presbyterian Ministry from the banks of the Ganges.”

learned Counsel here read the third paragraph of the letter.)

Nothing can be more absurd than this, for the practice of clergymen accepting secular emoluments obtains throughout the church; what for instance are the offices of Curator of the Markets and Procurator, and a variety of others? It is well known that the latter, in particular, are obliged to perform most unclerical acts. But of all this, this most stupid wight, the writer of this letter, seems most profoundly ignorant. The libel goes on my Lord—(The learned Counsel here read the fourth paragraph of the Letter of an Englishman.)

What is this but to say, that my client has been guilty of an act for which his gown should be taken off his back? why if he is the author of those letters, was he not brought forward in this court on the late prosecution? what right had the defendants to call on the Court of Directors and the General Assembly? When they had exhausted their store of ribaldry and abuse, they bring forward these grave recitations to injure him.—(The learned Counsel then read part of a letter published on the 21th of March, headed Barney Wogan, but it was objected to; and not being on the record or in any way admissible as evidence, we have not given it at all.)

There are a variety (continued the learned Counsel) of letters on this subject, both subsequent and prior. The number of libels which I had selected was 21 in February, and 19 in March. Out of this mass of libels I selected five. Not to press on your Lordship’s time, this is the situation in which my client is placed. He was bred to the church, and distinguished himself at a very early period, as a literary character by a work on British India. In consequence of this, the situation he now holds, was conferred on him; and in 1814 he came out here to fulfil it, and was so happy as to obtain the good opinion of society, and to retain it till his return to England in 1819. To show this, I will here read an address subscribed with sixty-nine signatures.—(This Address was read, but not being evidence, and not put in, is not given.)*

The Advocate General.—This never could be evidence, but as the learned Counsel has been indulged in reading

* In fact we could not have given the Address, if we would; for the learned Counsel promptly refused to allow it to be read, and our reporter could not follow him in the reading of it.—Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

it, I have a right to see it. If I do not see it now, I never shall.

MR. CLARKE.—(Refusing to show it.) It is not yet in evidence.

The ADVOCATE GENERAL.—Then, I have a right to say, it does not exist.

MR. CLARKE.—I have only read it to call your Lordship's attention to what has been already stated, as to the good opinion my client enjoyed, and to the effect which these libels have had in diminishing it; and the effect which they must produce when they go further;—to England, and to the General Assembly. With respect to the responsibility of the defendants, I contend that they are not only reponsible, but that your Lordship is bound to make a signal example of them, for this persecution of my client. The paper in which the libels on him appeared, is supported by gentlemen of the highest respectability, and of great weight in society; and must therefore have a very extensive circulation. It is their interest to circulate it; and thus the libels must fall with accumulated weight, when so many persons of character and consequence are interested in the paper in which they appeared: and, above all, is my client's claim well founded, for the long and patient endurance with which he suffered all this. I submit therefore that he comes before your Lordship under most favourable circumstances for a verdict, and is entitled to heavy damages.

MR. PEMBERTON then inquired, if Mr. Ferguson admitted the jurisdiction.

The ADVOCATE GENERAL.—I admit Mr. Palmer's and Mr. Ballard's—not that of Mr. Sandys's.

[The Evidence on the part of the prosecution, which was given at considerable length, went principally to show, that in the Scottish church there were two parties, one called the Wild, and the other the Moderate party. By the Wild are meant the evangelical or godly, and by the Moderate, those who are more lax in their principles and conduct. To the former party, it was admitted, the various occupations of Dr. Bryce would appear incompatible with his character as a Presbyterian clergyman; but to the latter party, it was contended, it would by no means be condemned. The rest of the evidence turned chiefly on technicalities, as to proprietors' responsibilities, and an unsuccessful endeavour to discover the writers of certain letters in the John Bull, and is not, therefore, important to the merits of the question. The following are the only portions that appear material to the point at issue, whether Dr. Bryce's avocations were consistent with his clerical character, and whether it could be fairly considered libellous to state that they were not so.]

SANDFORD ARNOT.—Sworn and examined by Mr. Pemberton.—Knows Mr. Palmer.—Does not know exactly where he resides.—(The Advocate General here again intimated to the learned Counsel, that Mr. Palmer's jurisdiction was already admitted.)—Knows Mr. Sandys.—Does not know whether he lives in Calcutta.—Never knew where he lived.—Saw him generally every day.—Does not recollect seeing him on the 7th of May.—Cannot speak as to having seen him on that particular day.—Does not know whether he has a house in Calcutta or not.—Has seen him in other places besides the office, that is, passing along the streets and in this Court House.—Never heard from Mr. Sandys himself where he lived.

Evidence of Dr. ALEXANDER HALLIDAY.

Was acquainted with the tenets and discipline of the Church of Scotland: the discipline, comparatively with that of other churches, is somewhat rigid.—Does not know what the duties of a Clerk of the Stationary Committee are: (the Advocate General informed the witness that one of them was to advertise for paper, ink, tape, gum, and leather:.) knows that, in the opinion of the more exemplary, such an office would be accounted derogatory to the clerical dignity: it would be thought so in the opinion of the ministers and the great body of the people of Scotland: know the church is divided into two bodies, one of which is called the Wild, and the other the Moderate party: there are leading men on both sides: the Moderate party have the greatest influence in establishing the regulations: he meant that both amongst the Wild class and the Moderate, the office of Clerk of Stationary would be considered derogatory for a minister.

Evidence of Dr. HARE.—He has not been in the habit of reading the "Journal" from the beginning of this year to the present time. His acquaintance is so limited that it is extremely difficult for him to say whether or not the letter of "Peter Pounce" has produced any effect as to the character of Dr. Bryce. (Witness was here desired to look at the Penknife "Epigram," and the note to the letter of "Presbyterus.") He has certainly heard disapprobation of Dr. Bryce's conduct expressed, but not so strongly as here (referring to the above publications.) He thinks Doctor Bryce's character was injured by his acceptance of the office of Secretary to the Committee of Stationary, no doubt these publications injured his character generally. He has been so long in India that it is hardly a fair question to ask him as to his knowledge of the practices of the Scottish church. He should not conceive himself exactly justified in saying that Scotch clergymen are editors of magazines; but he has heard from the publisher that a Scotch clergyman was editor of the Christian Instructor. He does not know whether it is like other magazines; it contains miscellaneous matter. He, witness, is a member of the Kirk Session, Doctor Bryce is a minister. He has often heard that a good sermon contains miscellaneous matter. He knows that Doctor Bryce published a va-

lume of sermons when he was here before, but does not recollect whether he conducted any other work. Does not know much of his conduct: recollects his conducting a common newspaper, called the "*Asiatic Mirror*:" believes he did so. He, (witness) sometimes read that paper: does not recollect, he can swear it was the most belligerent paper, but there was a very sharp controversy carried on in it: Doctor Bryce was a sharp controversialist. There was a good deal of personality too. Doctor Bryce suffered amongst some Presbyterians by editing the "*Asiatic Mirror*." He does not believe that a great many of his congregation seceded on account of it, nor is he aware that he suffered in the estimation of the elders. The address to Lord Hastings was while he was absent. He recollects something about Dr. Bryce's address: it was a rejected address: he heard of the address to Lord Hastings when his Lordship was going away too. Does not know that Dr. Bryce edits the "*Oriental Magazine*," (a number shown to him), knows the work. Before it was commenced, Dr. Bryce told him he was going to be the editor. He cannot say whether he has been thought, by his congregation, to have mixed up too much temporal with his spiritual doctrines. Dr. Bryce always nominates the elders from the pulpit; the congregation may object, but he never heard of an instance of their doing so. He believes Dr. Bryce has edited the "*Oriental Magazine*," (reads a passage from a number handed to him), and it now strikes him that the passage he has just referred to, alludes to the editor of the "*Calcutta Journal*." He might have known, perhaps, that the letter headed "*Secular Emoluments*," alluded to Dr. Bryce, even if other facts had not assisted him to that belief, because others knew it. But if nothing had happened about Dr. Bryce, should not have known that it alluded to him.

Evidence of Mr. LUSHINGTON.—Was present on the occasion of an address to Lord Hastings on the first occasion: recollects, that on proposing an address, there was some opposition. Dr. Bryce did show a considerable degree of warmth on that occasion: I don't recollect that he was particularly violent—not more so than usual. I do not know that Dr. Bryce wrote the address. He came forward with an address, and there was a good deal of clamour at the time. Dr. Bryce did not succeed in opposition: there was more than one meeting on the last address: I believe I only attended one at the last address: Dr. Bryce's was adopted after a good deal of clamour. On both occasions, Dr. Bryce made a proposition. I don't recollect that Dr. Bryce was the loudest in that clamour, but I know he was warm, and insisted on his address being received. He was not very cool on the last occasion. I saw nothing in the conduct of Dr. Bryce absolutely "unbecoming" (a laugh) the character of a clergyman.

Evidence of Dr. W. GRAHAM.—Examined by Mr. Clarke.—I have read the "*Important Queries*" and the Penknife "*Epigram*." Both

allude to Dr. Bryce; also the letter on "*Secular Emoluments*" and the "*Clerical Avarice Reproved*," and the editor's note to "*Presbyteros*."

Is it consistent with your knowledge that these publications have injured Dr. Bryce's character?—Perfectly consistent with my knowledge, that Dr. Bryce sunk in the estimation of some of my friends, in consequence of the publication of these "libels."

Mr. Turton. Whether they be "libels," or not, is the whole point in dispute.

Did this take place in Calcutta?—No; but at Goruckpore.

Have you heard any one say that he had changed his opinion of Dr. Bryce, for the worse, in consequence of these libels?—Yes.

Are you generally acquainted with the habits and usages of the clergy of the Church of Scotland?—Yes, generally: I am a member of that church.

Do you know any of them editing reviews or magazines?—I know one of them edit the "*Christian Instructor*."

Do you know of any who engage in other secular employments?—Several.

Any of them engaged in trade?—Yes, openly.

Are they esteemed as acting in contempt or violation of the laws of the church of Scotland, or the spirit of its constitution?—Unquestionably not.

Do you know that these publications have caused Dr. Bryce great uneasiness of mind?—Yes.

Are you aware that your evidence is inconsistent with that of Dr. Halliday and Dr. Har-Do you not conceive that a clergyman engaging in Trade would be objected to by the Wild, or Evangelical, party?—No, they do so themselves.

Perhaps you don't think being a shoemaker or a tailor, provided he were a good one, would be derogatory to a Scotch clergyman?—Not in the least.*

The Advocate General. Dr. Graham is bringing forward a fine character of the Scotch church.

The Scotch clergymen might, I suppose, write plays between sermons?—Certainly: one of our best tragedies was written by a Scotch clergyman.

And act them afterwards, or play Punch?—There is a distinction between writing and acting: but the tragedy of "*Douglas*" was written by an eminent Scotch divine.

Are you aware that he was censured, and turned out of the church for writing this tragedy?—No, I don't know that; I believe he resigned. They are more enlightened now.

Mr. Turton. Yes, as a man walks out when he sees preparations making to put him down stairs.

You have heard of the confession of faith: Do you not consider it the foundation of the

* The Recording Angel here shook his head, and although he could not blot it out for ever, sighed over the record, "*Scotland must be badly altered since I left it.*"

constitution of the Scotch church?—No; I don't know that it is: it may contain some of its laws. I have stated that the General Assembly knew of all these things of which I have spoken, and took no notice of them.

You have heard of hunting parsons, of English clergymen following the hounds: Do you consider that perfectly consistent with the clerical character?—Perfectly so in the church of England. Never heard of any among the English clergy being cobblers. The Scotch clergy hate a great deal of leisure.

Evidence of Mr. JUST HENRY ALT, Professor of Bishop's College.—I have heard these publications spoken of before, and have heard them read to-day: have heard them made the subject of conversation, with Dr. Bryce's name connected with them; and it appeared to me, that Dr. Bryce fell in the estimation of those who spoke of them: I think they must have injured him in some measure: I don't know Dr. Bryce.

I believe you were educated for the church? I won't answer that question.

The Advocate General. My Lord, I refer the question to your Lordship.—Witness. I have taken my degrees, and received an education which would in general be esteemed such as to qualify me for the church and taking orders.

Do you consider a Scotch clergyman as in holy orders?—Not in the strict sense of the expression. I do not consider the Scotch clergy as having an apostolic sanction. I have not much considered the question; but my opinion is, that he is not in holy orders. I heard what Dr. Graham said of English hunting parsons, and what was gratuitously thrown out about cobbling parsons. I should be sorry to see a clergyman of the Episcopal Church a shoemaker or a taylor; but I could not consider it disgraceful if he were reduced to it by necessity.

Do you not know it to be contrary to the canons of Episcopal Church to engage in any secular employment?—I have not studied that.

Advocate General. Then you don't know; but I can tell you there are canons against it.—I never knew a clergyman of the Church of England carry on trade, but I believe there are many of them reduced to it; and have no doubt many of them are sleeping partners in trading concerns; and should not think it discreditable, if they were reduced to it by necessity.

Advocate General. Yes, yes; necessity excuses every thing but crime.

Do you not think it derogatory for a clergyman to engage in trade?—In particular cases I would consider it discreditable: some men may be avaricious, but in general not.

Well, in the particular case of Dr. Bryce, which is not a case of necessity; would you call him avaricious?—You may call him an avaricious man; but it would be discreditable, perhaps, to your judgment. Having returned to Europe in ill health and come out again, as he had done, I think he has a right to make the most of his time.

If he had an abundant salary, would it not be degrading?—Yes, I think it would.

You mean, if he had enough without it?—I don't know what is enough in this country; some men have 5000, some have even 8000 rupees per month.

Evidence of Mr. HENRY WILLIAM HOBHOUSE.—I was at the Town Hall when one address to the Marquess of Hastings was proposed by Er. Udny, and another by Dr. Bryce.

Was Dr. Bryce of the Mild party, or of the Wild party, that day?—He was very warm; there was a good deal of noise and clamour, but I did not observe him strike the table.

The ADVOCATE GENERAL then observed, that there were objections which he had to propose, as to the inducements in the plaint, and the way in which they had been proved. He would address his Lordship then, and look into the record to-morrow.

As it was now late in the afternoon, we believe about six o'clock, some conversation passed between the Bench and the Bar, whether or not the Court should adjourn till next day. His Lordship politely expressed his willingness to go on or not just as suited the convenience of the Counsel, and the Advocate General consequently availed himself of the opportunity of immediately addressing his Lordship, in a speech of considerable length, to which, from the lateness of the hour, we are sorry we cannot do justice.

THE DEFENCE.

The ADVOCATE GENERAL.—I rise to address your Lordship on account of the defendants in this case, who have been brought into court by the Rev. Dr. Bryce, with the view of compelling them to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand rupees, which he so modestly claims. If he succeeds in obtaining damages at all, which I do not imagine, after the case we have heard, it must be reduced to a very small fraction indeed of this sum.

The alleged libels, it is evident, have arisen entirely out of the appointment of Dr. Bryce as Secretary to the Stationary Committee. Of the propriety or otherwise of that appointment being conferred on him, I do not mean to say anything; as I do not care at all about it. The Government no doubt considered him fit for it; and considering the quantity of pens, ink, and paper he has himself used, I have no manner of doubt he is from experience perfectly competent to discharge its duties. But as to the propriety of his accepting that situation, I have much to say. From what we have heard to day, it is an employment of his talents, respecting which great doubts may be entertained, if it be not degrading to the

character of a clergyman. We have indeed been told of tailoring and shoemaking clergymen; but even taking the extraordinary evidence of the two witnesses who had spoken to that point, it is evident that such occupations could only be justified by the most imperious necessity, and necessity justifies every thing but crime. Dr. Bryce being amply provided for by the Honourable Company, was not reduced to such means of eking out a subsistence, and therefore the propriety of his acceptance of the office as charged in the second count, was a fair subject for discussion. Dr. Halliday, the prosecutor's witness, who was himself bred for the Presbyterian Church, has said clearly, that the situation was incompatible with the ancient principles of the Church of Scotland; and that he considers the acceptance of it derogatory; and that such also would be the opinion of a large proportion of the ministers of the Scotch Church. These are by their adversaries (and the prosecutor's Counsel) nicknamed the *Wild* party; although we know that they are properly denominated the *Godly* or Evangelical party; and we have it in evidence, that among them are many men of the most exemplary lives and strictest piety; and that it would be condemned not merely by this party of the clergy, but by the great body of the people of the Church of Scotland. And since, as Dr. Halliday has stated, it is contrary to the strict rules of the church venerated by our fathers, it is surely a fair object of public discussion; and we have a right to question the propriety of his conduct who has departed from them. Dr. Hare, an elder of the church, has moreover told us, that many of the plaintiff's congregation disapproved of his editing a common controversial newspaper. That he was so employed is well known: yet this is the man who is eulogized by my learned friend as the priest of the Most High! It is an incontrovertible fact, that on accepting the above-mentioned situation, he has been actuated by the love of money purely, for there is nothing in it connected with either morality or religion. I shall now examine my learned friend's case; as put on the record; which I shall show he has failed to establish by proof.

1st. He begins with stating, that the plaintiff is a clerk in holy orders; and unless he can prove this to be the case, he is not entitled to a verdict. As he has not established the Rev. Dr. Bryce to be a clerk in holy orders, there is an end of the plaintiff.

2dly. The plaintiff asserts, that the plaintiff is a chaplain attached to the military service of the Company; and as my learned friend has not been able to prove him to be so attached to the military service, there also he must fail, for it runs through the whole case.

3dly. Again, the plaintiff is stated to be a clerk to the Committee for controlling the expenditure of Stationary at Calcutta, in the civil service of the Honourable East India Company. Both in the acts of Parliament and in common parlance a marked distinction was made between covenanted servants of the Company, and those merely employed by it; and neither would the plaintiff be held in the civil service. My learned friend indeed endeavoured to show, that the members of the Committee were in the civil service; but Mr. Lushington had proved that some of them were in the military, so there was no evidence for it whatever. The Advocate General here read an extract from an act of parliament, 33 Geo. 3. cap. 69. On this act civil servants have been tried and convicted, and others not in the civil service, attempted to be tried on the same, have been acquitted; this not being proved, therefore, of the plaintiff, the plaintiff must fall to the ground.

4thly. Again, the prefatory remarks that Mr. Buckingham was Editor of the Calcutta Journal, have not been proved; and your Lordship knows, that if any allegation or inducement is found in the prefatory remarks, it affects the whole of the counts that follow, and is fatal to them if the inducement or prefatory remarks be not substantiated.

5thly, and lastly. It is not asserted in the plaintiff, that the libels are against Dr. Bryce as a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. In one place he is called a clerk in holy orders; in another he is an appraiser of Wax and Gum. Dr. Bryce has no right, therefore to shelter himself under his sacred character, from observations made upon him as a dealer in pounce and leather. This alleged libel is no more therefore a libel upon him, than it would be a libel on any tradesman in the Cosittollah. These are fatal defects in the plaintiff, which it is impossible to cure. Unless you prove your prefatory averment, and connect each charge with the plaintiff—unless it would be a libel on every one of God's creatures—it is not a libel on Dr. Bryce. This is a fatal defect. Your Lordship may recollect the case of Croft reported in 1 Sanders, the case of the Barn in Lord Cooke's time. Lord Chief Justice de Grey—King v. Horne. A man

said of another, "He has set fire to my barn." Which was put on the record, "meaning a barn full of corn." But it was not said before that he had a barn full of corn. This ought to have been stated in the colloquium, as it is generally called—that he had a barn which was full of corn; and that he did go to set that barn on fire. The above was only one defect out of many; there was hardly one of the innuendos that had been proved; scarcely one which the evidence had not negatived. An innuendo is a scilicet, and ought to give the meaning of what was said before; but not extending it one iota beyond its natural import; for no one has a right to make a libel for me, and cause me to utter it; this is the meaning of an innuendo, and if your Lordship will go through the plaint, you will find that the interpolations do not answer this description.

To begin with the first article charged as libellous, it is stated that the office of Clerk to the Stationery Committee had been held by one of the greatest Oriental scholars now in existence (Dr. Lumsden, a man of great literary talents); and that on the death of Dr. Jameson it was not again given to him, but to the plaintiff. Now, I say again, I have no concern with the appointment; I have only to do with the acceptance. It is stated to have been given to a person of address-writing notoriety. Surely this is no libel, to say that a man writes addresses? We know that the plaintiff did write several addresses, one we have heard of to-day was rejected; another was carried by storm at the Town Hall. It then goes on to state, that he is "generally engaged in pursuits not very compatible with the clerical character." And this, I say, is no libel. After the evidence we have heard to-day, I also do aver, as far as my opinion is worth any thing, that the pursuits in which he has been proved to be engaged, are not very compatible (the moderate phrase used) with the clerical character. Nay, it seems very doubtful, if they be at all compatible with it. That it is not, it is quite sufficient to show that he has to perform the duties mentioned in the second count. The writer then proceeds to ask whether Mr. Buckingham was sent home at the solicitation of the present Clerk of Stationery, who was "formerly supposed to be friendly to liberal opinions;" (which is surely no libel;) or did the mandate spontaneously emanate from Government, through a desire to give "indemnity for the past, and security for the future,"

which does not affect the plaintiff? It is then put hypothetically (for it is no where affirmed) that if the order was issued at the solicitation of the divine, who has lately so much distinguished himself in the WALKS OF WAR: this must, no doubt, refer to our military Chaplain—who is certainly well qualified, and of course always prepared, gallantly to take the field. If the hypothesis put were correct, then (says the writer) I shall content myself with saying—

Are these the arts which policy supplies?
Are these the arts by which grave Churchmen rise?
Forbid it Heaven! or should it turn out so,
Let me and mine continue mean and low.

The innuendo here put, is, that it means "the said plaintiff had risen to his rank and situation in life by practising dishonourable arts." Now this cannot be the meaning; because the same paragraph refers to his conduct lately, and cannot apply to his elevation to the pulpit, which took place many years before. It evidently refers only to his appointment as Clerk of the Stationery Committee; and, therefore, if ever an innuendo in the world exceeded the meaning of the original, this does. Besides, the one is put hypothetically, the other positively. Altogether the quotation of the verses as a libel, are most unfortunate; for the "mean and low," are not meant by the speaker in whose mouth they are put by the poet, to signify any thing base and dishonourable; but that state of humility which he prefers.

The next charge is, that the plaintiff is called "a worldly minister," which is interpreted that he is not fit to be a minister of God. Now, after all we have to-day heard of shoemaking ministers and tailoring ministers, it is not too much—it is no libel, I say, to call him a worldly man, who with a liberal salary engages in secular concerns: Can it be inferred from the evidence adduced by the plaintiff, that a worldly man is fit to be a minister of God? He is a worldly man beyond all question; I do not say improperly so; but all the circumstances of the case fairly warrant us in bestowing on him that character. As to the scaring of his congregation, my learned friend has not proved he ever had any; and this, therefore, is also like "the barn full of corn," and goes for nothing. It goes on—

"With pounce and sand, and gun in hand,
He sticks to making money."

The innuendo put, is, that "he attends solely (which is not asserted) to making

money, and neglects the performance of his *Christian duties*." And—

"On the shining golden sand,
"The Heart of Worldly Priests,"

interpreted in the *Invendo*—"That the plaintiff is bent on worldly gain, to the exclusion of all the virtues that should endow a Christian minister!!!" These *invendos* are quite unwarranted, and really to have raked up this foolish *quib*, for it is nothing else, at this time of day, was unworthy of the pains and trouble that have been taken. It was evidently intended to create laughter. It was a joke about the Parson and the Bull, but not a libel: it was not a thing to bring parties here to claim damages.

I now come to the third count—part of the Editor's note to the Letter of "*Presbyteros*;" and this I maintain is no libel, as the writer of the letter to which the note refers disbelieves that the plaintiff was the "*Friend to Banks*," and the Editor in the note expresses the same opinion; therefore, nothing remains but the statement of the fact that the plaintiff was generally *believed* to be the author; that such a belief had gained ground, and been corroborated by his silence. The Editor says truly, "it is incompatible with the clerical character to blow up the coals of strife, and tear asunder the bands of society; but this is the *grievous charge* that has for months lain against Doctor Bryce since his return to India; and yet he, on former occasions, so careful of his reputation, has by his *silence in this case*, ALLOWED judgment to be recorded against him in the public opinion; from which, as he has allowed this day of grace to pass for ever, it would appear there can be no appeal." This does not pretend to assert a fact, but to state a belief; which the plaintiff's own act, his silence, had suffered to prevail and be confirmed: I say so too; and if these letters were written by him, WHICH HE HAS NEVER PUBLICLY DENIED, I beseech you, my Lord, to read them, and you will agree with me that the Editor might well speak of tearing asunder the bands of society. They are the most atrocious libels that ever were written. They were directed against Mr. Buckingham, the proprietor of the Calcutta Journal, whom it was attempted to drive from society, which was called upon to hunt him down like a wild beast; and to brand all who should dare to hold out to him the hand of fellowship. (The Counsel on the other side intimated that he alluded to the Letters of NIGEL and others.)—There were many letters un-

der different signatures; but the nefarious object of them was the same, and the spirit in which they were written. But no two propositions can be more dissimilar than to assert, that Dr. Bryce was the author of them, and to say that such an impression had gone abroad, that Dr. Bryce was actually a sower of dissension;—and that if the general opinion was correct, he had blown up the coals of strife to disturb the peace of society.

I now come to the fourth count. It seems as if in the eyes of those who drew up the plaint, all *invendos* had been considered as nothing. They stated that the plaintiff had obtained permission to proceed to Europe, and that he had returned from Europe; and then they gave a part of the proceedings of the General Assembly; but they had not shown that Dr. Bryce went to Scotland at all, which is perhaps the last place a person might go to, proceeding to Europe. It ought to have been stated that Dr. Bryce was a member of the General Assembly; for he might, for aught I know, have been all the time at Rome; from which, by the bye, he did me the honor to send me a very entertaining and very well written letter. There is, therefore, nothing in the plaint to show that he answered to the description of "the Divine who had returned from a foreign land;" and caused the expulsion of a poor Scotch clergyman who was engaged in a secular concern of emolument. If it be incompatible with the duties of a clergyman to be so engaged, which many pious Presbyterians think, it was meritorious to procure his expulsion, and no libel on any one to say he contributed towards it; and to accuse Dr. Bryce of doing so, then is no libel. That it is held to be incompatible, is from Dr. Halliday's evidence sufficiently apparent; it is according to my notion, and according to the notions of those whom I was accustomed to venerate in my youth, and who have carried these opinions with them to their graves. This I will illustrate by a quotation from a book in which the duties of a Presbyterian clergyman are very well described:—

"A parochial clergyman has, in many situations, the regular duty of delivering three discourses every Lord's day; and these discourses must frequently be committed to memory. To compose, and get by heart, three discourses, every week, would, especially if any pains were taken about the delivery, be, to ordinary men, a very sufficient employment, during the first part, at least of their clerical career. Besides, a parochial minister has to baptize and marry; to visit the sick; to catechize the young and ignorant; to converse, with his

session, in the management of the poor's funds; to superintend his whole parish; to attend to their morals; to rebuke and reclaim the vicious; and to enforce the precepts of religion by ecclesiastical discipline, and by all the power of example. I am sure that, if the importance of the clerical office were to be the subject of a synod sermon, all this would be displayed with the glowing colours of eloquence; and perhaps the conclusion might be, *Who is sufficient for these things?*—*Pamphlet, by W. L. Brown, Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen.*

With such weighty duties incumbent upon him, every one will agree that Dr. Bryce ought not to have accepted such a situation. Shall we be told, that it is a libel, to say it is inconsistent with his clerical character? I say it fearlessly. If Dr. Bryce does not think so, I differ from him. We are all liable to be influenced by the desire of gain; and for that reason I say, it is necessary that the rules of the Scotch Church, as of every other, should be strict, that those who are to be teachers of religion and morality, may be kept pure and set a good example to others. Doctor Hare has told us, that Dr. Bryce's conduct gave offence to many of his parishioners: that they disapproved of his editing newspapers. From the first moment he engaged in such pursuits, he ought to have laid his account with censures; and he has no right to come into a court of justice to claim damages for them. Peter Pounce ascribes no improper motive to Dr. Bryce, but that he was a zealous defender of the purity of the church: I must again notice the irregularity of the pleadings. It is not stated in the plaint that Dr. Bryce was in Scotland at all; now Dr. Hare inferred he was alluded to because he knew he had been there at the time, and this omission must therefore prove fatal to the count altogether.

Sir ANTHONY BULLER.—There is evidence, and it is stated that he had gone to Europe and returned, and it might be inferred he had been in Scotland.

ADVOCATE GENERAL.—Yes, my Lord, but that won't do, although a man may guess it. Again, it is not said, that the libel was against Dr. Bryce in his clerical character. The work against which Dr. Bryce's zeal was directed, was the Christian Instructor, a work devoted to the cause of religion and morality, not the sort of publication in which the plaintiff is proved to have been engaged.

I now come to the fifth count, on which the plaint is equally defective, the inducement not being made out. It is not proved that the letters of the "Friend to Banks" were published (as stated) in John Bull. In fact, even the publi-

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cation of the John Bull is not proved. It has not been shown that Mr. Buckingham has had a licence, which was made void. The writer of this letter, signed "An Englishman," makes a fair comment on the acceptance of the appointment, contending it is incompatible with the sacerdotal dignity; which I also maintain; and expresses an opinion, that if a clergyman of the church of England had accepted the same situation, he would have been deprived of his canonicals for ever: an opinion which he had an undoubted right to express.

Our Honourable Masters in Leadenhall-street are mentioned; they intended that the plaintiff should supply their Scottish brethren with spiritual food;—not that he should sow the seeds of dissension, or do any thing incompatible with the sacerdotal dignity; to which, in accepting that situation, it cannot be supposed he had any great regard; on that point I address your Lordship freely, and confidently anticipate a verdict of acquittal. The "Englishman" says, that such conduct would not be permitted in an English clergyman. Yet it might have been permitted to a Scotch one; for it is possible that the rules of the Scotch Church may be different; but I say that, by accepting that situation, the plaintiff laid himself open to censure; and it is impossible for your Lordship, after the evidence you have heard this day from Dr. Hare and Dr. Halliday, to doubt but he richly deserved censure. The whole gist of the next paragraph lies on Dr. Bryce being the "Friend of Banks." If he was so, says the writer, he ought to have the gown torn off his back. So say I—if he were the author of these letters, he ought to be degraded from his sacred office. I hesitate not to say that, in such a case, he ought to be stripped of his gown, and deprived also of his secular employment; for more nefarious, more execrable libels never existed. But it is not asserted that he is the author of these abominable productions, as averred in the inuendo. "It is generally believed, and so *where denied*" that he is the author of the said libels, is converted into this,—that it "is generally believed and *every where avowed* that he ought to have his gown taken off his back!!"

In this court, therefore, as in every other, they have failed to make out their plaint; and on these grounds, I think, I have a right to ask of your Lordship a verdict of acquittal.

But, my Lord, looking at the whole case, after all we have heard of the conduct of Dr. Bryce, his newspaper-writ-

ing, his address-writing, his personal controversies, his violence in supporting addresses, and lastly, his acceptance of this appointment,—can we doubt for a moment that he has stepped out of his proper sphere—that he has deprived himself of the sacred shield of his religious profession, and bared his character to the censures of the world? When such a person accepts a secular appointment, is it not as fair an object of discussion as any others? If this be prevented,—I do not talk to your Lordship now of the liberty of the press,—but if we are not allowed to comment on such things in public or in private, I say the common intercourse of society is at an end. If our mouths are thus shut, what restraint remains to preserve in its purity the Church established by our fathers? Who shall say to what lengths a disregard of its discipline may be carried? The English clergy in this settlement, to their praise be it spoken, have uniformly, as far as my knowledge extends, conducted themselves in a most exemplary manner. But without this guard over their actions, the opinion of their fellow citizens, who can say that they would have laboured so successfully; and if no man's conduct is to be commented on—if no check of public opinion remain, all hope of public improvement, I say, is at an end: nay, whatever degree of purity we may have inherited from our ancestors, whatever portion of virtue we may ourselves possess, must speedily melt away and be totally destroyed.

The Court then adjourned till the next day.

Tuesday, July 22, 1823.

This day the counsel for the defendants proceeded, as had previously been agreed on, to the comparison of the record: Mr. Mactier, the clerk of the papers, reading the articles in the Journal, while the Advocate-General and Mr. Turton examined the plaint filed by the prosecutor, marking and commenting on the numerous discrepancies as they went on, in a manner which excited a good deal of mirth.

SIR ANTHONY BULLER thought the objections which had been made to the way in which the plaint was drawn up and put on the record, sufficient to warrant him in granting leave to move for a new trial or a motion in arrest of judgment.

THE ADVOCATE-GENERAL.—We ask your judgment, my Lord, on these variances.

SIR ANTHONY BULLER.—I consider them a ground for a new trial.

MR. TURTON.—A new trial would only give them an opportunity of mending their plea.

THE ADVOCATE-GENERAL.—I assure your Lordship, if your Lordship do not nonsuit on the variances, and should give a decision against us, I shall never move for a new trial, but appeal.

SIR ANTHONY BULLER then proceeded to pronounce his opinion.—It appears to me (said his Lordship) that the plaintiff has in substance made out his case. Some of the objections to the plaint might have been pleaded as ground for a new trial, or in arrest of judgment. In the present circumstances, I shall not go very minutely into them, but am satisfied several of them will be found to be groundless. The first objection is with regard to the inducement that the plaintiff is not a clerk in holy orders. Mr. Alt would not consider this term referable to every church, and it appears there is no such thing as holy orders among the Presbyterian clergy. In so far it may not correctly apply; but it was intended to mean, I think, no more than ordination; and that Dr. Bryce was regularly ordained to perform the holy functions as a minister of the Church of Scotland. Another question was as to the plaintiff being in the Civil service of the Company. The expression, it appears, by Mr. Lushington's evidence, is not, strictly speaking, applied in this manner; but though it is therefore not a very proper one, still it is not substantially incorrect. There are parts of the inducement not proved, which I would not decide otherwise except the Bench were full, unless as affording ground for a new trial. I shall reserve the whole objections, therefore, with regard to the innuendos, and pass to the merits of the case. It appears that, in a series of publications by the editor of the Calcutta Journal, one of the defendants, the plaintiff's character was attacked, as guilty of conduct incompatible with his sacred profession. If they had confined themselves to fair discussion, no doubt I must have found a verdict for the defendant. But they ascribed to the plaintiff improper motives in accepting it, which is not allowable; and they also asserted that he, from these improper motives, held a situation incompatible with his clerical duties; and this charge has gone out all over India, no doubt to the great injury of the plaintiff. Whereas from the evidence it appears that such a situation is not quite incompatible with his sacred func-

tions. A series of libels still went on from the beginning of February to the end of March.

Mr. TURTON.—My Lord, the first is dated the 27th of February, the last the 12th of March.

His Lordship proceeded to comment on the several letters. The intendo regarding the verses on "Secular Emoluments" he admitted was not strictly correct, and the last line did not apply; but still taking the whole together they certainly referred to improper arts being used. The Epigram could not be considered fair discussion; and it was undoubtedly calculated to lower his character as a clergyman. His Lordship proceeded to comment on a letter headed "Barny Wogdn," (March 25th, p. 315) but was reminded that this was not included in the libels, and had not been read. On this his Lordship observed, he would confine his observations then from the 22d of February to the 12th of March. It had been contended that the letter on "Secular Emoluments" did not accuse Dr. Bryce of having acted otherwise than properly in getting a person punished for what he had done wrong; but it was no doubt intended to hold Dr. Bryce up to the public as having got a clergyman expelled for what he was doing himself. The essence of the charge is that he had been severe upon others for what he was himself doing. On these grounds, therefore, I think a verdict should be given generally for the plaintiff; and if he stood before me merely in the character of a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, he would be entitled to very heavy damages. But there are circumstances which change this character. He was believed to be the author of the Letters of the "Friend of Bailies," not merely because it was reported in the newspapers; but believed from his having formerly himself edited a newspaper, called the "Asiatic Mirror." The report arose from the time the letters began to be published, and as they never were disavowed, it gathered strength as they proceeded. I do not say a man is bound to contradict every surmise that is circulated about him, although called upon to do so. But when the fact is proved of a widely-spread report of this kind, being uncontradicted, it affords some excuse to those who believe in it; and to the Editor of a public paper, against whom they were directed: it is true that Mr. Buckinghain, on whom those attacks were made, is not the defendant in this action; but connected as he is with his successor; and those other persons con-

cerned in the paper, the same excuse extends to them, since they must feel a deep interest in what effects them. Such being the case, I do not, I say, in some degree afford an excuse to the parties, and the libels are not the same as they would have been if directed against any other clergyman. With respect to the two proprietors conjoined in the action with the Editor, it appears clearly that it was perfectly understood the shareholders should not interfere with the management of the paper; therefore no malice or ill will can be imputed to them; however, as they receive profits, they become liable as proprietors.

Upon the whole of the evidence taken together, I should wish to give such damages to show that the plaintiff was justified in coming into Court to clear his character; but the paper had libelled him in attributing to him, the improper motives charged. Had it been the case of another clergyman, I again say, I would have given much larger damages; but considering all the circumstances I think I shall be right in awarding the amount of six or seven rupees 2000, or 400 rupees for each of the counts.

Note of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

We here subjoin some appropriate remarks on the Trial from the *India Gazette*, in the generality of which we heartily concur; and it ought to be known that the picture given of the Scotch Church by some of the witnesses for the prosecution has, we are assured, shocked and astonished the Presbyterian Members of the community, from the northern part of the Kingdom, some of whom deem a public declaration necessary to vindicate the character of their National Church.

"It is impossible for us to dismiss this trial altogether without a few observations, having reference to points upon which we fear that notions may hinge, which would be derogatory to the Presbyterian Church. In the course of the proceedings, an expression was used relative to a great body of Presbyterians, lay and ecclesiastical, which was not consistent with urbanity, nor in our humble opinion with decorum: they were called the "Wild" Presbyterians. We must confess that we were rather surprised to hear this opprobrious appellation applied by the Counsel for the Reverend Plaintiff to a class of men, who, by those who know them, are justly held in the highest respect, not only for their strict rate of moral conduct and evangelical views of religion; but their staunch adherence to the pure discipline of the Church of Scotland. What was meant by the word wild we hardly know; but we do

know that the word cannot have any other meaning thus applied than a derogatory one, and we, therefore, regret its having been used on such an occasion, and especially by Counsel for a Clergyman. It is, very true, that the Church of Scotland is divided into two great classes—the evangelical and the moderates,—what perhaps the English wherever would term High Church and Low Church. When this distinguishing epithet was first given to the evangelical party of the Presbyterian Church, we do not know, but we certainly never heard it before Monday last, and we trust that good taste will dismiss it from all good company.

A curious fact was made known in course of the trial, of which we were formerly ignorant. A Clergyman of the Church of England may trade. He may be a sleeping partner in a house of business. In short, if his necessities push him, he may turn his hand to any thing, provided it be not criminal. No less remarkable also is the fact, that Scottish Clergymen are engaged in trade. We never knew of an instance of this kind ourselves, though we have known Scottish Clergymen who held secular employments; but certainly, we have not as yet seen a Clergyman in what we bona fide understand trade; nor can we join in the opinion of such Presbyterians as avow (if there be many such) that the making of shoes, small-clothes, and so forth, would not in the least be derogatory to a Clergyman. Every man of course, on general questions, has a right to hold and maintain his own opinions. In this matter, we maintain it as a general rule, that such occupations as those alluded to, would not only be derogatory to a Clergyman, but would not be endured in their pastor by a Presbyterian congregation. Indeed, as a general rule, we will also maintain, that the Scottish Clergy hold no secular employments, and that they cannot, according to the strict discipline and constitutional usages of the Church, hold them. There are nevertheless instances where Presbyterian Clergymen do hold secular employments, but these exceptions, as compared to the general body, are rare, and they are merely we conceive tolerated, not sanctioned.

India Gazette.

Notes of the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

We beg to follow the example of the Editors of the Calcutta Journal and India Gazette, in offering a few brief remarks on the preceding trial. It will be remembered, that when the Indian John Bull contained a series of unprovoked libels on private character, which were acknowledged by the Judge on the Bench to be so atrocious and malicious that he could not even think of them without horror,—the damages awarded were 1000 rupees; this being considered sufficient to mark his sense of indignation, and sufficient to punish the atrocious libellers for their guilty career. In the pre-

sent instance, the Judge admits the existence of a wrong prosecution, though the comments are made on a public and official transaction, and have nothing to do with private character in any way whatever; he admits also, that no malice or ill-will could be imputed to the parties in question, and that considering the ground on which the comments were made, there was some excuse for those who published them, nor could they be held to be as libellous as if they were directed against any other clergyman. And yet, after all this, he awards 2000 rupees damages, and costs, against those who merely commented on the incompatibility of such duties as the editor of a violent, scurrilous, and party Magazine—the clerk of a Stationary Committee—and a Presbyterian minister—the incongruity of which even some among his own friends admit; while, from the same bench, only half this sum is awarded against a set of calumniators whose attacks were made on private character, and whose slanders were proved to be as false as they were malicious and abominable! This is the even-handed justice of India! This the natural consequence of Englishmen being deprived in that country of Trial by Jury, the issue of all civil actions being left to the discretion of the Judge!

We may add to this brief comment, the following remarkable contrast;—that while the Indian Government and Court abroad were exerting themselves to prove the duties of Dr. Bryce in his clerical, editorial, and stationary capacity to be perfectly compatible with each other, the East India Directors at home were of so contrary an opinion, that they are said to have sent out orders for his removal from office, though they refuse to reinstate the punishment inflicted on the individual who advocated their interests as well as that of the public, in first pointing out this incongruity to their notice!

These we believe to be fair and faithful specimens of the wisdom and equity of those to whose hands are intrusted the government of the East!

* On this occasion it cannot be irrelevant to introduce in a note the following energetic language of the great Lord Camden, in his argument in the case of *Don v. Harvey*, Pasch. 5 Geo. III. 1775, Common Pleas.

* The discretion of a Judge is the law of Tyrants; it is always unknown; it is different in different men; it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion. In the best, it is oftentimes capricious; in the worst, it is every vice, folly, and passion, to which human nature is liable.

LORD AMHERST.
Madras, Thursday, July 29, 1823.—

On the evening of Thursday, the 24th instant, a splendid Entertainment was given in the Banqueting Room, by Sir Thomas Munro, to the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, appointed Governor General of India. After the cloth was removed, Sir Thomas Munro proposed "The health of Lord Amherst, and success to his Lordship's administration." The loud applause with which the toast was drunk having subsided, Lord Amherst rose, and with singular grace of sentiment and manner, addressed the company in terms of which the following affords a very imperfect sketch—

"I beg to return my thanks to Sir Thomas Munro and to the rest of the company for the flattering compliment which has been paid to me.

"As an Englishman, I have, at a distance, been no inattentive observer of those achievements by which our Indian Empire has been acquired and consolidated. I possess therefore the assurance that, in the duties which I am about to undertake, I shall have the aid of talents adapted to every emergency which can arise. Should the course of events on any occasion render the evils of war inevitable, I know that the honour of our arms and the interests of the Empire will be sustained by men, whose names are already enrolled in some of the most brilliant pages of the annals of our country. If more happily the blessings of peace are preserved to us, I shall find the best means of improving them in the well known zeal, talent, experience and integrity of the Company's Civil Service. Fortunately I have only to strive that my administration may correspond to that of my illustrious predecessor. And if I am to seek an example for my personal conduct, I shall not have far to look, since on my left, there is one whom I may well feel proud to imitate.

"I shall only detain you further by requesting you to accept my most cordial thanks for the honour you have now done me, and for the distinguished reception I have met with at Madras."

Lord Amherst shortly after rose again and spoke to the following effect.

"Gentlemen, I should not venture to intrude upon you a second time, if, in yielding to my own feelings, I were not fully aware how much I should gratify yours. I propose the health of your Governor, Sir Thomas Munro. It would be ill judged in me, who am a stranger amongst you, to dwell on merit with which you are already so well ac-

quainted; but happy I shall have reason to consider myself, if any services which I may be enabled to perform shall secure for me the high estimation in which that distinguished individual is held in England, for his administration of the affairs of this Presidency."

Sir Thomas Munro then rose and said:

"Lord Amherst has paid me a very high compliment, and it may be expected that I should acknowledge it. I am justly sensible of the favourable terms in which his lordship has spoken of me personally, and of the service. The administration of this Government is comparatively an easy task. All we have to do is to give effect to the course of proceeding marked out for our guidance by the Supreme Government, and by the authorities in England. But it has during a long period been the good fortune of India, to be placed under the rule of an illustrious line of Governors General, who by their eminent talents and virtues have adorned their exalted station. Under such auspices has our Empire acquired its present extent and stability. I am satisfied that this line of illustrious men will be prolonged in the person of Lord Amherst, and that his Lordship's administration, like those of his predecessors, will at once promote the welfare of India and redound to the honour of our country."

The Honorable the Governor then gave the healths of Sir Edmond Stanley and the other Judges of the Supreme Court.

After which Sir Edmond Stanley rose, and begged leave in his own name, and that of the other Judges of the Supreme Court, to return their sincere thanks for the polite notice and mark of attention which had been just paid to them, by the Honourable the Government, and the Gentlemen present—this heavy duties which he had discharged that day in Court to a late hour, rendered him unable to express his feelings on the occasion as fully as he would have wished to have done. He was happy to observe the general harmony which prevailed at this Meeting, and among all classes in this Settlement. He could not omit this opportunity of declaring that often as it had fallen to his lot in the course of his life to be present at public assemblies, and to hear distinguished characters deliver their sentiments, he never was more gratified and pleased, than he was that night by the sentiments delivered by the Noble Lord, the Governor General of India—those sentiments so appropriate to the

occasion, and expressed in such dignified and handsome terms, he confessed made a deep impression on his mind, as he believed they had done upon the minds of all who heard them, and he took the liberty of saying, that he foreboded the most happy and beneficial consequences not only to India, but to the Empire at large, from his Lordship's administration. He congratulated this settlement, upon the event of his Lordship's having done them the honour to visit it in the course of his voyage, as it afforded them a better opportunity of judging of his Lordship's high qualities, and appreciating his value, than they could have been able to do, by a more distant acquaintance with them.

Sir Charles Gray, in returning thanks, observed,—

"The sentiments, which the Chief Justice has so well expressed, leave me little more to do than to utter with my own voice the thanks which he has given in my name. Yet upon this occasion of celebrating the first coming amongst us of the Noble Person, whose Government of India may be said to commence from that time, I must not omit to offer individually, what we have already offered collectively, the most sincere and cordial wishes for his success and prosperity in that Government. I cannot wish him better than that he may realize as much of what is possible to be done for India, as his predecessor did; or as he has done, whose acts we have a nearer opportunity of observing—I mean our own excellent Governor. Let me repeat more distinctly, my thanks for the honour you have done myself and the other Judges of the Supreme Court in drinking out healths."

Sir William Franklin concurred with the other Judges in the sentiments they had so ably expressed, and begged leave to return thanks for the honour conferred upon him.

The health of Lady Amherst was then given, after which the Company proceeded to the Unceer Bagh to attend her Ladyship's Drawing Room—at which there was a large and brilliant assemblage.

The Honourable George Stratton, Esq., entertained Lord Amherst at dinner on Friday last.

The Nautch given by His Highness the Nuwab on Wednesday evening to Lord and Lady Amherst, presented a brilliant and striking appearance—the road from the entrance of the grounds to the palace was illuminated on each side, and the face of the building was

studded with lamps: a large assemblage of company was present on the occasion—supper was announced soon after nine o'clock, towards the conclusion of which his Highness the Nuwab proposed as a toast—"the health of Lord and Lady Amherst, and their safe arrival in Bengal." This toast was repeated to the company by Captain Mac Lennan, and drank with three times three.—His Lordship then rose, and concluded a short, but energetic address by proposing "the health of His Highness and family." The company afterwards adjourned to witness a grand exhibition of fireworks, with which the entertainment concluded.—*Madras Gov. Gaz.*

Calcutta Drawing Room.—The Drawing Room was most brilliantly attended on Monday night. About half past nine Lord Amherst left her Ladyship's apartments, preceded by his suite and followed by Lady Amherst, led by Mr. Lushington. They walked up the centre of the ball room, bowing to the company as they passed; and having arrived at the top, where the state chairs are placed, the presentations commenced. The company advanced in small parties of two and three from the west side of the room, made their obeisances to the Governor General and Lady Amherst, who were then standing, and then passed on. After the introductions were over, Lord and Lady Amherst, accompanied as before, went round the circle and conversed. At half past ten, they quitted the room, and the company separated.—*John Bull.*

PORTRAIT OF MR. ADAM.

Our readers will perceive below that the Committee appointed to wait on Mr. Adam completed the object yesterday, and that Mr. Adam has consented to sit for his portrait. A Sub-Committee has been appointed to carry the public wishes into execution. Mr. Palmer is the Treasurer, and any surplus subscription is to be devoted to such charitable institutions as the Sub-Committee shall direct. The Portrait is to be full length, and is to be taken by Mr. Cliney. We shall feel happy in being made the medium of subscriptions from the Mofussil.

The Committee, consisting of the following Gentlemen, Mr. R. C. Ferguson, Chairman, Mr. Pattle, Mr. Hogg, Col. Paton, Mr. Sutherland, Mr. H. Mackenzie, Mr. Plowden, Hon. C. R. Lindsay, Mr. Almsie, Mr. McFarlane, Mr. Paton, Mr. Wm. Fraser, Mr. Laing, Mr. Trower, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Adam, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Shakespear, Mr. D.

Colvin, Mr. Sargent, Mr. H. Colvin, Mr. G. Swinton, and several other gentlemen, appointed by the general meeting to wait on Mr. Adam, to request him to gratify the public wishes by sitting for his Picture in full length, to be placed in some conspicuous place in Calcutta, had an interview with him yesterday morning at half past eight o'clock at the house of W. B. Bayley, Esq.

The Committee on reaching the house were introduced to Mr. Adam, who stood surrounded by some of his personal friends.

Mr. Fergusson immediately addressed him on the subject of their visit.

We regret infinitely that we have been unable to obtain even a sketch of this address, since we understand that in feeling, appropriate expression, and happy manner of delivery it was never surpassed.

We shall however if more successful publish it hereafter, though we cannot but regret its absence now; since the public will naturally be anxious to know what passes on this very interesting subject. After Mr. Fergusson had finished his address,

Mr. Adam, evidently overpowered by the sensations produced in his mind by the flattering manner in which the Resolutions had been passed at the Town Hall, and overcome by the pathetic and affectionate address of the learned Chairman of the Committee, replied:

"I shall endeavour, in the best manner my feelings will admit, to express the deep and grateful sense which I do, and must ever, entertain of the high honour conferred upon me by my countrymen, the British inhabitants of Calcutta; an honor which however great and gratifying in itself, is much enhanced in my estimation by its being conveyed to me by a body of Gentlemen, for whom I have ever felt the highest respect and esteem; and with many of whom I have passed a long term of years, in the most cordial intercourse of intimacy and uninterrupted friendship; and even the grateful feelings which these circumstances are so well calculated to produce, are aggravated by the manner in which my kind friend, your learned Chairman, has announced to me the flattering intentions of the community of Calcutta. Indeed these united powerful incitements, while they convey the proudest and deepest sensations of delight, that my merits should be deemed worthy of such an honor, create at the same time an unconquer-

able agitation, increased by the allusions of your worthy Chairman, which absolutely incapacitate me from returning any adequate tribute of acknowledgement for the high and inestimable mark of favour and distinction which has been manifested towards by the British Inhabitants of Calcutta. With the most heartfelt pleasure, shall I comply with the flattering request which has been so handsomely conveyed to me by you."

The agitation alluded to was, we understand, very conspicuous, and may be readily conceived. The Committee breakfasted with Mr. Bayley, and the following arrangements afterwards took place:—

Town Hall, Calcutta, 11th Aug. 1823.

At a Meeting of the Committee appointed at the General Meeting, held at the Town Hall on Saturday, for the purpose of considering the best means of paying some suitable mark of public respect and attachment to the Hon. John Adam, on the occasion of his retirement from the Office of Governor General,

It was Resolved,—That a Sub-Committee, to consist of the undernamed gentlemen, be nominated to carry into effect the Resolutions of the General Meeting of the British Inhabitants of Calcutta, held at the Town Hall on Saturday the 9th instant.

Mr. Larkins, *Chairman*; Mr. Hogg, Mr. Palmer, Mr. H. S. Shakespear, Mr. Atkinson.—Mr. Palmer, *Treasurer*.

The Sub-Committee having met, it was Resolved.—That it be the duty of this Sub-Committee to circulate through the Treasurer a book among such gentlemen as may be desirous of subscribing to the full length portrait of the Honorable John Adam, and to make the necessary arrangements with Mr. Chisnery, the artist, for the execution of the same.

Resolved further,—That in the event of the amount subscribed for, exceeding that required to meet the expense of the portrait, it shall be left to the Sub-Committee to apply the surplus funds to such charitable purpose, as they may deem expedient.

(Signed) J. P. Larkins, *Chairman*,

Honourable John Adam.—The Hon. John Adam, we are concerned to say, is about to proceed shortly to Bombay, for the recovery of his health. We understand that he will embark, about the end of the month, on board the H. C. Ship Investigator, Captain D. Ross, Marine Surveyor General, for that place.—*John Bull*.

New Sally Port and a Bridge.—*Bombay, July 5, 1823.*—We understand that the Government, with that peculiar attention which ever marks its regard for the comfort of the native inhabitants, has sanctioned the opening, at a considerable expense, of a new Sally-port and a bridge across the ditch, to facilitate the communication with the wells on the Esplanade; it being understood that the late garrison regulations about the church gates, which prohibit persons from passing with water after nine o'clock in the morning, bear hard on the lower orders of natives within the town, particularly during the hot weather.

Public Improvements.—In consequence of the late alarming and destructive fire which broke out among the cotton bales on the green, our readers will learn with pleasure that a Committee, composed of public officers of Government and gentlemen belonging to the leading mercantile houses at the Presidency, has been appointed, to consider the best means of obviating a similar danger to the town from placing cotton on the green; and to report on the possibility of removing the cotton to some safer place, without occasioning an unnecessary loss to individuals.

The plan suggested by the Committee, which we are happy to understand has met with the concurrence of Government, is to appropriate a part of the Esplanade near the Apollo Pier, now occupied by timber, for the reception of cotton; to widen the Pier so as to admit of the erection of conveniences for landing the cotton on it, and the stones used in the work to be taken from the beach adjoining the Pier, in order to make a smooth channel for boats to take the ground at low water.

The great danger from fire, whether from accident or design, to the whole property within the Fort, cannot fail to cause this arrangement to be viewed with the greatest satisfaction by all classes of the society.

Although but a secondary consideration, there is also some room for congratulation on the score of appearance. The huge piles of cotton which have hitherto covered the green, are no doubt indicative of the commercial importance of Bombay, but can scarcely be considered as ornamental appendages to the great Square of the Fort—a space of ground which we hope on some future day to see surrounded with buildings worthy of the good taste and public spirit of the people. At the same

time this extensive area will be always available for the exercise of the troops in garrison, the purpose for which it was originally intended.—*Bombay Courier.*

The large mass of materials brought from India by the last arrivals, render it impossible to give more than a small portion of them in our present Number; but, that nothing of importance may be omitted, we subjoin the following summary of the heads of intelligence contained in the Bengal papers; as far as they have reached us:—

A curious trial took place in the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the 1st of July, on which some of the natives of India (the mild and peaceable Hindoos, as they are generally called,) were indicted for a riot and robbery in one of the temples of their own religion. They were found guilty of an assault, and fined 200 rupees. As the details of the trial contain some curious illustrations of Hindoo manners, we shall, if possible, find room for it on a future occasion.

The native ukhbars* are full of details respecting the movements of Runjeet Singh; but contain nothing of sufficient importance to be re-published here, as they are confined chiefly to points of local interest.

A long and able article on the Internal Navigation of India, is contained in the Calcutta Journal, of the 8th of July. It is accompanied with a map, showing the lines of proposed canals for improving the navigation between the Ganges and the Hooghley, and copious information on all that can elucidate this subject.

A meeting was held at Madras, early in July, to consider of the best means of co-operating with the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, who, at their sittings in London, voted a monument to the late Bishop of Calcutta. An animated address was delivered on this occasion by the Honorable Sir Charles Grey; in which Dr. Middleton was compared to Bishop Berkley. A correspondent, in a subsequent paper, shows, however, that the comparison was unsupported by facts; and that, though the late Bishop of Calcutta had undoubted merits, they were of a different order and description from those of Berkley.

A meeting of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta took place on the 9th of July; the Hon. J. H. Harrington, Esq. in the chair. Some interesting facts were eli-

* Newspapers, or Court Circulars, written by some Secretary at the Native Courts, and circulated by him to persons who are disposed to pay for them.

cited in the course of the sitting, which cannot be advantageously abridged; but which we shall endeavour hereafter, to give in detail.

The public distribution of prizes in the College of Fort William took place about the middle of July; when Mr. Adam, then acting Governor-General, presented to the successful students the medals due to their merits: among these, we observe the names of Mr. J. Thomason, Mr. Paton, Mr. Morris, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Ravenshaw, Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Udny, Mr. Ricketts, Hon. R. T. Moore, Mr. Benson, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Deedes, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Paxton, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. C. Thomason. After the prizes were awarded, an address was delivered by the Governor-General, expressing the anxious desire of the Government to encourage (in a proper and judicious manner) the dissemination of scientific and literary knowledge among the natives of India!—*Credit Judicio.*

In the Calcutta Journal of the 22d of July, appeared a Letter from the Hyderabad Residency, showing the deplorable state into which the country of the Nizam was plunged at the period of Mr. Metcalfe, the present Resident, taking charge of its management, and the great and manifest improvements he had introduced there. It strongly recommends also the substitution of an Indo-British police instead of the present native Zumeendars.

Long and interesting details are given in the Bengal papers, from New South Wales; but they are of a nature that will scarcely admit of abbreviation, and cannot, for want of room, be given at length.

The first half-yearly examination of the junior civil servants, studying at the College of Fort St. George, took place at Madras on the 4th of July, when the Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, delivered

an address, in which great praise was bestowed on Mr. Elliott and Mr. Freere, for their exertions and proficiency in the Tamil and Telugoo languages.

On the 24th of July, an action of crim. con. was tried in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, in which Henry Swetenham was the plaintiff, and Robt. Adair Macaughten the defendant; the former a civil servant of the East India Company, and the latter a Lieutenant in the Bengal army, and Deputy Judge-Advocate General at Cawnpore. The fact of adultery with the plaintiff's wife was clearly established, and no defence attempted. A speech was made in mitigation of damages, which had been laid at 100,000 rupees; and the Judge, Sir Anthony Buller, gave a verdict for the plaintiff—12,000 rupees.

It was our intention to have included all the articles, of which the preceding paragraphs offer a mere outline only, in the selections of our present Number; but we have already exceeded the limits prescribed, and have been therefore compelled to postpone them at least. For the same reason, the Circular of Lord Bathurst to the West India Colonies, and a Report of a Public Meeting at Cape Breton, complaining of Lord Bathurst's shutting them out, by a stroke of his pen, from their undoubted right to all the privileges of British law, have been necessarily omitted.

We hope, in future, by peculiar attention to this department of our labours, to compress the substance of all that transpires, into such a space as to bring it within our limits, without excluding anything material. In the present instance, however, having devoted more than will perhaps be again required, to one particular subject, we have less room left for others. Experience and practice will, no doubt, gradually qualify us to become more and more successful in all our arrangements.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES—CHINA—AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—The most recent accounts from Bengal confirm the unfavourable statements previously transmitted, of the failure of the indigo crops in that province; and it is expected, that not more than one-third of the usual produce will be obtained. The blight appears to have had its origin in the sultry weather and great drought, by which the plantations were visited during the early part of the season, and the destruction was completed by the deluge of rain, and dreadful storms, which were experienced during the months of May and June. Throughout Bengal the weather had been extremely unfavourable to the maturing of this valuable commodity, and the loss sustained by many of the planters has been very considerable. In the Moorshedabad, Kishnagur, and Jessore districts, it is certain that very serious injury has been done, and much more was apprehended from the rising of the river. In the Purneah and Dinagore districts, the incessant rains during the whole of June had nearly destroyed every hope of the planters in those quarters. Up to the middle of July the rivers had swollen to an extraordinary height, and in many places had overflowed their banks and covered the fields with water. The situation of the Planters was rendered still more distressing in consequence of the exorbitant prices they had been compelled to pay for indigo seed at the commencement of the season, owing to its having become a monopoly in the hands of a few persons, who had obtained for it as high a price as from 18 to 25 rupees per maund. It was thought, however, that in Upper India a fair harvest would be obtained, the plantations in that part of the country not having been exposed to the torrents by which the low lands had been inundated.

Accounts had reached Calcutta from Cawnpore to the end of June, which stated that the heat there had been very oppressive, and that the European troops occupying that station had suffered in consequence very much from sickness. The Lancers were losing some of their best men daily, from the heat of the weather, and as many as six men had been ready for interment at one time. The 59th regiment had also lost

some of its strongest men, who were carried off in a few hours, by spasmodic attacks or fatal cramps. Nearly 300 men of this regiment were in the hospital, and the rains were anxiously looked for, to arrest the progress of disease.

At Puttyghur, to the end of June, the heat had been greater than was ever remembered; and such of the natives as had been compelled to travel during the day time had suffered severely, many having fallen dead on the roads. The letters from Meerut state, that at Delhi and its neighbourhood great numbers of the natives were dying through the oppressive heat of the weather, and the small-pox was making dreadful ravages among the children. In the city of Lucknow, the latter malady had attacked the adult population, both native and European, and many of both classes had fallen victims to its virulence.

Calcutta had been visited with dreadful gales, at the latter end of May and beginning of June, some of the effects of which on the shipping we partially noticed in our first Number. The hurricane of the 27th and 28th of May is stated to have been unprecedented in violence during the memory of the oldest inhabitants of the country. In addition to the loss of the Oracabessa and Liverpool, the brig Helen had been totally wrecked near Kedgeree Point; and the damage done on shore was also very extensive. At Balasore the tempestuous weather had been felt severely, and many villages, together with several of the inhabitants, had been destroyed in the vicinity of that place. From the Souboureccha river, to the southward along the sea coast to a considerable distance, the country had been completely inundated by the sea, and the inhabitants were compelled to fly to the high places for safety. The inundation of the sea is stated to have extended upwards, of four miles inland, and to have carried away every thing that attempted to oppose its fury. The circumstance of no fresh water being to be found within two miles of Kedgeree, will serve to illustrate the severity with which the visitation was felt in the country immediately to the westward of that station; and to the southward of Balasore, the inhabitants of a wide tract of low country had been in a great degree swept away. In some populous

villages, scarcely one in twenty-five had escaped, while a number of the native craft, trading on the coast and in the river, had been driven a long way up the country, some for miles over the land. In fact, a tract of country from 80 to one hundred miles in extent was one entire sheet of water. To the southward of Contai, from 600 to 700 villages had been swept away, with the principal part of their inhabitants. Upwards of 5000 of them who had escaped from the devastation, had assembled on the banks of a tank near Contai, where they remained in a state of absolute starvation. In fact, all the accounts received from India unite in stating this visitation to have been the most destructive experienced in the East for many years.

The most important piece of information, however, received from Calcutta during the last month, is the intelligence that Mr. Adam, the late Governor General, had, previous to the arrival of Lord Amherst, thought fit to anticipate the new regulations relative to the Indian army, and by an order in council had directed the raising of four additional regiments, which, on the new plan, would form eight separate corps. It is not certain whether this increase in the military force had arisen from the want of sufficient military to perform the duties of relief and escort, on which plea the augmentation has taken place. This is the more doubtful, when we consider that the Sikh Chief, Runjeet Singh, who has lately invaded the country of the Afghans, and placed himself on the throne of the great Subactagi at Kabul, has now acquired such power, that in some late discussions he conducted himself with a haughtiness which excited great displeasure, and even carried his arrogance so far as to hint that he had many Russians in his service, and that it would be easy for him to increase their number. We regard this as an event of the first importance to our Oriental possessions; it is the first dawning of a union between a native power of India and one in Europe; it seems to form a link in that chain of ambition, which the Autocrat of all the Russias is ready to throw round the world; it is the very foundation of the policy of the "Holy Allies," that policy which has for its object to wrest from Great Britain her envied Colonies, not only in the East, but in every quarter of the globe. It is to be hoped our Government will narrowly watch the intrigues, which without doubt will be attempted in India; an apprehension of danger from the great

accession of power which has placed under the rule of Runjeet Singh the extensive countries on both sides of the Indus, will no doubt cause the new Governor General vigilantly to watch his motions; and although the grand mover may not, for want of proof, be accused of setting in motion the machinery of discord, yet energetic measures, speedily adopted and boldly acted upon, may render those designs deep and hidden as they are, nugatory and abortive. Our retaining a favourable position in the Persian Court, will tend as much as anything to thwart the intentions of the great Northern grasper, if they are directed against our extensive dominions in the East.

We alluded in our last to the dreadful murder of Mr. Ravenscroft, the full particulars of which more repeat affidavits state to have been received at Calcutta. By these it appears, that on the 6th of May last, about twelve at night, a body of upwards of one hundred foot and two horsemen came to the small bungalow (cottage) where this unfortunate gentleman resided with his family. They first came on the east side, and divided into three parties; after wounding several servants who were sleeping on the outside, they entered the cottage-yard, where Mr. Ravenscroft was sleeping on a couch, and seven or eight of them at once stabbed their victim with spears. When he fell from the couch, concluding he was dead, they set up a shout, and commenced plundering. A short time after, Mr. R. recovering a little, called out to one of his servants to bring his sword, which being overheard by some of the villains, they attacked the servant, wounded him severely, and again commenced spearing Mr. Ravenscroft. The latter made an effort to reach the outside of the cottage-yard, and seized a spear from one of the murderers, but unfortunately it broke off at the head, and though he defended himself with the wooden part of it with great courage, he was at last mortally wounded, and sunk exhausted under a mango tree. On the arrival of assistance the villain fled, and the ill-fated victim was carried into the dwelling. He was entirely senseless, and was wounded in about fifty places; one of the spears had entered his liver, and he had a severe wound on the back of the head. On the 8th May he expired in convulsions, having remained speechless from the time of the outrage. Of his servants, six were murdered, five desperately wounded, and six slightly wounded.

On the 12th of July, the first steam-

vessel which ever floated on the waters of the East left the stocks at Kyd's Yard, Kidderpore. This launch did not, however, attract the notice, in any great degree, of the inhabitants of Calcutta, very few of them attending. She was named the Diana, and proceeded, after the launch, from Calcutta to Chinsurah, which distance was performed in between six and seven hours. Among the company on board during the trip, was Colonel Krefting, the governor of Serampore, and suite. The establishment of this steam-packet appears likely to produce considerable benefit, and to be followed by others, for the river navigation of India.

A nest of forgers had been detected in Calcutta, through the exertions of Mr. Alsop, the magistrate, while they were carrying on a most extensive system of fraud. The gang in custody amounted to above twenty; they were arrested while at their nefarious work, and in the room in which they were taken, large parcels of forged notes on the Bank of Hindostan and that of Bengal were found, many of which were complete, and the remainder in a state of great forwardness. They were for different sums, ranging generally between 100 and 1000 rupees. They were even endeavouring to imitate the Government paper; and to effect this, they had gained over one of the compositors of the Government press, who, duly instructed, stole a quantity of types from that establishment. The detection of this conspiracy had produced great satisfaction at Calcutta, as the commercial operations of the merchants would have been much impeded, had the forgeries got into circulation.

The accounts received at Calcutta from Oude state, that disturbances of a serious nature still continued in that province. About the middle of June, the Amil of the Zillah of Baranch had been killed in a tumult instigated by the Raja Manshatta. Meer Hadu Ulee Khan having heard of this tumult and disorder, left his encampment, and fell back twelve coss; but Hussein Ulee, and several others, commandants of battalions, and 500 suwars of the Resalla of Mindhoo Khano, had received orders to proceed and quell the disturbance. It appears that the revenue of Oude was collected with great difficulty, and the treasury was in consequence in a state of great exhaustion. This had occasioned great murmuring among the servants and officers, many of whom had received no pay for sixteen months.

The loan advanced by Messrs. Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, to the Nizam's

government, we learn by a letter from Calcutta, had been paid off, and that house had, in consequence, reduced its interest from 12 to 7 per cent.

The following extract of a late letter from Muttra deserves attention:—
“There is very little doubt but that the Russians have got the upper hand of us at the court of Persia; and, if report says true, they are approaching our India possessions still closer on the northern frontier. Traders, who bring horses from Bokara, speak of having seen Russians, even Russian troops, on the banks of the river Oxus, and are quite familiar with their names. Alexander of Russia is, beyond comparison, a more powerful monarch than Alexander of Macedon was, and is not half the distance, in any direction, from India, that the latter traversed to arrive there. That India is an object in the politics of Russia, seems too probable to be doubted. The invasion of it is a subject of common conversation amongst them, as is fully testified by people who have returned from this country to Europe through the Russian territories, where the invasion of India was a subject publicly talked of, and considered as an enterprise of comparative trifling danger or difficulty.”

The following is a statement of the probable produce of the indigo crops in the seasons 1822-23 and 1823-24.

Bengal ..	50,000 maunds...	25,000 lbs.
Terhoot..	17,000.....	10,000
Benares..	7,300.....	7,300
Oude....	38,000.....	28,000

(1822-23) 112,300 (1823-24) 70,300

Improvements in Calcutta.—The following extract of a private letter will convey to such of our readers as feel an interest in the local improvements of the metropolis of British India, an idea of what has been already done, and what may further be accomplished, to improve the “City of Palaces.”

“The Committee of Improvement have now opened a road from Chandpal Ghat to Meer Bhur Ghat, where a new Town Duty-office was erected. Great part of it is finished, and it is considered a splendid improvement: it is to be continued to the Chitpore bridge, Lieut. Schalch is to make a canal from Chitpore by the Saltwater Lake, across the Sunderbunds to Culna, to join the river that passes by Commerceely, and which is always open. He is to make another from Tolly's Nullah to Channell Creek, to cross Saugor to the New Anchorage, communicating by branches with Diamond Harbour and Calcutta. Another

great improvement in contemplation, is a road from the Chowringhee gate, way, road, to proceed in a straight line to the old Garden Reach road, where it turns suddenly at the gate into Kyd's Yard. We are getting iron chain suspension bridges thrown over Tolly's and various other Nullahs. We shall presently have a road from Park Street to the New Square in Dhurumtollah, and thence on to the Dum Dum road. Another is meditated nearer the Chitpore road. The Committee have cleared, raised, and drained Short's Bazaar, and are likely to make, at least, two lacks of rupees by the re-sale of the ground. They have penetrated Chowringhee with roads in various directions, and every road becomes forthwith a new street, so that you might travel there for an hour without knowing where you had got to."

Madras.—The latest accounts from Madras are dated the 2d of September; and these state, that, after one of the hottest and driest seasons recollected for many years in that part of India, three days of most refreshing rain had fallen there, just before the date of the advices adverted to, from which great relief had been derived. That most dreadful scourge, the *cholera morbus*, had broken out on board his Majesty's ships *Liffey* and *Alligator*, in Madras Roads; and several cases had terminated fatally. The ships had, in consequence, put to sea, and were cruising in the offing, which, it was hoped, would produce a favourable change. The expedition sent by the Madras Government, for the purpose of making the necessary experiments for ascertaining the length of the pendulum at the Equator, had returned to that presidency on the 5th June.

The troops in the fort had also suffered a great deal from sickness, and some casualties had occurred.

On the 22d of April, a meeting of merchants took place at Madras, for the purpose of taking into consideration a letter from John Begbie, secretary to the East India Trade Committee, and papers which accompanied the said letter, at which the following resolutions were passed.

Resolved, 1st.—That it is expedient to co-operate generally in the objects of the society in London, and to watch over the interests concerned in the East India trade.

2dly.—That, with the view of co-operation, this meeting shall individually, and also as members of the firm to which they respectively belong, transmit to their London correspondents, all such suggestions and information as may appear connected with the interests of East India

trade and shipping, in order that the same may be made known to the society at home.

3dly.—That, with the view of further co-operation, this meeting shall, themselves, contribute, and will receive contributions from others, towards the support of the East India Trade Society.

4thly.—That a book be opened at the Exchange, to receive the subscriptions of all persons who may be inclined to support the institution; the amount so subscribed to be collected and remitted by the treasurer hereafter appointed.

5thly.—That this meeting approving, as it does, the whole tenour of proceedings adopted by the London society, and, with particular satisfaction, their zeal in prosecuting the very important objects of obtaining an equalization of duties on East and West India sugars, and relief from the excessive charges, both of time and money, incurred at the East India docks.

6thly.—That in order to obtain the co-operation of persons interested in the East India trade, who happen to be at a distance from this presidency, in measures for its support, the editors of the different newspapers be invited to publish the proceedings of the London committee, or such heads as may be convenient, together with these resolutions, for general information.

7thly.—That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the judicious and zealous efforts of the London society, to extend, improve and secure the trade, between the mother country and the East Indies, and offers the assurances of cordial co-operation in the important object.

8thly.—That Messrs. Colvin and Co. be appointed treasurers, to collect the sums subscribed, and to remit the same to the London society.

9thly.—That Mr. Palmer be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the London society.

Accounts had reached Madras, from Agra, which stated that a serious affray had taken place in the beginning of July, on the Bhurtpore frontier, by the sudden incursions of a party of the Bhurtporean troops into the jagher of the nabob, Ahmad Bux Khan, a feudatory of the British government, in which many lives were lost, and much cruelty was exercised by the Bhurtporean troops.

Bombay.—By the latest accounts from Bombay, we learn, that on the 18th of May, a very serious fire broke out among the cotton bales piled on the Bombay Green, which, in the space of half an hour, reduced many hundred bales to ashes; and many thousand bales of unscrewed cotton, together with the Arsenal, the public offices of government, the custom-house, the theatre, and other valuable buildings surrounding the spot, were only preserved from de-

struction by the active exertions of the inhabitants. It was calculated that about 5000 bales of cotton, and six or seven hundred bales of rice, were destroyed. Letters received at Bombay from Moradabad state, that although the weather had been very sultry in that district, yet that the station continued healthy.

A subscription had been set on foot at Bombay, for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of a statue to the late Stephen Babington, esq. of the civil service, who died there in June 1822. The sum of 12,500 rupees had been raised for this purpose, 1485*l.* sterling of which had been remitted by the management to E. Babington, esq. of Aldermanbury, the brother of the deceased, who has been requested to employ a sculptor of the first eminence in the execution of this work.

Some hostilities had broken out among the native powers, and the Rajah Runjet Singh had marched early in April, with his whole force of cavalry, infantry and artillery, to subdue the mountaineers and Dooranies. On his arrival at the village of Biguore, he held a consultation with his general, Dewan Singh, on the subject of the expedition; after which, Futteh Singh, the chief of Alwah, was admitted into his presence. He came as envoy from the chief of Biguore, to convey his submission to the Rajah, and solicit his forgiveness, which was granted, after the offer of various presents as tribute. In compliance with the request of the vakeel of Golas Singh's widow, Iwallah Singh, with a body of cavalry, was sent to arrange the affairs of her Talook, and the Darogah of Theytin River was ordered to collect boats for the crossing of the grand army. Subsequent accounts announce the arrival of these forces on the frontiers of Cabool, towards the end of April, and that an engagement had taken place between them and the Dooranies on the 20th of that month, which had terminated in the defeat of the latter, with the loss of 25,000 men. After this victory, the Rajah entered the Cabool territories, and the latter sovereign had retired to the interior of the country. The non-payment of the stipulated tribute was the occasion of these hostilities.

Mr. Jenkins, the resident at Nagpore, had gone a tour in the district of Chutnagur, with a view of inspecting the sources of the Maha Nudda, the Soane, and the Nerbudda. The former of these he had effected, and was fast approaching the other objects of his visit.

He was accompanied by a professional gentleman, furnished with the necessary instruments for measuring the heights of mountains.

An order of the Court of Directors was made public at Bombay, on the 11th of July, limiting the continuance in office of the members of the Medical Board to four years, after which they are to retire, or return to their duties of surgeons.

The ship *Wellington*, Maxwell, on her passage from Batavia to Prince of Wales's Island, was struck by lightning off the Sambhlaus, which did considerable damage to the vessel and various parts of the rigging. It is remarkable, that although two men were below near the pumps, when the sulphur exploded, and many of the crew on deck near the spot where the splinters were flying about, no accident occurred to any one on board.

Ceylon.—On the 21st of May a fire broke out in the house of Lieut-Col. Campbell, at Korregod, which, notwithstanding every assistance rendered by the inhabitants and troops, totally destroyed the whole of the premises.

Accounts had reached Ceylon, of the overflowing of the Gendura river, which had done very considerable damage to the neighbourhood. The poorer classes of the Galle and Matura districts had suffered severely from the loss of property, and the collectors on the part of the government, had hastened to render such relief as the necessities of the case required.

The country in the neighbourhood of Ramapoor had suffered materially by a similar inundation of the Kaloo Ganga; many of the buildings at that place, although situated considerably above the rise of the river, having been for many hours under water; among this number were the chutcherly and hospital of the station. The water began to subside on the 26th of May, and we are happy to learn, that only six human lives were lost in this calamitous occurrence. The loss of cattle and grain, and the destruction of habitations, is stated to be altogether unprecedented in extent.

Reports had reached Colombo, in the beginning of May, of an attempted insurrection having commenced on the north-western part of the province of Matla, by an assemblage of people, armed with bows and arrows, near Padenen, headed by a priest, and claiming a Malabar, said to be a relation of the former royal family of Kandy. The Government was aware, for several

days before, that a plot of this nature was on foot, and the Resident had taken measures, and secured many of the conspirators. The priest, above-mentioned, was one of the persons the Resident had ordered to be seized, and hearing of the messengers being near, he ran off, and exerted his influence to collect the mob. He was, however, subsequently secured, and many other arrests had taken place; and Colonel Stackpoole, the commandant of the district, stated that an active pursuit was making after other of the conspirators.

Malacca.—The latest arrivals from this settlement are of a very unfavourable nature. The death of the Governor had thrown the place into the greatest confusion, and the whole of the Dutch officers and troops had gone to Batavia, to endeavour to obtain the long arrears of pay due to them, the settlement of Malacca being entirely drained of every dollar. In consequence of this desertion on the part of the troops, the merchants and inhabitants had become alarmed for the safety of their persons and property, and the greater number of those of eminence were emigrating to Singapore. It was, however, expected, that a new garrison would be dispatched from Batavia, with a temporary Governor, and the arrival of these were earnestly prayed for by those individuals, the nature of whose property prohibited their accompanying the other emigrants.

Singapore.—Letters from Singapore, dated in July last, give a very favourable account of the commerce of that island. It appears by accurate statements, that not less than 130,629 tons of shipping were employed in the year 1822, in the trade of that island, and that the value of the imports and exports amounted to 8,568,172 Spanish dollars. Fourteen hundred tons of pepper, 13,526 peculs of tin, and nearly 1000 tons of sugar, were exported; while India piece goods, to the value of nearly half a million of Spanish dollars, and British piece goods, amounting to above two lacs and a half of Spanish dollars, were imported during the same period.

Sumatra.—By accounts from Padang, to the end of May, it appears that the late insurrection there was of a very serious nature, the Dutch European troops, to the number of one thousand men, having been defeated in the simultaneous attack they had made on the disaffected in the interior, with the loss of one hundred and eighty-six men killed and wounded, and four pieces of artillery. Three of the best

Dutch officers were killed in this unfortunate affair, and nine wounded. The subsequent accounts from Sumatra, to the 30th of August, state, that the natives still continued very troublesome in the interior of Padang, and that they had been successful in destroying a number of the Dutch troops by skirmishes. Reinforcements of European troops were anxiously looked for from Batavia, to enable the Dutch Government to resist successfully the offensive operations commenced by the people of Padang.

Batavia.—Letters from Batavia state, that in order to promote the direct trade from Europe and America, with the Dutch East India possessions, the Government had determined that, from last September, all woollen and cotton goods manufactured in Europe, and coming from a port to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, should pay a duty of 15 per cent. if imported in Netherlands ships, and 20 per cent. if imported in foreign ships. It was also resolved, that from the 12th of August, coffee exported by foreign vessels to any port, not in the Netherlands, should pay an export duty of five florins per schil.

Philippine Islands.—Letters from these Islands, to the end of June, contain further accounts of the late revolt there, to which we alluded in our last Number. The insurrection first discovered itself in the revolt of part of one of the regiments in garrison there, but the Governor, Martinez, put an end to it in a few hours, by the execution of twenty-three persons, two of whom were officers, and twenty-one serjeants. These were immediately shot, but the soldiers and corporals involved, were, through the policy of the Government, who could ill spare them, pardoned. Many opinions were expressed as to the cause and object of this insurrection; but the general impression seemed to be, that it was to be attributed to the natural desire of freedom evinced by the Metisse inhabitants. Rigorous measures were taken, in consequence of an opinion, that these Metisse still had some secret plot on foot, which threatened to wrest this valuable possession from Spain; and the formidable numbers of these people in the Islands, estimated at three millions, would seem to warrant the adoption of precautionary measures.

Canton.—By the arrival of the East India Company's ship *Thames*, from China, we have accounts from Canton to the 3d of August. We learn by this arrival, that another misunderstanding with the Chinese Government was fore-

boded, respecting the individuals concerned in the affray with the *Topaze* frigate. It appears that this affair has by no means been forgotten by the Chinese Authorities, though generally understood to have been satisfactorily arranged. On the arrival of the *Thames*, in the river of Canton, which took place in June, a person was sent on board by the Viceroy, to inquire whether they had brought out with them the "murderers" of those persons who fell in the affray; and whether they were prepared to deliver them up to be put to death by the Chinese. It appears from the communications of this Envoy, that when the Chinese Government suffered the affair to rest last year, they understood it was a measure fully agreed on that the ships of the next season should bring out the offenders, to be dealt with as the law of China directs. The Commander of the *Thames* answered the requisition, by stating, that his ship was not the first of the new season, but the last of the preceding one, having been detained an unusual time on the voyage, and with this answer the Viceroy professed himself satisfied. In the beginning of August, however, before the *Thames* cleared with her cargo, the ship *Bombay*, which was in reality the first vessel of the new season, arrived in the Canton river, when the application was repeated, and met with a reply so little satisfactory to the Viceroy, that he refused to let the *Bombay* proceed to the Boaz, the entrance of Canton river, and that ship was therefore compelled to lie-to off Lintin, with little probability of being allowed to take in her cargo. It does not appear, however, that the trade was actually stopped, at the date of the *Thames* sailing, the *Bombay* having managed to proceed for Macao, with a view of making the experiment. The other ships which had arrived subsequently to the *Bombay*, were waiting the result, wishing to ascertain, of course, what measure would be adopted by the Viceroy with regard to that ship. The most violent conduct was apprehended on his part, and it was expected that the whole of the Hong merchants would be sent to Peking, to answer for the conduct of the British Government. There is little doubt but that the revival of this question on the part of the Chinese Government, is merely with a view of obtaining money from the British factory. If a compliance with this view, by the payment of money, in the present instance would put an end to the pretended claim, it would perhaps be good policy on the

part of the Company's Factory to yield it; but as it would most certainly only lead to a repetition of the demand in the next season, until at length it assumed the appearance, and very probably would end in the actual creation of a yearly tribute, it ought to be, and most likely will be combatted in its present stage, as contrary to the laws of England, the accused having already undergone the ordeal of a Court Martial, and found innocent of any crime. The Company's Malua Opium had risen at Canton to 1460 dollars, and Demauu Opium to 1300 dollars per cwt. The quantity of *Bombay* Cotton on hand was very considerable, and a fall in price was consequently expected, so soon as the supply of the present season should begin to arrive.

New South Wales.—From Port Dalrymple, under date of the 30th of May, we learn, that great encouragement is given there to mechanics, who were very scarce throughout New Holland. The letters state, that any carpenter, smith, bricklayer, mason, or cabinet-maker, who could raise money enough to pay for his passage, though he should arrive there without a shilling, might immediately live in affluence, compared with his present state in England, and need not wait a day after landing for work. Married mechanics are particularly recommended to go out, as the expense of a wife and family is nothing, and women, however abundant in Europe, are stated to be very scarce in that part of our Australasian dominions. The following extract from one of these letters will confirm this last assertion:—"If a few hundred young women, without hopes in England, would have enterprise enough to come here, they would get husbands immediately, and their condition would be incalculably mended. Service and subsistence they would immediately find, and the men would not be long in finding them. Among the numerous wants of this island, the want of women is the most urgent, and the most pernicious. They would be infinitely useful in correcting the habits of drunkenness, and the idleness and wastefulness of the lower class of settlers. The mechanics should, if a vessel is to be met with for this port, come here, for it is here they are most wanted. If they cannot come here direct, they should go to Hobart Town, and work there a short time, if destitute of money, to raise the means of travelling here: a portion of the women should come here, the larger portion go to Hobart Town.

Fifty would find service and good subsistence here at once, and husbands presently."

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—At the Commercial Hall, Cape of Good Hope, a most numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the Vine Growers, Merchants, and others interested in the Wine Trade, took place on the 9th of Oct., at which it was resolved to make a strong appeal against the additional duty which His Majesty's Government had been urged to impose on Cape wines, of 7*l.* sterling per pipe for the first year, and 7*l.* more for the second year, in addition to the present duty of 14*l.*, making in the whole 21*l.* The appeal, it is believed, will be forwarded with the recommendation of the Governor. It forcibly points out the inevitable ruin that an additional duty on Cape wine must bring on the colony. By accounts from Graham's Town we learn, that a very dreadful calamity had befallen the settlement. A flood, the result of ten days incessant rain, had desolated the face of the country, and blasted all the prospects of industry for a long time to come. Indeed, so extensive was the damage, that it appears utterly impossible for the colonists to retrieve their losses without assistance from this country, and the adoption of indulgent measures by the Colonial Government. There is scarcely a habitation left tenable throughout the district of Albany; all are more or less damaged, many irreparably so; and a considerable number destroyed altogether. The whole extent of tillage in the district is more or less damaged; highly cultivated inclosures are represented to have had the whole of their upper soil swept entirely from the surface, and banks and fences of every description were prostrate. The gardens planted on the banks of the rivers for convenient access to water have universally suffered; and, in short, the whole occupied and cultivated face of the district is stated to present a frightful picture of desolation. In addition to this severe visitation, the rust has again attacked the corn, making the fourth season of blight; while the Caffres to uninterrupted predatory incursions were gradually withdrawing all the cattle from the district, to increase the misery of the ill-fated colonists: these accounts bear date in October. The settlers at Algoa Bay were also far from prosperous, and it appeared probable that place would soon dwindle into insignificance, if it did not become altogether deserted. The loss of Sir Rufane Donkin was severely felt

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by the settlers; for during his government at the Cape every aid was rendered them in time of need, but Lord Charles Somerset is represented as being more anxious to breed running-horses than to guard the interests of his fellow-beings.

In our last, we gave an account of the irruption of a strange nation of savages, who were bending their way by the route of Lattakoo to the British settlement. Recent accounts have brought the particulars of this incursion, which are of considerable interest. By the latest intelligence, it appears that Mr. Moffat, one of the missionaries at Lattakoo, thought it necessary to obtain accurate information respecting these invaders, who, in their progress, had destroyed Kurrechaane, Baralonga, and various other tribes; and therefore he set out on horseback, in company with Mr. Thompson, an English gentleman of Cape Town, to reconnoitre. The result of the information so obtained, was laid before the people of Lattakoo, by the king, Mateebe, in a public meeting called for that purpose, when it was determined to prepare for their defence, against the coming enemy. Mr. Moffat also repaired to the missionary settlement at Griqua Town, and having informed the people of the danger, and that the enemy had entered Old Lattakoo, an armed body of about 100 men mounted on horseback, and accompanied by Mr. Moffat, proceeded to the spot. On the 24th of June, the party proceeded as far as the Malfaeren river, and the next morning came in sight of the enemy, and it was agreed to send forward one or two of their number unarmed, with a view of conferring with the savages, who were now known to be of the Mantatee nation. This plan of pacification was, however, frustrated by the savages, who broke out into a most hideous yell, and attacked the messengers. On the morning of the 26th, the Griquas mounted their horses and approached within 150 yards of the savages, who immediately renewed their dreadful howl throughout their right and left wings, and discharged a flight of arrows. Their appearance somewhat daunted the Griquas, and made them, on the first attack, retreat a few yards; but the Europeans commencing firing, the Mantatees fell, and the wings drew back. It was expected the firing of the muskets would have put them to flight, but, on the contrary, it appeared to inspire them with desperation, and they advanced again with such fury as to compel the Griquas to retreat.

The firing, however, proved very destructive; many of their chiefs fell victims, although they still pushed forward. After a conflict of two hours and a half the savages gave way, taking a westerly direction, which was intercepted by the horsemen; they then descended towards a ravine, which they crossed, and were again intercepted. This rendered them perfectly desperate, and they again attacked, but were repulsed with considerable loss, which put them completely to flight. They retreated through Old Lattakoo, where, joining the party they had left there before the battle, they set fire to the town, and retreated in an immense body northward. The Griquas continued to pursue them about eight miles, and though they remained desperate, yet they were filled with terror, lest, as they expressed it, the thunder and lightning should overtake them. These barbarous people were extremely numerous, amounting to at least 40,000 of both sexes. The men were tall and robust, perfectly black, and smeared with charcoal and grease. Their dress consisted of prepared hides hanging double over their shoulders, but during the engagement they were naked, except a small skin about their middles, and a cockade of black ostrich feathers on their heads. Their ornaments are large copper rings, about eight in number, round their necks, with numerous arm, leg, and ear-rings, of the same material. Their weapons were spears, axes, and clubs, and in many of the latter were irons fastened outside, like a sickle, but more circular and sharp on the outside. Their language appeared to be only another dialect of the Boshuana. Most of them were suffering from famine, so much so that many, in the heat of battle, seized pieces of raw meat, and with the utmost avidity devoured them. The Griquas took from the invaders about 1000 head of cattle, which they had obtained from various tribes.

Isle of France.—The accounts from the Isle of France reach to the end of April. The regulations there continued very strict as to vessels when they first arrived being subject to the inspection of a medical man, on account of the Cholera Morbus having been brought from Ceylon to that island a season or two back, by which 12,000 individuals were destroyed. The island is stated to be in a very flourishing state; two French operas were performed there every week, and the whole colony was very gay. All provisions commanded a very high price, from their scarcity, but

the inhabitants were in the enjoyment of excellent health at the departure of the last advices.

African Coast.—The accounts from the African coast are both copious and interesting. We are gratified in finding, by the latest intelligence, that Sierra Leone was rapidly rising in importance, and that the governor of that settlement had rendered himself acceptable to the colonists, by his attention and assiduity to their interests. The fever which had broken out in May, though attended with some mortality, had not been so serious as was represented. Sir Charles McCarthy, the governor, was, as usual, employed in tours of inspection from township to township, stimulating every beneficial exertion by his countenance and assistance. Even in the month of August, which is reckoned the most pernicious of the rainy season, he visited the towns of Kissey and Wellington, and the account of this tour is extremely interesting. Kissey, during the last year, has been much improved, new streets have been formed, new gardens established, and hundreds of new faces enliven the scene. At Wellington, the dangerous ravine, which impeded so much the communication, had been rendered passable by a stone arch thrown over it, and a regular carriage road which runs through a delightful country. In September, the governor commenced a tour in the mountain establishments, in the course of which he visited and inspected the towns of Gloucester, Bathurst, and Leopold; and by occasional attentions of this kind, his Excellency had powerfully contributed to the internal prosperity of the colony.

Sir Charles had held a gold player which was attended by many of the native chiefs and gold merchants, at which the former were strongly recommended by the governor to encourage the cultivation of white rice, as the only means of giving a great extension to that branch of commerce, which it was expected it would find ultimately in the West Indies and in Europe. The African white rice was reckoned much superior to the American, and it was thought would pay the grower. The cultivation of cotton and coffee was also recommended, and the chiefs promised attention to these branches of culture. A mission had been sent to Amarah, one of the native chiefs, complaining of his interrupting the progress of the gold merchants through his country. This the chief denied, and gave assurances of his friendly intentions towards the British settlers. The beneficial results

of the mission were however soon felt, by the arrival of several gold merchants shortly after its return. The Ashantees had committed a brutal murder on a British sergeant, which had excited great indignation, and Sir Charles had directed Captain Lains to march from Cape Coast Castle against them. On the 9th of August he had advanced as far as Yanco-massee, near Mansure, and his appearance had brought the Ashantees to their senses, many of their tribes having returned to their allegiance and made submission, and the guilty persons having fled to the interior. The white force at Cape Coast Castle was more than sufficient to set the whole Ashantee force at defiance.

Lieut. Col. Poolman, governor general at Elmina, had died suddenly, not without some suspicion of the natives having poisoned him, they having frequently expressed their detestation of a governor who seemed inclined to check their lawless pursuits. This colony was therefore in a state of great confusion.

We noticed in our former Number, the recent sickness in the American colony at Cape Messurada. From accounts since received, we learn that the condition of the settlers there was most desperate, and that the way in which the colony was first peopled could lead us to expect little than its speedy extinction. From these we learn, that certain Americans having purchased a small tract of land on the coast of Africa, near Cape Messurada, colonized it with a black and yellow population from the United States. These unfortunate wretches, amounting to about 400, the moment they landed, found themselves in the first place exposed to the extortion of the agents appointed by the original proprietor of the colony. The latter had furnished the place with the necessary provisions for their support, but the agent had bartered them away with the natives for his own profit, and the colonists in consequence were starving. In addition to this scene of misery, the natives, conceiving the Americans had cheated them in the purchase of the lands, had made war upon them, and were hunting them down in all directions. When the last accounts came away, these miserable people, deserted by the parent country, were erecting some works round the wretched collection of huts which they had called a town, and had named *Munro-towa*, after the name of the present American President. They entertained no hope, however, of being

able to offer any effectual resistance to the black swarms that surrounded them, and had literally shut them up in their dwellings. This infant colony the Americans had called *Liberica*.

His Majesty's ship, *Owen Glendower*, had captured three Spanish, two French, and one Portuguese vessel, the whole containing 447 slaves. This is a small number compared to former captures, and therefore we may indulge a reasonable hope that the efforts of the British naval force have been effectual in reducing the most brutal, nefarious, and atrocious barter of human beings, by appeals to the vices and passions of the uncivilized chiefs of Africa.

Canary Islands.—Pursuant to an order of the Commandant General of the Canary Islands, the Intendant of the same officially notified to the inhabitants on the 26th of November last, that until the King's pleasure should be known on the subject, the ports of these Islands would be thrown open for the admission of foreign cotton goods, on payment of a general revenue duty of fifteen per cent., besides one-half per cent., consular duty, on their value, as settled by the tariff, in force in the Islands, previous to the introduction of that which the Constitutional Government, circulated on the 25th June last; and as cotton goods were the only ones prohibited by the first mentioned tariff, it follows that the inhabitants are now allowed to speculate in merchandise of every description, except tobacco. The same order confirmed, until the King's pleasure was known, the exemption from all port duties hitherto enjoined on foreign vessels touching at the Islands, for the mere purpose of repairing damages or getting refreshments, without any commercial object in view.

Nelsoni.—By a letter recently received from a Gentleman from Cape Coast, of so late a date as the 21st of October last, we are informed that *Nelsoni* was then at that place, whence he was shortly about to penetrate into the interior. It is to be lamented, however, that the hostility of some of the native tribes, in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast, has not been yet appeased; although, we understand, that whenever a British force appears, they immediately retire. Mr. Robertson, whose "*Notes on Africa*," were published about four years since, is now also at Cape Coast, and it is to be hoped that *Nelsoni* will not fail to obtain from that gentleman all the information possible, in aid of his undertaking. The whole course of the Niger will, we may confidently anti-

pate, if Belzoni be successful, be now explored. Mr. Robertson has long since asserted, that the Niger discharges itself into the Gulf of Guinea: this is very probable.

Odessa.—Letters from Odessa of the 20th of November, assert, that the Capitan Pasha had been beheaded at Constantinople, in consequence of his want of success in the late campaign, and that the Sultan's favourite, Haleb Efendi, had been raised to the post of Grand Vizier.

MEDITERRANEAN SETTLEMENTS.

Constantinople.—It was reported at Constantinople, when the last accounts came away, that the French Government had applied to the Greek Chiefs for the cession of one of the islands for the residence of the Order of Malta about to be re-established. This intelligence had caused a great sensation in the Divan. The Russian Envoy had not arrived at the Turkish capital at the date of the last letters, and it was feared that some new subject of objection had occurred, in consequence, to the Russian Government. The Capitan Pasha had arrived at Constantinople with the Turkish fleet, and twelve vessels as prizes. Some of the letters from Turkey stated, that it was the intention of the Porte to try pacific measures with the Greek Chiefs prior to commencing another campaign; the Ottoman Minister being convinced, that the expenses attending the attempts to recover the sovereignty of Greece by force, were more than the actual possession would benefit the Turkish empire. Other letters, however, give a direct contradiction to this, by stating that the infidel army will be led the next campaign by the Grand Vizier in person. This latter assertion we take leave to doubt, it being the law of Turkey, that the Grand Vizier never heads the army unless the empire is in danger. All was tranquil in Constantinople when the last accounts came away.

Smyrna.—Nothing of importance had occurred at Smyrna, according to the latest advices; the city enjoyed tranquillity, and the Franks pursued their avocations unmolested. A letter from a mercantile house at Smyrna states a report to be current there, which, if true, is of great importance, namely, that a small Greek squadron had blockaded the entrance of the Dardanelles.

Syria.—A very abundant coal mine has just been discovered in Syria, a few miles from the coast, from whence the

Pasha of Egypt can draw such supplies as will enable him to adopt more extensively the use of steam-engines in his dominions.

Egypt.—Letters from Egypt of the 25th of November state, that there were great rejoicings on the 15th of that month at Alexandria, on account of a victory gained by the troops of the Viceroy over the rebels of Shendy, in Abyssinia, on the Nile, the place where the son of his Highness was assassinated last year. They add, that the Egyptian general had taken 6000 prisoners, and amongst them was the Meleck, or Prince of Shendy, and his whole family. Measures are now in progress, also, for erecting and establishing a lazaretto at Alexandria. This circumstance proves incontestibly the enlightened mind of the present Ruler in Egypt. Were similar measures of precaution adopted in other ports in the Levant, the terrible scourge of the East would soon disappear. It is the fatalism of the Turks which occasions the wide and spreading ravages of the plague. A giraffe, or cameleopard, was shipped at Alexandria for Constantinople, as a present to the Grand Signior. The vessel was lost off the Dardanelles, but the giraffe and twenty-one Arabian horses were brought safely to shore, and conducted by land to Constantinople.

Greece.—The cause of Greece and of liberty goes on prosperously, and the 'few,' led on by patriotism and the sacred principles they defend, have resisted, and resisted successfully, the countless 'many' which despotism and bigotry had arrayed against them. From all the statements that have reached this country, it is clear that the late campaign of the Turks was a total failure; their armies have been repulsed, their navies have been defeated and reduced, and the fortresses they held have one by one begun to surrender to the energy and perseverance of the assailants. To enter into detail would occupy too much of our space; it will suffice that we give a few of the prominent transactions which have since our last taken place in the Greek war. The important fortress of Corioth has surrendered; Corin has submitted, and Modon has shared the same fate. The Pasha of Scutari has been defeated in his attempts on Messaloghi; his troops have mutinied, the siege has been raised, and four pashas, with we know not how many tails, had been left in the possession of the conquerors. Prince Mavrocordato, in his passage with four or five ships for the relief of this fortress, fell in with the Algerine fleet, and was

after a severe engagement, captured a frigate and a brig, and sunk five other vessels. The remainder of the squadron only saved themselves by a precipitate flight. Mavrocordato then blockaded Patras, while Colocotroni invested it by land with 13,000 men. Larissa, the capital of Thessaly, was also blockaded. Prince Mavrocordato had taken the title of civil governor and military commandant of Western Greece, and he had been engaged by the Greek government to organize, without delay, an expedition against the forts still held by the Turks on the north side of the Lepanto. All the inhabitants along the Gulf of Volo had again taken up arms, and cut to pieces several small corps of Turks who had marched against them. The Turkish fleet, which had been cruising off Mesolonghi, had entirely vanished on the appearance of a Greek squadron in that quarter.

Greek Slaves.—Official returns from the Turkish Custom-house at Scio, report 41,000 women and children to have been sold as slaves, and to have paid auction duties at that office, in the months of May and June, 1822.

Greek Islands.—From Cephalonia, under date of the 18th of November, we learn that Lord Byron was still in that island, not having fixed on the part of Greece to which he would transfer himself. He had remitted 6000 dollars to the Greek Government for the purchase of arms and ammunition.

Malta.—Sir Thomas Maitland arrived at Malta on the 18th of November, and Commissions had been appointed to take a military survey of the Ionian Islands. The latest accounts from this island are of the greatest importance. By these we are informed, that some time since an English vessel from a port in the Ionian Islands, destined for Malta, having on board eighty Greeks as passengers, was boarded by a frigate of Tunis on the open sea, the Captain of which required that the Greeks should be given up to him, and upon the English Captain refusing, he sent a boat with a band of armed men, and took them away by force. As soon as this news was heard at Malta, an advice boat was sent to Tunis to demand the restoration of the prisoners; but answer was made, that these were the subjects of the Porte and rebels, and could not be restored, as they had already received capital punishment. An account of this had been transmitted home, and in consequence the English men of war cruising in the Levant had received orders to meet at Malta, the object of their

collecting being to form an expedition against Tunis. On hearing this the Tunisian vessels, acting as auxiliaries to the Turkish fleet, had quitted it in the Gulf of Lepanto, and hastened home to the assistance of their Sovereign.

With the exception of the execution of the unfortunate Greeks, we think this affair will turn out for the best. It is time that these pirates of Tunis, of Algiers, and of the other ports of Barbary, were hunted from their nests, and taught to know their real rank among nations. It is disgraceful to civilized Europe, that in the very teeth as it were of the greatest powers of the world, these despicable wretches should be suffered to infest the highways of the ocean, and plunder the defenceless. It is doubly disgraceful to Great Britain, as the first maritime nation of the world, to suffer her peculiar empire to be polluted by such miscreants, whose salacity has hitherto certainly been purchased by their insignificance. We trust this will no longer be their protection, but that they will be taught that tho' the worm while it crawls guilelessly along the earth will be passed unheeded; yet, that when it would play the adder, and emit an unexpected venom, it will be trampled into dust.

Corfu.—A letter from Corfu, of the 30th of November, states the arrival there, and subsequent embarkation on board an English vessel, of Messrs. Andre, Orlandos, and Lydonestes, Deputies from the Hellenic Congress to London.

Tunis.—By accounts from this port we learn, that the English Consul, on the arrival of the Greek prisoners we have before noticed, as having been taken from a British vessel, had used very great exertions to save their lives, but that his mediation was disregarded, and he himself much insulted. It is even said, that letters have arrived, of a subsequent date, from Tunis, announcing his assassination by the populace, but we have been unable to trace this rumour to any authentic source, and hope it will prove unfounded.

Tangiers.—By accounts from Tangiers we learn, that when Sir Robert Wilson left Cadiz, he proceeded to Tetuan and Tangiers, with the object of securing an asylum for the Spaniards, the promise of which he obtained from the Governor of those provinces. He had in reply to this solicitation received a letter from the Emperor of Morocco, to whom he had sent some arms and gunpowder, confirming the protection pledged, and giving solemn assurances

that the Spaniards might repose in safety under the shadow of the Moorish standard.

Gibraltar.—Our latest accounts from this garrison state, that the place was entirely glutted with flour from Lisbon, for which no sale could be found. Immense quantities of provisions from Ireland had likewise arrived, for which no purchasers could be obtained, and consequently many of the factors were re-shipping them home. Two Members of the late Spanish Cortes, Senors Soberron and Ayllon, residing in the town, had been poisoned by a servant who attended them. The former died in consequence, and the latter was in so precarious a state, that his recovery was despaired of. The assassin made his escape from Gibraltar before the atrocious deed was discovered.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Brazil.—The accounts from this portion of South America are of great interest, events having transpired which will probably lead to the deposition of the new Emperor. On the evening of the 10th November, the city of Rio was thrown into a state of general alarm and confusion by the arrival at the barracks of an order for the immediate march of the troops to the Palace. The reason circulated on the following morning for this movement of the troops was, that the Emperor had discovered that his old Prime Minister, Andrade, had been tampering with the soldiers, and endeavouring to bring over some of them to his party. On the 11th, the Cortes, alarmed at the Emperor's order, sent a message to him to learn why the troops remained under arms; but no satisfactory answer was returned, and the members in consequence remained all night in the Assembly House. When the morning of the 12th broke, anxiety was depicted in the countenance of every one, all business was suspended, and the shops were closed. About noon a body of troops marched into the city, and surrounded the house in which the Deputies were deliberating, pointing towards the building several field-pieces. A number of officers then entered, dissolved the Cortes in the name of the Emperor, and made prisoners of the following members:—Antonio, Carlos Martins, Francisco Montezume, and Larcha, who were marched across the Palace-square, put into a boat, and conveyed to the Ilha de Cobras. Shortly after, the Emperor made his appearance, and paraded through the principal streets, but it did not appear that his measures so far had become unpopular,

as he was every where received with applause, and in the evening a general illumination had taken place. The minister, Andrade, had been arrested, and an embargo had been laid on the shipping in the harbour of Rio on the 14th, which continued to the 21st November; when the transport, on board of which were the six arrested Deputies and their families, sailed with sealed orders not to be opened till her arrival in a certain latitude. As this vessel had been supplied with provisions for five months, her destination, which was said to be Havre de Grace, was generally supposed to be some far more distant port, and some of the conjectures named that of Goa in the East Indies. The departure of the democratic Members was followed by a proclamation from the Minister of Police, offering a reward of 400 milreas for a discovery of the authors of certain placards reflecting on the Government, and promising to conceal the names of the informers. On the next day the journal published in opposition to the Government at Rio, announced that its publication would be discontinued. At the time of the letters leaving, great consternation existed at Rio, and a crisis appeared approaching. Monte Video had surrendered to the Brazilian troops.

Our countryman, Lord Cochrane, was reaping both honour and profit in the Brazilian service, having received patents of nobility, and gained an immense amount of prize-money. Captain Crosby had been made a commodore, and the officers of the fleet had received crosses of distinction. Lord Cochrane's correspondence, relating to his operations at Maranhani and Para, had been published. In this he avows, that he had no instructions to go to either places, but finding further pursuit of the Portuguese fleet useless, he gave up the chase, and undertook an enterprise which he was convinced was conducive to the good of Brazil, trusting that his success would secure the approbation of the Government. He gives a long account of the contributions he had levied, the manner in which he had organized the new Government; and he then announces his intention of shortly returning to Rio with the banners he had taken. Prior to the dissolution of the Congress, they had, after a warm discussion, passed a decree, authorizing the Trial by Jury in civil and criminal cases, which was to be brought into immediate operation.

Peru.—The accounts from Peru have been of considerable interest, and the

Republican arms had been successful in every undertaking. This last hold of the Royalist cause, seemed about to be forced from the Spanish grasp, and to give a decisive seal to the charter of South American freedom. Bolivar had re-entered Lima amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the broken troops of the Royalist General Cantarac were flying before him. The Republican expedition against Upper Peru had been equally successful; and General Santa Cruz had been enabled thus to place the retreating Royalists between two enemies; Bolivar in the rear and himself in front. In his advance to La Paz, he had defeated the Royalist Commander, Orlanqueia, near Potosi. It was even reported, that the army of Cantarac had been defeated by the advanced guard of this army, under the British Colonel Miller, and the General himself taken prisoner. According to the accounts, however, the Royalist cause in South America seemed to be reduced to the mere "shadow of a shade."

Buenos Ayres.—The British merchants at this port have been much inconvenienced by a dispute which had taken place between the Government and the English Naval Commander in that quarter, Captain Willis, of the *Brazen*, in consequence of the latter claiming the right of boarding the English merchantmen prior to their entering the port of Buenos Ayres, which the Government forbade, and in consequence of Captain Willis persisting, commanded the latter to leave the port. A statement of these occurrences having been transmitted to Sir Thomas Hardy, the commander on that station, that officer thought it so serious, that at the urgent request of the British merchants there, he visited Buenos Ayres himself, and had a personal communication with the Members of the Government, who received him with the greatest distinction. At this interview the dispute was amicably arranged, and the fears of the merchants entirely removed. The conduct of Sir Thomas appears to have been marked with decorum and urbanity throughout this affair, which was terminated in the most satisfactory manner.

Colombia.—We announced in our last the siege of Puerto Cabella, the last remaining relic of royalty in Colombia; we have now to communicate intelligence of its capture. This most important fortress, which has for so long a period resisted the force of the Republic, was taken by surprise during the night, and the whole of the Royalist

garrison, together with all the vessels in the harbour, fell into the power of the assailants. This is a most important conquest to the Colombian Republic, the soil being now free, and the last hope of Spain in that quarter utterly destroyed. The Congress had issued a decree, banishing from the territory of Colombia all the natives of Spain; and this is stated to have been put in force, in consequence of some intrigues on the part of those individuals which had been detected, and which, it is supposed, had been caused by the tempting power of French gold. The Colombian Government has also issued several commercial decrees, for the purpose of putting the same regulations in force in all the ports of the Republic; and one had also been published, regulating the salaries of their envoys to Foreign Courts.

Mexico.—This portion of South America still continues in a disturbed state. A breach had taken place between the Spanish garrison of the Castle of St. John D'Ulloa, and the Mexican Government, in consequence of which the former had bombarded the city of Vera Cruz, and laid the principal part of it in ashes. This had caused the Supreme Government to issue a declaration of war against Spain, in which all Spanish subjects are forbid to trade with Mexico, and all the vessels of that nation entering the Mexican ports, are declared liable to confiscation. The Castle of Ulloa was also closely besieged, and as the preservation of Vera Cruz had been the only reason for its previously being unmolested, there was little doubt but it would be persevered in until its capture, as the city had been destroyed, and the only reason of forbearance on the part of the Mexicans consequently removed. Guatemala, one of the most fertile provinces in America, has seceded from the Mexican Republic, and declared itself independent.

WEST INDIES.

Demarara.—Nothing of importance has transpired in this colony; the accounts received during the past month merely stating that martial law was still in force there, and that the trial of the missionary, Smith, had been concluded; but at the departure of the accounts his sentence had not transpired, though it was generally believed that he had been found guilty, as the proceedings have been sent to England for the examination of the King in Council, and Mr. Smith was still kept in arrest. A considerable number of the negroes remained to be tried, but the trial of the

missionary, which had occupied nearly six weeks, had much impeded the progress of the court martial. The receipt of Earl Bathurst's letter to the governor, relative to the future treatment of the slaves, had caused a great sensation in the colony, and many apprehensions were entertained that another rising would take place. Indeed a private letter, with which we have been favoured, states, that another plot had been detected, and that several persons had been examined before the governor in consequence. In his defence, the missionary Smith called no less than sixty-five witnesses, whose evidence tended to exculpate him from any treasonable intent. A letter from this colony of very late date, states that an attempt had been made to poison the military stationed on the east side of the settlement, which was only discovered on the eve of its being put into execution.

Jamaica.—The Jamaica house of legislation had assembled, and his Grace the Duke of Manchester had recommended to the members a calm and unprejudiced discussion of the various plans brought before them for the amelioration of the slaves. The House of Assembly, in their reply, expressed their willingness to comply with this recommendation of the Governor General, it having always been their object to strengthen the attachment with which the lower classes looked up to them. However, meetings of house and slave proprietors had taken place in almost every parish of Jamaica, to express their disapprobation of the measures adopted in England in regard to the condition of slaves, and their resolution to oppose, by all legal means, every attempt to deprive them of their property without some adequate remuneration. The receipt of Earl Bathurst's letter, in reference to the amelioration of the negroes, had fanned the flame into open discord, and even the members of the Legislature did not seem free from the contagion of opinion; for on the application of the Governor for a sum of money to repair certain barracks for the troops, the members had refused the grant, on the ground, that such was the distressed state of the colony, that the money could not be spared; and adding, that the regular barracks were healthy, well fitted up, and convenient for the soldiers, who must content themselves with occupying them.

Grenada.—The accounts from this island are similar to those from our other West India Colonies. We cannot give a better idea of affairs there,

than by publishing the following extract of a letter from that island, bearing date the 19th of October:—"We have been under considerable alarm in consequence of intimations conveyed by anonymous letters, directed to the President and others, of an intended insurrection among the negroes, and determinations to set fire to the town of St. George's. A reward has been offered for the discovery of the writers, but hitherto without effect. The town militia have kept watch for this month past, and things have diminished in a very great degree the confidence formerly existing between master and slave. Evil disposed persons go about the island, and the negroes say that the King of England has made them all free; but that the Planters will not give them their liberty unless they fight for it. The example of Demarara is held up to them, and that revolt they are told has succeeded; nor is there such a thing as convincing them, without great difficulty, of the contrary. The receipt of Earl Bathurst's dispatch has caused great irritation in this Colony. His Lordship's instructions are apparently framed by persons entirely unacquainted with the condition of the negroes, and some of them are rather calculated to injure than to benefit them. If a Commission of Inquiry was sent out to ascertain the actual state of the slaves, the delusion would soon be dispelled."

Barbadoes.—We alluded in our last to the destruction of the chapel of Mr. Shrewsbury by the populace of Bridge Town. Further and most important accounts have been received, which serve to show that the island was in a state little short of actual rebellion. After the total annihilation of the building, it appears that the people of the town, not contented with thus wreaking their vengeance on the obnoxious missionary, actually published the following Proclamation, which we cannot refrain from inserting entire.

BRIDGE TOWN, OCT. 21.

Great Triumph over Methodism, and total destruction of the Chapel.

"The inhabitants of this island are respectfully informed, that in consequence of the unmerited and unprovoked attacks which have repeatedly been made upon this community by the Methodist Missionaries (otherwise known as agents to the villainous African Society) a party of respectable gentlemen formed the resolution of closing the Methodist concern altogether; with this view, they commenced their labours on Sunday evening, and they have the greatest satisfaction in announcing that by 12 o'clock last

night, they effected the total destruction of the Chapel.

‘To this information they have to add, that the Missionary made his escape yesterday afternoon, in a small vessel for St. Vincent; thereby avoiding the expression of the public feeling towards him personally, which he had so richly deserved.

‘It is hoped that this information will be circulated throughout the different Islands and Colonies, all persons who consider themselves true lovers of religion will follow the laudable example of the Barbadians, in putting an end to Methodism and Methodist Chapels throughout the West Indies.’

In consequence of this, the Governor issued the following Proclamation, with a view of discovering the authors of the outrage:—

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it has been represented to me, that a riotous assembly collected at the Wesleyan Chapel on Sunday night the 19th, and Monday night the 20th inst. and proceeded to demolish the building, which they completely destroyed. And whereas, if such an outrageous violation of all law and order be suffered to pass unpunished, no man will be safe, either in person or property; since, when the very ends of civil association are thus defeated—the people, finding the laws too feeble to afford them protection, must court the favour of the mob, and remain entirely at their mercy. In such a state of things, the laws are only a scourge to the weak; and whereas, in a society constituted as this is, the very worst consequences are to be apprehended from such an example.

I do, therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's Council, hereby offer a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who will give such information as will lead to the conviction of any person or persons concerned in the aforesaid riotous proceedings.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Government House this 21d day of October, 1823, and in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign. God save the King.

By His Excellency's Command,

WM. HUSBANDS, Dep. Sec.

The English reader would have supposed the affair would have rested here, unless, indeed, the perpetrators had been discovered, and punished accordingly. But no:—such a proceeding did not accord with the ideas of the people of Barbadoes, for on the following day they made public a counter Proclamation, of which the following is a copy, and which we make bold to say is unparalleled in the history of any Colony, or any nation on the face of the globe.

BRIDGE TOWN, BARBADOES,

Thursday, October 23, 1823.

Whereas, a Proclamation having appeared in the Barbadian Newspaper of yesterday, issued by order of his Excellency the Governor, of
Orient. Herald, Vol. 1.

fering a reward of one hundred pounds for the conviction of any person or persons concerned in the said-to-be riotous proceedings of the 19th and 20th inst. *Public Notice is hereby given*, that such person or persons who may feel inclined, either from pecuniary temptation or vindictive feeling, that should they attempt to come forward to injure, in any shape, any individual, they shall receive that punishment which their crimes so justly deserve.—They are to understand that to *impeach* is not to *convict*, and that the reward offered will only be given upon Conviction, which cannot be effected while the people are firm to themselves.

And whereas it may appear to those persons who are acquainted with the circumstances which occasioned the said Proclamation, that the demolition of the Chapel was effected by the rabble of this community, in order to create anarchy, riot, and insubordination, to trample upon the laws of the country, and to subvert good order,—It is considered as an imperative duty to repel the charge, and to state—Firstly—That the majority of the persons assembled were of the first respectability, and were supported by the concurrence of nine-tenths of the community.—Secondly—That their motives were patriotic and loyal—namely, to eradicate from this soil the germ of Methodism, which was spreading its baneful influence over a certain class, and which ultimately would have injured both Church and State. With this view the Chapel was demolished, and the theatrical preacher who headed it, and belied us, was compelled by a speedy flight to remove himself from the Island.

With a fixed determination, therefore, to put an end to Methodism in this Island, all Methodist Preachers are warned not to approach these shores, as, if they do, it will be at their own peril.

God save the King and the People.

After a passage of forty days from England, his Majesty's frigate *Isis*, Admiral Sir L. W. Halsestead, K.C.B. arrived at Barbadoes, having on board the Consuls for South America—namely, Mr. Henderson, for Colombia; Mr. Tupper, for La Guayra; Mr. Sutherland, for Maracaibo; Mr. Wats, for Carthagena; and Mr. McGregor, for Panama.

Trinidad.—A meeting of the Planters of this colony had been held, at which several resolutions were passed, expressive of the opinion of the Meeting, in reprobation of the plan of amelioration proposed by the British Government. A horrible plot had been discovered amongst the negroes of Trinidad to rise *en masse*, and murder all the whites. This massacre was to have taken place on the 24th of November, and was discovered only two days prior to its breaking out, in consequence of some of the slaves quarrelling with the other

partisans about priority of rank, and turning King's evidence. Several of the negroes had been lodged in gaol, and martial law had been proclaimed. The revolt was first to have broken out in the western part of the island, in the quarter of Diego Martin. The inhabitants of course were in a state of great agitation, and business was entirely suspended.

Tobago.—The Legislature of Tobago had passed a Bill for ameliorating the state of the slaves, in the spirit recommended by the British Government. They had abolished the Sunday markets, and have allowed the Thursday in each week to the slaves to cultivate their grounds and hold their markets. They had made the testimony of two

slaves of good character sufficient evidence against the masters. Negroes accused of capital crimes were to be tried by the same court as freemen, and were liable to similar punishments. For lesser crimes the punishment was not to exceed twenty stripes in any case by the master, nor twelve except in the presence of another white person. The personal property of the slaves were to remain secured to them, and the expenses of prosecuting those who offended against the laws were to be borne by the colony.

Cuba.—The New York Gazette states, that they are informed by good authority that Spain has ceded Cuba to France. If so, let France take possession—if she can.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Indian Army.—We took occasion in our last Number to advert to the changes contemplated in the new organization of the Indian Army, and return to the subject here, for the sake of explaining what might otherwise be misunderstood. The secrecy with which all the measures of the East India Company are taken, the mystery in which these are purposely involved, and the difficulty of obtaining any information of their intentions, except through private channels, open only to the favoured few, necessarily occasion much that is inaccurate to find its way into the public prints, which have often only rumours for their guide. This has been the case with a great portion of what has appeared in the newspapers on the subject of the Indian army: the following however, we believe, may be relied on, and help to explain what has already been said on this subject.

The East India Company's Native Army was originally composed of regiments of two battalions each, which were seldom or ever near each other on service; but, though as completely separated as two distinct regiments, yet promotion in them went on as in one regiment only. This was attended with such a slow advance from the lower to the higher steps of the service, that officers grew gray as subalterns, and the chance of arriving at the honours and emoluments of command was reduced almost to nothing. The forming each battalion into a regiment, and making

the complement of officers to each complete, must necessarily give an immediate promotion to a great number, and increase or quicken the advancement of the rest. This was applied to the native army in the service of the East India Company; but as there is an European regiment at each of the three Presidencies, composed also of two battalions each, it would be but just to them to place them on the same footing, by making each battalion a separate regiment, for the same reasons of accelerating promotion as before stated. It is more than probable, therefore, that the proposed formation of three additional European regiments out of the three second battalions of the present, has been the ground of the rumoured creation of an additional European force. This arrangement will give more officers, but not more men; and cannot be urged as a reason for dispensing with the service of King's troops, a much larger number than this (20,000 we believe) being required by act of parliament to be kept up in India as long as the Company's charter exists. It is possible that in consequence of this increase of European officers, the Company may apply to Parliament for a reduction of three King's regiments in India, to save the expense of maintaining them: but we feel assured that any application on their part to be permitted to dispense with King's troops altogether, would not be acceded to.

We cannot close this notice without

sincerely congratulating the Indian Army in general, and that of Bengal in particular, on this change. They had been long suffering under an almost total stagnation of all hope of advancement, in a state of mind equally fatal to the true interests of the government and to the happiness of the officers: although the delay which has taken place in realizing their deferred expectations has almost deprived the boon of its grace. The advantages of this arrangement appear to be, that every Cadet of each branch of the Army and at each of the presidencies, when he first enters the Indian service, is within 23 steps of being a full Colonel of a regiment, which brings with it a choice of returning to England on a comfortable independence for life, if the individual be not disposed to prolong his service in the country to realize a larger fortune. The actual value of this Colonelcy will, perhaps, be not more than two-thirds of what it has been under the old system; but then it will be attainable in a much shorter period: and a retiring allowance of £800l. or 1000l. a year, obtained, by 23 steps, would certainly be preferred by most men to an allowance of 1200l. or 1500l. a year, which could only be obtained after passing through 45 steps. By the present arrangement indeed it will take about the same period to obtain a full Colonelcy, which under the old system, would have brought the candidate for ease and honour only half way up the list of Lieutenant Colonels. The advantage, therefore, to the Company's Army is manifest: and as it is, in every point of view, desirable to secure their efficiency and attachment, it cannot fail to be also beneficial to the interests of the country itself.

The restriction which has been recently imposed on the recruiting parties belonging to the East India Company's service during the recent levy, has not yet been removed. It is, however, expected soon to take place, as the regiments for which the restriction was put in force are now completed.

The troops which recently arrived from India and the Cape of Good Hope on board the Thames free trader, have disembarked at Gravesend, and are ordered for Chatham. The detachments which arrived on board the *Circassian* from Calcutta, have been disembarked at Chatham on the 12th January.

Extraordinary Discoveries at the East India House.—A mysterious paragraph has been going the round of the London papers, under this head, alluding

to the loan advanced by a mercantile house at Hyderabad, to the Government of the Nizam; and hinting at the probable impeachment of the Marquess of Hastings, for a supposed share in some alleged malversations in that quarter. As this is a matter of too great importance to hazard the expression of hasty opinion on, we shall in the present instance merely say, that we have noticed the paragraph in question, with an impression that the real state of the case was but imperfectly known to those who first transcribed it; and that we shall take some pains to ascertain the facts of the case for publication in our next Number.

New Governor of Bombay.—It is stated in the public prints that Mr. Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, is about to receive an appointment as Governor of Bombay. Our readers will remember that the late Governor of that Presidency, Sir Evan Nepean, retired from the Secretaryship of the Admiralty to fill the same place; and this probably may have given rise to the rumour. It is believed by some, and discredited by others; but we cannot learn the grounds on which it rests. We do not perceive the connexion between the offices and occupations which could recommend an Admiralty Secretary as most fit for an Indian Governor; and while so able and distinguished an officer as Sir John Malcolm is unemployed, we should conceive the Company would not think of looking elsewhere for a Governor of Bombay, should its present able and enlightened servant, Mr. Elphinstone, be removed from thence to the higher office of Governor of Madras, on the expected retirement of Sir Thomas Munro.

Marquess of Hastings.—It is known that the Marquess of Hastings, on his return from India, was so overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassments, as to be unable to reside in England; and it was hoped, by himself and his friends, that some place of honour and emolument abroad might have been found for him. This hope was not, however, realized; and the loss of the King's personal friendship and favour (which, if it had remained unchanged, might and would have procured him this gift) is as remarkable as the failure of an attempt to obtain a pension from the East India Company. The consequence of these disappointments was, that after passing some time in England, honoured by a splendid entertainment on the one hand, and literally pressed by want on the other, his Lordship and family retired

to Brussels, there to enjoy more tranquillity, and live in a more economical manner, than they could do in London. The papers state that the Marquess has since gone into Italy, where himself and family are residing on the limited income of 1700*l.* per annum. Some of the editors express great sympathy with what appears to them the humbled condition of a Governor General, who lately lived in splendour, and ruled over millions: others avow that the conduct of Lord Hastings towards the press in India, was such as to make them feel no sorrow for his present condition. Had not this subject of his retirement and poverty been already blazoned forth in the papers of the day, we should not have alluded to it here: but having done so, as a matter of intelligence purely, we may add, that though no one can think with more pity and sorrow of Lord Hastings's inconsistencies than we do: yet these feelings are also extended to his present humbled condition. We would rather have seen him passing his days in his own country, and among the associates of his early life; but we do not think there is anything in his public conduct which can be called back to remembrance by the great bulk of the community, in order to awaken strong feelings of general sympathy in his behalf.

India Direction.—A meeting of the Proprietors of East India Stock, was held on the 14th of Jan. at the London Tavern, to take into consideration such measures as may ensure the election of Sir R. Townsend Farquhar to the next vacancy that may occur amongst the Directors of the Company. A. W. Roberts, Esq. was called to the chair. A resolution to the purpose was proposed and adopted, and, after passing thanks to the chairman, the meeting broke up.

In our last, we omitted to state, that Mr. Muspratt was among the most active of the candidates for the Direction, and will go to a ballot on the first vacancy.

Appointment.—J. H. D. Ogilvie, Esq. was appointed, at the last Court of Directors, provisional Member of the Council at Madras.

Advocate General of Bengal.—On the 21st of January, John Pearson, Esq. took the oaths at the India House, on being appointed Advocate General to the Company, in the Supreme Court of Bengal.

India Stock.—On the arrival of the accounts from China, that the trade was threatened with another stoppage, on account of the Topaze affair, the East

India Stock fell $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It has, however, partly recovered the decline since the full particulars have been made public.

Hayleybury College.—A requisition has been sent to the Court of Directors, signed by ten Proprietors, requesting they would call a Meeting of a General Court, to consider the propriety of endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the 46th clause of the Act of Parliament of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, relating to the appointment of writers for the several presidencies, which requires their pursuing four sessions of study, at Hayleybury College, and allowing them only to pass examination, at the East India House, or the Board of Control.—The Court have accordingly advertised a special Meeting of the General Court, on Wednesday, the 11th of February, for that purpose.

Africa.—Commodore C. Bullen, C.B. has been appointed to the command of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, in the room of Sir Robert Mends, whose decease we have already noticed.

South America.—His Majesty's ship Cambridge, sailed on the 6th inst. from Spithead for South America. She had on board the following gentlemen: Mr. Parish, Consul General, and Messrs. Griffiths and Pousette, Vice Consuls, at Buenos Ayres. Mr. Nugent, Consul General, and Messrs. De Rous and Custer, Vice Consuls at Chili, to reside at Valparaiso. Mr. Rowcroft, Consul General, and Messrs. Passmore and White, Vice Consuls for Peru, to reside at Lima; and Mr. Hood, Consul for Monte Video. The Cambridge will be stationed in the Pacific, and take the naval command there. The number of persons on board at the time of her departure, including the Consuls and their families, was about nine hundred.

Emperor of Mexico.—The Ex-Emperor of Mexico, Senor Iturbido, has arrived in England on a visit of curiosity. He has taken up his residence at St. Paul's Coffee House, where many persons have visited him.

West Indies.—Detachments of troops continue to leave England for the West Indies. Among others, part of the 4th, 5th, 9th, and 21st regiments of infantry have been ordered to embark from the Isle of Wight, on board the *Edward*, for the West Indies. Detachments belonging to the 33d, 50th, 91st, and 92d regiments of foot, have sailed for Jamaica. The 27th regiment of foot, which was relieved at Gibraltar, on the 24th November, and which sailed from

that garrison on 30th November, for the West Indies, has been ordered to touch at Barbadoes, to report to Lieutenant Colonel Warde, Commander of the Forces in that part of the world, and to await that officer's further orders. Several other detachments have also been ordered for the same destination.

Company's Trade.—On the 14th of January, the hon. Directors of the East India House purchased two hundred and forty tons of copper, of which twenty tons of nails are to be forwarded by Mr. Glorat, at 93*l.* 12*s.* per ton, and seventy-five tons of manufactured copper, by the English Company, at 91*l.* 12*s.* per ton, according to the tenders. The remaining 141 tons are to be supplied at 95*l.* 14*s.* per ton, by associated companies.

The West India Association of Glasgow, at a General Meeting, have voted one hundred pounds in aid of the Society established by the Church of England, for the religious instruction of slaves. The Colonial Interests of London have appropriated one thousand pounds to the same object, independently of the private subscription. Considerable contributions have been made in Liverpool and Bristol. The present revenue of the Society is about two thousand pounds, and the sphere of its operations is to be largely extended.

Northern Expedition.—The *Fury* and *Hecla* are to be taken into dock immediately, at Deptford, and fitted out on a voyage of discovery. Captain Parry takes the command of the *Hecla*, his ship in the first voyage, under his orders; and Captain Hoppner is to command the *Fury*. The *Griper* is also fitting up, and is to proceed to Wager River, from whence Captain Lyon will proceed by land. Captain Lyon is appointed to the *Griper*, as also Lieutenant Manners, who is to accompany him on his route.

Greek Subscription.—A Greek Committee has been formed at Manchester, and is making very successful exertions in favour of the Subscription. Mr. Blaquier was there, according to the last accounts, superintending the formation.

The following letter from the London Greek Committee to Alexander Bannerman, Esq. Chairman of the Aberdeen

Branch Committee, gives a very cheering prospect of the favourable issue of the contest:—

"Sir—The Greek Committee have the greatest satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of 50*l.*, as a second remittance to the London subscription from Aberdeen, in addition to their first remittance of 150*l.* Their thanks are due to the subscribers, and especially to yourself, for the exertions which have been made, and made so successfully.

"It cannot but be pleasing to those who have so warmly supported the Greek cause, to learn, that accounts have been received of the safe arrival of the stores, which were sent by the Committee, in August, to Greece. They consisted of printing-presses, types, (Greek and Roman,) mathematical and surgical instruments, medicines, &c., and there accompanied them four German engineer officers, and a very intelligent young surgeon, who has become the correspondent of the Committee. The second stores, which sailed in a vessel chartered by the Committee in October, must have arrived by this time, and accounts are expected daily of such event. These latter consisted of a very large quantity of materials for composing rockets, and every species of destructive fireworks—two brigades of mountain guns—mathematical, surgical (both naval and military) instruments—printing and lithographic presses—types and medicines—books of military instruction—A fire-master and eight artificers accompanied them, to construct the rockets, &c. and to instruct the Greeks in the use of them; and a surgeon also sailed with this expedition. All the above were directed to the care of Lord Byron, or the Hon. Colonel Leicester Stanhope, who have undertaken to act as the representatives of the Committee in Greece.

"The Committee feel confident as to the result of the struggle; yet the assistance they afford, and which they still hope to afford, is of the highest importance, as the means of encouraging the Greeks in their glorious, but hard contest; as the means, in fact, of shortening a war so marked with barbarism, and all that is most revolting to humanity.

"The Greek Committee reiterate their expressions of gratitude, and hope that a further assistance to their labours may be derived, from the influence of the noble example set by the subscribers in Aberdeen.

"We have the honour to be, Sir, your very devoted servants,

"JOSEPH BURN, Chairman.

* JOHN BOWRING, Man. Sec.

"Greek Committee Room,
London, Jan. 6, 1824."

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE heavy demand on the pages of our First Number, rendered it impossible to include many articles with which it was originally intended to enrich and vary them. It was for this reason only, that the Civil and Military Intelligence, with the Births, Marriages, and Deaths occurring in India and the Colonies, as well as among those in England connected in any manner with the Eastern and Western World, were omitted in our last. Aware, however, of the importance attached, both by our European and Asiatic Readers, to these details, we shall devote a portion of our Work to this department expressly, and do our utmost to render it as copious, as accurate, and as late in date as possible. In arranging the Civil and Military Intelligence, we have taken the 1st of August last, the date of Lord Anherst's assuming the Supreme Government of India, as the point of commencement: and that period has been also chosen as the one from which the Births, Marriages, and Deaths in India will be reported; those in England will be given from the 1st of January last: and every attention will be paid to well authenticated communications of this nature, from respectable sources.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS, &c.

From the 1st August 1823, to 24th January 1824, inclusive.

BENGAL.

11th *Regt. of Light Drag.* Cornet Thos. Oliver Partridge to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Crole, promoted in the 41st Foot; dated 30th Oct. 1823.—Clement Johnson, gent., to be Cornet by purchase, vice Partridge; dated 30th Oct. 1823.—Cornet Robt. Hare to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Partridge, whose appointment has not taken place; dated 30th Oct. 1823.

16th *Regt. of Light Drag.* Wm. Payne Neale, gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Moore, promoted in the 17th Light Dragoons; dated 2d Oct. 1823.—Sub-Lt. Thos. Brett, from the 2d Life Guards, to be Cornet, vice Williams, who exchanges; dated 22d Dec. 1823.

14th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieutenant Kenneth M'Kenzie to be Capt. without purchase, vice Rawlins, deceased; dated 27th Jan. 1823.—Ens. Arthur Ormsby to be Lieut., vice M'Kenzie; dated 27th Jan. 1823.—Browulow Villiers Layard, gent. to be Ensign, vice Ormsby; dated 24th July, 1823.—Edw. C. Lynch, gent., to be Ensign, by purchase, vice A. Donald, who retires; dated 11th Dec. 1823.

38th *Regt. of Foot.* Ens. Thos. Abercromby Trant to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Haston, deceased; dated 9th Feb. 1823.—Gent. Cadet Hy. B. Stokes, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign, vice Trant; dated 24th July, 1823.—Lieut. J. Watson Boyes, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Power, who exchanges; dated 4th Sept. 1823.

87th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieut. Mns. Morphet, from the 53d Foot, to be Lieut., vice Cates, who exchanges; dated 25th Sept. 1823.—Lieut. Fred. O'Flaherty, from half-pay of the 32d Foot, to be Lieut., vice Clement, appointed to the

2d West India *Regt.*; dated 20th Nov. 1823.—Lieut. James Serjeant, from half-pay 34th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Beauchamp Newton, who exchanges; dated 4th Dec. 1823.

MADRAS.

13th *Regt. Light Drag.* Cornet William Elton, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Foster, appointed to the Cape Corps of Cavalry; dated 29th Aug. 1823.—Lieut. John Gunn Collins, from half-pay, 21st Light *Drag.*, to be Lieut., vice Newbury Nash, who exchanges, receiving the difference; dated 19th Sept. 1823.—George James Chrystie, gent., to be Cornet, without purchase, vice Elton, promoted; dated 18th Sept. 1823.—Capt. Henry Heyman, from half-pay, 8th Light *Drag.*, to be Capt., vice Digby Mackworth, who exchanges, receiving the difference between the full pay of cavalry and full pay of infantry; dated 23d Oct. 1823.—Lieut. H. Stones, to be Capt., by purchase, vice Crawford, who retires; dated 25th Dec. 1823.—Cornet Charles Strange, to be Lieut., by purchase, vice Stones; dated 25th Dec. 1823.—Charles Bigge, gent., to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Strange; dated 25th Dec. 1823.

Memorandum.—The promotion of Lieut. George Seyn our Crole, from the 11th Light *Drag.*, to be Captain in the 41st Foot, on the 30th Oct. 1823, was by purchase.

1st *Regt. of Foot.* Lieut. Chas. Eyre, to be Capt., by purchase, vice Mosse, who retires; dated 13th Nov. 1823.—Ensign James Stoyte, to be Lieut., by purchase, vice Eyre, dated 13th Nov. 1823.—Ewen M'Pherson, gent., to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Stoyte; dated 13th Nov. 1823.—Ensign J. Clayton Cowell, to be Lieutenant, vice E. Mainwaring, deceased; dated 11th Feb. 1823.

30th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieut. Aldworth Blennerhasset, from half-pay of 73d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Trant, appointed to the 95th Foot; dated 1st

Dec. 1823.—Ensign Charles Rumley, to be Lieutenant, vice Duncan Henry Kennedy, deceased; dated 25th Nov. 1822.—Gentleman Cadet R. Wilson, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign, vice Rumley; dated Dec. 11, 1823.

41st Regt. of Foot. Captain William Booth, from the 81st Foot, to be Captain, vice Hailes, who exchanges; dated 31st July, 1823.—Captain James Lewis Hill, to be Major, by purchase, vice M'Coy, who retires; dated 25th Sept. 1823.—Ens. Henry Jayner Ellis, from the 15th Foot, to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Brown, promoted; dated 2d Oct. 1823.—Lieut. George Seymour Crole, from the 11th Light Dragoons, to be Capt., vice Johnson, whose appointment has not taken place; dated 30th Oct. 1823.

46th Regt. of Foot. Captain Joseph Jocelyn Anderson, from half-pay of the 6th West India Regt., to be Paymaster, vice John Campbell, who exchanges; dated 21st Aug. 1823.

54th Regt. of Foot. Capt. James W. H. Welch, from the 60th Foot, to be Capt., vice Butler, who exchanges; dated 31st July 1823.

63rd Regt. of Foot. John Lord Elphinstone, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted in the Rifle Brigade; dated 14th Aug. 1823.

69th Regt. of Foot. Ens. Wm. Campbell, from the 24th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Robinson, who exchanges; dated 16th Oct. 1823.

BOMBAY.

4th Regt. of Light Drag. Brev. Major Edw. Byne, from the 17th Light Drag., to be Capt., vice Scott, who exchanges; dated 24th July, 1823.—Lieut. Charles Byne Sale, from the 17th Light Drag., to be Capt., by purchase, vice Pratt, appointed to the 7th Light Dragoons; dated 20th Dec. 1823.—Cornet Matthew Chitty Downes St. Quintin, to be Lieut., by purchase, vice Coney, promoted in the 17th Light Drag.—Harry Shakespeare Phillips, gent., to be Cornet, by purchase, vice St. Quintin.

20th Regt. of Foot. Capt. Robt. George Horsley, from the 53d Foot, to be Capt., vice Harrison, who exchanges; dated 2d Oct. 1823.—Paymaster Wm. Campbell, from the 24th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Tooley, who exchanges; dated 20th Nov. 1823.—Captain Charles Bolton, from half-pay, 14th Foot, to be Capt., vice Richard George Horsley, who exchanges; dated 4th Dec. 1823.—Capt. Robert Edward Burrowes, from the 63th Foot, to be Capt., vice James Goldfrap, who exchanges; dated 1st March, 1823.

47th Regt. of Foot. Lieutenant Edward

Codd, from half-pay, 1st Bahama Garrison Company, to be Lieutenant, vice Egerton Chas. Isaacson, who exchanges; dated 25th Sept. 1823.—Lieutenant John Pasley, to be Captain by purchase, vice Keays, whose promotion has not taken place; dated 3d July, 1823.—Lieut. Samuel Kerr, from half-pay, 60th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Edward Mitchell, who exchanges; dated 20th Nov. 1823.—Ens. Angus John Millar, to be Lieut., vice Keays, deceased; dated 17th June, 1823.—Appleton Marshall Robinson, gent., to be Ensign, vice Millar; dated 1st Jan. 1824.—Ensign and Adjutant Eugenius M'Carthy, to have the rank of Lieut.; dated 18th June, 1823.

67th Regt. of Foot. Ens. Thos. Byrne, to be Lieut., vice Muirson, deceased; dated 5th March, 1823.—Lieut. Herbert Vaughan, to be Captain, by purchase, vice Hay, appointed to the 34th Foot; dated 4th Sept. 1823.—Ens. Alexander Henry Pilford, to be Lieut., without purchase, vice Lascelles, deceased; dated 30th Oct. 1823.—Lieut. William Warburton to be Adjutant, vice M'Pherson, deceased; dated 25th Dec. 1823.—Ens. George Frankland, from the 24th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase; dated 25th Dec. 1823.

Ceylon.

Ceylon Regiment. Lieutenant Archibald Robertson, from half-pay, 94th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Frederick Hammond, who exchanges; dated 28th Aug. 1823.

—Second Lieut. Thomas Skinner, to be First Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Aubert, appointed to the 63d Foot.—To be Second Lieuts., without purchase: Gent. Cadet Thos. Wm. Rogers, from the Royal Military College; Gentleman Cadet John R. Heyland, from the Royal Military College, vice Skinner.

Memoandum.—The army rank of Captain Robt. Preston Campbell, of the Ceylon Regiment, has been ante-dated to 31st Aug. 1819, but he is not to receive any additional pay.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Cape Corps (Cavalry.) Lieut. Edward Hervey Foster, from the 13th Light Drag., to be Adjutant and Lieutenant; dated 22th Aug. 1823.—Alexander Macdonald, gent., to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Jervis, who retires; Nov. 13, 1823.

Cape Corps (Infantry.) Lieut. James William Harvey, from half-pay, 24th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Yates, appointed to the 74th Foot; dated 6th Nov. 1823.—Brevet Col. John Ross, from the Rifle Brigade, to be Lieut. Colonel, without purchase, vice Fraser, deceased.

Royal African Colonial Corps. Major Alex. Grant, from the 2d West India Regt., to be Lieut. Col., without pur-

chase.—Brevet Major Edward Purdon, from the 60th Foot, to be Major, without purchase.—To be Captains, without purchase: Capt. Mitchell John Sparks, from the 2d West India Regt.; Captain John L'Estrange, from the 2d West India Regt.; Lieut. Charles Dowson, from the 90th Foot; Lieut. David Campbell, from the 63d Foot; Lieutenant Edward Ward Drewe, from the 27th Foot; Lieutenant Thomas Baynes, from the 39th Foot.—To be Lieuts., without purchase: Lieut. Frederick Clements, from the 2d West India Regt.; Lieut. William Francis Cartwright, from the 2d West India Regt.; Ensign Duncan Maclean, from the 2d West India Regt.; Ensign James Rogers, from the 2d West India Regt.

Brevet. The under-mentioned Cadets, of the Honourable East India Company's service, to have the temporary rank of Second Lieutenants in the army, whilst doing duty at the Establishment for Field Instructions at Chatham, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Pasley, of the Royal Engineers:

Mr. T. S. Burt; dated 16th Oct. 1823.
Mr. William Gaven Nugent; ditto.
Mr. Joseph Frederick Bordwine; do.
Mr. Bradshaw York Reilly; ditto.
Mr. Charles Edward Faber; ditto.

WEST INDIES.

Jan. 5, 1824.—The King has been pleased to appoint Major-Gen. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K. C. B. to be Lieutenant Governor of the settlement of Demerara and Essequibo.

Jan. 6.—His Majesty has also appointed Major-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, to be Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Antigua.

E. I. COMPANY'S SERVICE. [FROM THE INDIAN GAZETTES.]

Commencing with the date of Lord Amherst's New Government.

BENGAL.

Fort William, Aug. 1, 1823.

The following proclamation is published by order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council:

Whereas the Right Hon. William Pitt Lord Amherst, Baron Amherst of Montreal, in the county of Kent, and one of His Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, hath been appointed by the Hon. the Court of Directors to be Governor General of Fort William in Bengal; and whereas General the Hon. Sir Edward Paget, Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, hath been appointed Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the Hon. East India Company in the East Indies, and one of the Counsellors of Fort William aforesaid; and John Adam and John Fendall, Esqrs. have been

appointed Counsellors of the said Presidency: the said appointments are hereby notified. And it is further proclaimed, that the Right Hon. Lord Amherst has, on the day of the date hereof, received charge of the said office of Governor General, and taken the usual oaths and his seat accordingly; and that John Adam and John Fendall, Esqrs. (His Excellency the Commander in Chief being absent on a visit to the upper stations of the Army,) have respectively taken their seats at the Board, as Counsellors of the said Presidency.

By order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

W. B. BAYLEY, C. Sec. to the Gov.
Fort William, Aug. 1, 1823.

Fort William, Aug. 1, 1823.—The Governor General has been pleased to make the following appointments.—Mr. Chas. Lushington, to be Private Secretary to the Governor General.—Major Streetfield, H. M. 87th regt., to be Military Secretary to the Governor General.—Lieutenant the Hon. Jeffrey Amherst, H. M. 59th regt.; Lieutenant J. Cooke, Roy. Marines; Lieut. Alex. St. Leger McMahon, H. M. 16th Lancers; and Capt. Jas. Dalgairas, 7th Madras N. I.; to be Aides-de-Camp to the Governor General.—Extra Aide-de-Camp, Brevet Captain Hugh Caldwell, 25th Nat. Inf.—Supernumerary Aide-de-Camp, Major Henry Huthwaite, 5th N. I.—Dr. Abel Clarke, to be Surgeon to the Gov. Gen.

Civil Appointment. John Herbert Haington, Esq. to be Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces, and Agent to the Governor General at Delhi.

Fort William, Aug. 2, 1823.—Major F. F. Staunton, of the Bombay establishment, to be an Honorary Aide-de-Camp to Lord Amherst.

MADRAS.

GENERAL ORDER.

Fort St. George, August 8.—During the visit of the Governor to the central provinces, it is declared in Council, that the administration at the Presidency will, in his absence, be conducted by the remaining Members of the Government: His Excellency Gen. Sir A. Campbell, Bart., K. C. B., officiating as President, and exercising as such the accustomed military command of the Garrison, and all the powers and authorities appertaining to the office of Acting President, &c. &c.

PROMOTION.

Aug. 5.—17th Regt. Nat. Inf. Senior Lieutenant (Brevet Capt.) James Glass, to be Capt., and Senior Ensign S. Affeck, to be Lieut., vice Crighton, deceased.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Aug. 8.—Capt. John

ston Napier, 15th Regt. Nat. Inf., to be Superintendent of the Gunpowder Manufactory, from the date of Captain Balmains' embarkation for Europe.—Capt. A. Walker, 25th Regt. N. I., to be Assist. Adjutant-Gen. to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, vice Napier.—Capt. G. Cracroft, 22d Regt. N. I., to be Brigade-Major to the troops in the ceded districts, vice Walker.—Lieut. W. G. Gordon, 2d Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to the 1st Bat. of that corps, vice Dowker.

August 16.—Captain H. Conway, 4th Regt. N. I., is appointed to do duty with 2d Native Vet. Bat., and will command the detachment at Nellore during Capt. Turner's absence on leave.

Aug. 18. The under-mentioned officers recently promoted, are appointed to do duty with the following corps:—Ensign J. C. Boulderson, 1st Bat. 3d Regt.—Ens. E. W. Ravenscroft, 1st Bat. 23d Regt.

REMOVALS.

Aug. 8. Captain G. H. Field, 9th Regt. is removed from the 1st to the 2d Bat., and Capt. W. H. Rowley, from the 2d to the 1st Bat. same regt.—Captain R. L. Evans, of the 11th Regt., is removed from the 1st to the 2d Bat., and Capt. H. M. Cooper, from the 2d to the 1st Bat. same regt.—Lieut. Brevet Capt. H. A. Thompson is removed from the 2d to the 1st Bat., and Lieut. M. G. Fitzgerald, from the 1st to the 2d Bat. 21st Regt. N. I.

August 15. Ensign J. R. Savers is removed from the 1st to the 2d Bat. 5th Regt.

August 16. Capt. C. B. Robinson, 3d Regt., is removed from the 2d Bat. to the 1st Bat.

August 18. 11th Regt. N. I. Lieut. F. Darby from the 1st to the 2d Bat.; Lieutenant G. Gray from the 2d to the 1st Bat.—15th Regt. N. I. Lieutenant H. J. C. Memardier from the 1st to the 2d Bat.; Lieut. E. Servante from the 2d to the 1st Bat.

FURLOUGHS.

August 5. Lieut.-Colonel T. Stewart, 23d Regt. N. I., is permitted to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, on leave of absence for six months, and eventually to return to Europe on furlough.—Capt. J. S. Gummer, 23d Regt. N. I., is permitted to return to Europe on furlough.

August 8. Lieut. J. B. Paget, Madras European Regt., is permitted to return to Europe on furlough for one year.—Captain A. McLaren, 8th Regt. N. I., is permitted to resign the situation of Deputy Assistant Com. General, and to return to Europe on sick certificate.

—1st Ensign L. B. Wilford, 23d Regt. N. I., is permitted to return to Europe

on sick certificate.—Ens. W. Bremmer, 24th Regt. N. I., is permitted to return to Europe on sick certificate.—Leave of absence has been obtained by Captain Jas. Dalgairas, 7th Regt. N. I., to proceed to Calcutta for two months.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

APPOINTMENTS.

June 11. The Governor is pleased to appoint Assist. Surgeon James Mitchell, on the half-pay, 46th Regt., to be an Assist. Surg. in the Colonial Medical Staff.

June 18. The Governor having been pleased to appoint Mr. William Mires a Storekeeper in the Commissariat Department, he will take charge of the Commissariat duties at Newcastle, on the 25th of this month, in the room of Mr. Tucker, retiring on a pension from the Colonial Revenue.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, & DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Aug. 2d. Mrs. Meyers, of a son.—5th. The lady of F. Nepean, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a daughter.—7th. The lady of Captain Irwin Maling, of a daughter.—8th. The lady of Capt. Debnam, of H. M. 13th Light Inf., of a daughter.—9th. Mrs. Jos. Elly, of a son.

Marriages.—Aug. 1st. At the Cathedral, Lieutenant Abraham Fuller, to Miss Anna Amelia Helluer.—2d. At St. John's Cathedral, W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., of the Hon. Company's Civil Service, second son of the Hon. Sir F. Macnaghten, to Frances, widow of the late Col. J. C. M. Clintock.—2d. J. H. Moscrop, Esq. to Mrs. Sophia M. Richards.

Deaths.—Aug. 1st. At Calcutta, Miss A. Williamson, eldest daughter of J. Williamson, Esq., of Malacca.—2d. Leopold, son of L. Dyce, Esq., of Tetteghur, aged 15 years.—3d. Helen, infant daughter of Lieut. H. Ingle, 15th Regt. N. I., aged six months.—3d. Benjamin Comberbach, Esq., attorney at law, aged 53 years.—1th. At Berhampore, Lieut. C. H. Phelps, 10th Nat. Inf., aged 24 years.—3th. Captain John Pearson, of the ship Ogle Castle, aged 53 years.—5th. Mr. Charles Swaris, aged 19 years and 4 months.—7th. At Balasore, Eliza, the wife of W. Dent, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 20 years.—7th. At Calcutta, Mrs. Eliza McNeight, aged 38 years.—7th. M. M. Melicknauz, Esq., aged 31 years.—8th. At the Presidency General Hospital, Sergeant-Major Jas. Scott, 1st Light Cavalry.—13th. Mrs. Elizabeth Samuel, aged 35 years.—13th. Frederick Ruddell, fourth son of Capt. S. H. Jackson, aged 2 years and 8 months.—Towards the end of August, Thos. Hog, Esq., Surgeon of the Hon.

3 D

Company's ship *Royal George*, aged 36 years.—Drowned, near Muscat, in attempting to save himself from the wreck of the *Travancore*, S. P. Garrick, Esq.

MADRAS.

Births.—Aug. 2d. At Quilon, the lady of Captain Swanston, of a son.—4th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Lieut. Suter, of H. M. Royal Regt., of a daughter.—5th. In Camp at Ragapoor, the lady of Captain Matthews, 19th Regt. N. I., of a son.—7th. The lady of John Savage, Esq., of a daughter.—8th. At the Presidency, the lady of John Gwatkin, Esq., of a son.—12th. The lady of F. A. Robson, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter.—13th. The lady of Mr. A. A. Hill, of a daughter.—14th. At Ellore, the lady of Captain W. Peighton, 2d Bat. 19th Regt., of a son.—19th. The lady of W. Scott, Esq., of a daughter.—20th. At Vepery, Mrs. Margaret Fitzgerald, of a son.—20th. At Punganore, in the palace of E. S. Royal E. B. Rajah of Punganore, the lady of His Highness the Savahe Busralinga Rajadra, Rajah of Soonda, was safely delivered of her 7th daughter and 10th child.—22d. The lady of D. Hill, Esq., of a son, (still born.)—24. The wife of the Rev. J. W. Massie, of a son.—24th. At Tanjore, the wife of the Rev. G. Sperschneider, of a son.

Marriages.—August 11th. At Arcot, Lieut. L. McLean, 2d Bat. 6th Regt. N. I., to Harriett, youngest daughter of the late Colonel A. McCall, Madras Establishment.—15th. Lieut. G. Story, 19th Regt. N. I., to Hannah Eliza, eldest daughter of the late W. Wetherspoon, of Edinburgh.—20th. Major Conway, 12th Light Inf., to Ellen Eliza, eldest daughter of D. Neale, Esq.

Deaths.—Aug. 1st. At Vepery, the infant son of Mr. Wilkins, aged 11 months.—4th. At Allepee, the infant daughter of Capt. Robt. Gordon, Bombay Engineers.—5th. Mr. J. De Costa, aged 96.—14th. At Negapatam, of an apoplexy, Capt. W. S. Smith, 4th Nat. Vet. Bat.—24th. At Persawaukum, Mary, the wife of the Rev. J. W. Massie: she died a few hours after the birth of her son.—27th. Elizabeth, wife of Capt. William Fenwick, aged 25.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Birth.—May 27th. At Macquarrie Grove, Mrs. S. O. Hassall, of a daughter.

Marriage.—In June, at the church of St. Philip, Mr. Thomas Barker, to Miss Joanna Dickson, eldest daughter of Mr. James Dickson, of Bringelly.

Deaths.—May 26th. Capt. Wm. Blyth, formerly commander of the *Wadham*.—June 20th. Mrs. Chanbells of Sydney,

and for some years a considerable proprietor of land and stock in this colony.

ST. HELENA.

Marriages.—Oct. 1st. Mr. Benjamin Solomon, to Miss Eliza Chamberlain.—15th. Captain T. M. Hunter, to Phoebe Solomon, daughter of Mr. Saul Solomon, merchant, of that island.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Marriage.—Oct. 2d. Capt. J. Robins, to Miss P. J. Borchards.

Deaths.—Oct. 19th. At Graham's Town, Lieut. Colonel G. S. Fraser, of the Cape Corps, son of the late Mr. Fraser, of Sutherlandshire.—28th. E. S. Montagu, Esq., late Persian Secretary to the Government of Calcutta, aged 28.

ST. MICHAEL.

Marriage.—Jan. 2d. By H. B. M. Consul General of the Azores, Dr. Sanderson Walker, F. R. C. P., to Emma, third daughter of Capt. J. Poplewell.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Birth.—Jan. 4th. At Paddington, the lady of R. Baxter, Esq., of Bombay, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 1st. At Ripton, near Derby, J. H. Carige, Esq., son of the late Major J. Carige, Hon. E. I. Comp. Serv., to Jane Elizabeth, daughter of the late A. P. Manclarke, Esq.—Also, on the same day, R. B. Manclarke, Esq., of Repton Park, to Eliza Eleanor, daughter of the late Major J. Carige.—12th. Rev. G. Crookshank, M. A., of West Charlton, Somerset, to Rosa, only daughter of the late Capt. R. Kelly, of Madras.—13th. At Staynton, G. L. Eliott, Esq., of the H. C. Civil Service, Bombay, to Gertrude, eldest daughter of H. Leach, Esq., of Milford.—15th. H. Magniac, Esq., of Kensington, to Helen, youngest daughter of the late Capt. P. Sampson, Hon. E. I. Comp. Serv.—21st. F. Law, Esq., of the Bengal Civ. Serv., to Eliza, eldest daughter of the late S. G. Evans, Esq., of the Bengal Med. Estab.

Deaths.—12th. M. Forster, Esq., Post Capt. R. N., eldest son of the late M. Forster, Esq., Gov. Gen. of the West India Islands.—12th. The lady of Col. Smith, Bombay Army, aged 48 years.—12th. At the Manse of Mid Calder, M. A. E. Donaldson, youngest daughter of the late C. Donaldson, Esq., of Calcutta.—15th. At Colchester, J. Thomson, Esq., Dep. Com. Gen. to the Forces, and late Private Sec. to the Most Noble the Gov. Gen. of India.—20th. At Richmond, James Earl Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dean of Durham, in the 81st year of his age.—In Banffshire, Scotland, Alex. Wilson, Esq., late Secretary to the Globe Insurance Office in Calcutta.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Dec. 28	Cowes	George	Bryant	Batavia	Aug. 25
Dec. 28	Cowes	Angusta	Giddings	Batavia	Aug. 14
Jan. 1	Liverpool	Bencoolen	Kirkwood	Bengal	Aug. 19
Jan. 3	Liverpool	Seaforth	McDowall	Bengal	Aug. 19
Jan. 3	Downs	Thames	Havieside	China	Aug. 6
Jan. 4	Dover	Cyrus	Roberts	Cape	Oct. 21
Jan. 4	Portsmouth	General Palmer	Truscott	Madras	Sept. 3
Jan. 4	Portsmouth	Pyramus	Brodie	Madras	Sept. 3
Jan. 6	Portsmouth	Princess Charlotte	Blyth	Ceylon	Sept. 3
Jan. 8	Cowes	Amity	Gray	Bengal	Aug. 27
Jan. 8	Cowes	Lonach	Weldridge	Batavia	Aug. 29
Jan. 9	Downs	Circassian	Waase	Bengal	Aug. 4
Jan. 17	Dover	Amphitrite	Mynders	Cape	Oct. 17
Jan. 22	Dover	Euphrates	Meade	Bombay	Sept. 6
Jan. 22	Dover	Claudine	Cumtree	Bengal	Sept. 6
Jan. 23	Liverpool	Westmoreland	Coulter	Bengal	Aug. 13
Jan. 23	Downs	Narrey	Power	New South Wales	Aug. 18
Jan. 23	Downs	Mellish	Cole	Bengal, &c.	Sept. 6
Jan. 23	Cowes	Lord Sidmouth	Tennier	Batavia, &c.	Sept. 3
Jan. 26	Cowes	Ophelia	Haskett	Batavia	Oct. 13

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

June 27	Bengal	Stentor	Harris	London	Dec. 18
July 7	Bengal	Mellish	Cole	London	Mar. 14
July 13	Calcutta	Bridget	Leslie	Liverpool	Mar. 14
July 14	Calcutta	Bridget	Leslie	Liverpool	Mar. 14
July 20	Madras	William Miles	Beadle	London	Apr. 10
July 29	Madras	Madras	Clauke	London	Mar. 24
July 31	Bengal	Norfolk	Grey	London	Feb. 23
Aug. 9	Madras	Sophia	Sutton	London	April 6
Aug. 13	Madras	Cadmus	Talbot	London	April 13
Aug. 9	Madras	London	Brown	Liverpool	April 8
Aug. 20	Madras	Asia	Pope	Bombay	March 9
Aug. 20	Bengal	William Miles	Beadle	London	April 10
Aug. 24	Singapore	Royal George	Biden	Bengal	July 12
Aug. 24	Singapore	General Kydd	Nairne	Bengal	July 12
Aug. 24	Singapore	Kent	Cobb	Bengal	July 12
Aug. 24	Singapore	Herefordshire	Hope	Bombay	July 10
Aug. 24	Singapore	Waterloo	Alsager	Bombay	July 10
Aug. 24	Singapore	Ingles	Serie	Bombay	July 6
Sept. 2	Bengal	Lord Northfield	Brown	London	Mar. 22
Sept. 5	Madras	Princess Charlotte	Gribble	London	May 28
Sept. 5	Madras	H. C. S. Atlas	Clifton	London	May 1
Nov. 1	Cape	Euphrates	Meade	Bombay	Sept. 6
Nov. 4	Cape	Royal George	Ellerby	Bombay	Aug. 25

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Departure	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Jan. 3	Torbay	Guardian	Sutherland	Batavia
Jan. 4	Deal	Echo	Dunlop	Cape
Jan. 4	Plymouth	City of Edinburgh	Wiseman	Bengal
Jan. 5	Portsmouth	Patience	Kind	Cape
Jan. 7	Portsmouth	York	Talbot	Madras
Jan. 7	Portsmouth	Cambridge	Barber	Bombay
Jan. 8	Liverpool	Princess Charlotte	McKean	Bengal
Jan. 9	Gravesend	Nourmahal	Scott	Siam
Jan. 9	Plymouth	Clyde	Driver	Madras
Jan. 11	Plymouth	Belle Alliance	Rolfe	Madras
Jan. 11	Plymouth	Venilia	Gillmore	Cape
Jan. 11	Downs	Duke of York	Campbell	Bombay and China
Jan. 14	Falmouth	Ellen Douglas	Rice	Sumatra
Jan. 16	Liverpool	Cambrion	Birbeck	Cape
Jan. 16	Downs	Berwickshire	Shepherd	Bengal
Jan. 16	Downs	General Harris	Welstead	St. Helena
Jan. 16	Portsmouth	Henry Porcher	Thompson	Madras and Bengal
Jan. 16	Portsmouth	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson	Mauritius and Bengal
Jan. 16	Gravesend	Macqueen	Walker	China
Jan. 16	Gravesend	Castle Huntly	Drummond	Bombay and China
Jan. 16	Deal	Marianne	Parker	Cape
Jan. 17	Gravesend	Thomas Conts	Christie	Bombay and China
Jan. 19	Dover	Vron Maria	BarrA	Batavia
Jan. 20	Deal	Duchess of Athol	Daniel	Bengal and China

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL SHORTLY

Date.	Port of Departure	Company's Ships.		Destination.
		Ship's Name.	Commander.	
Feb. 1	Gravesend	Earl of Balcarras	Cameron	Bengal and China
Feb. 5	Gravesend	Sir David Scott	Twiss	Bengal and China
Feb. 12	Gravesend	Canning	Head	Bengal and China
Feb. 13	Gravesend	Louden	Sotheby	Bombay and China
Feb. 20	Deal	Dunira	Hamilton	Bombay and China
Feb. 20	Deal	Marquess Camden	Larkins	Bombay and China

Free Traders.

Feb. 1	Portsmouth	Duke of Bedford	Cunningham	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 1	Deal	Tyne	Warrington	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 1	Deal	Eliza	Faith	Bombay
Feb. 1	Deal	Caroline	Harris	Batavia
Feb. 1	Deal	Joseph	Christopherson	Batavia
Feb. 7	Deal	Lutkins	Wilkinson	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 7	Deal	Rosanna	Thompson	Batavia
Feb. 10	Deal	Catherine	Macintosh	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 10	Deal	Orpheus	Finlay	Mauritius and Ceylon
Feb. 15	Portsmouth	William Money	Jackson	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 15	Portsmouth	Lang	Lusk	Van Diemen's Land
Feb. 20	Deal	Deveron	Wilson	New South Wales
Feb. 20	Gravesend	Resource	Fenn	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name	Commander.	From whence.	Destination
Nov. 10	23 58 S.—3 52 E.	Union		Batavia	Antwerp
Dec. 12	6 N. 21 W	Lucy	Davidson	London	Cape
Dec. 15	34 14	Ganges	Millard	Liverpool	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the Bencool.—From Bengal: Major J. C. Meacham, and three children; Lieutenant P. L. Dove, Mrs. Dove, and child; Capt. R. Boyes, Lieut. G. H. Cox; Lieut. A. Featon; and Miss Julia Smith.

By the Circasian.—From Bengal: Mrs. McMahon, Capt. Grant, Lieut. Murray, Mr. Pile, two Misses McMahon, Master McMahon; ten men, three women, and one child, of the Hon. Company's Invalids.

By the General Palmer.—From Madras: Mrs. Hendley and family; Mrs. Belmain, Mrs. Bluel, Mrs. Dyre, three Misses Belmain, Miss Dove, three Misses Bluel, and Miss Mann; Colonel Stewart, Major Hendley, Major Beckett, Capt. Belmain, Capt. Bluel, Capt. Gummer, Lieut. G. H. Daire, R. N.; Lieut. Matson, R. N.; Lieut. Dowling, Lieutenant Puget, Lieut. Dyer, Ensigna Thewby, Masters C. H. Symmonds, Gordon, Dunlop, S. Parrott, and W. H. Creighton.

By the Pyramus.—From Madras: Mrs. Brodie and two Misses Brodie, Madame Kerchoff, Henry Mortloch, Esq.; Charles Thackery, Esq., barrister at law; Alexander Waldrop, Esq., Mr. Farquhar, Dr. Rolland, Ensign Wellford.—From the Cape: J. Manuel, Esq.—Left at the Cape: Mrs. Thomas, and Lieutenant Mackinnon, from Madras.

By the Euphrates.—From Bombay: Lieut. Col. McCoy, M. M. 87th Regt.; Major Green, H. M. 30th Regt.; Captain Waugh, 1st Beng. Cav.; Lieut. Oakley, H. M. 20th Regt.; Mr. West, Mr. Robinson, Lieut. Lewis, Artillery; Mr. Griffith, Assistant Surgeon; Mrs. Walton, Mr. Cogan, Lieut. Cogan, Hon. Comp. Bombay Marine.

By the Tamara.—From the Cape: Colonel Shermet, lady, and child; Maj. Pistor and lady; Dr. Mostyn and lady; Lieut. Rolson; Lieut.

Bacher; Dr. Nelson.—From Bengal: Mr. Yate, man.—From St. Helena: Mr. Millor, and M. D. Lewis.

By the Claudine.—From Bengal: Mrs. Upthoff and child; Capt. Carrol, H. M. 86th Regt. Capt. Orr, N. L.; Surg. Woodbourn, N. L.

By the Mellich. from Bengal, having made the passage out and home in ten months.—Mrs. Cauty, Mrs. Bagnold, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Kearney, Surg. H. M. 24th Regt. Lieut. Pennington, N. L.

By the Surrey, from New South Wales: Dr. Catfild, R. N.; Dr. Prier, R. N.; Mr. Dugard, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Dixon, Lieut. White.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the Duke of York.—To Bombay: Sir Charles Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Bombay; Captain C. B. Sale, 4th Drag.; Lieut. Wainwright, 471 Inf.; Ens. J. Lardner, ditto; Lieut. Macalister, 20th ditto; Rev. M. David, T. Hopkins, Esq. Messrs. G. Rowley, C. Babington, H. Aster S. Landon, W. Wardon, S. K. Christopher, an A. Goldies, as Cadets, for Bombay.—Mr. El Caulfield, for Ceylon.—Lady Chambers, Mr. Col. Motte and Miss Motte, Miss Phillips, and Mrs. Hopkins.

Ships stationed and timed at the East India House, 14th Jan. 1854:

The Asia, Capt. T. F. Balderston; the Marchioness of Ely, Captain Charles Manly; the Rose, Captain T. Manly, for Madras; Bengal, are to be at sea the 30th April, to Gravesend 13th May, and to be in the Downs 17th May.—The Prince Regent, Capt. Hoare, Bengal direct, are to be at sea 30th April, to Gravesend 13th May, and to be in the Downs 10th June.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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PRETENDED DEARTH OF GENIUS AND ORIGINALITY.

"We complain that this is a critical age, and that no great works of genius appear, because so much is said and written about them; while we ought to reverse the argument, and say, that it is because so many works of genius have appeared, that they have left us little or nothing else to do, but to think and talk about them; that if we do not do that, we should do nothing so good; and if we do this well, we cannot be said to do amiss."—"The demand for works of original genius, the craving after them, the capacity for inventing them, naturally decay, when we have models of almost every species of excellence already produced to our hands. When this is the case, why call out for more? When art is a blank, then we want genius, enthusiasm, and industry to fill it up; when it is teeming with beauty and strength, then we want an eye to gaze at it, hands to point out its striking features, leisure to luxuriate in, and be enamoured of its divine spirit. When we have Shakespeare we do not want more Shakespeares: one Milton, one Pope or Dryden, is enough."—EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE actual discovery of its incapacity to make progress in invention, would be an unfortunate symptom in a nation. But a whole people could not make such a discovery, and those who constitute themselves its representatives in knowledge, have no right to make it; for the grounds necessary to be gone through, in order to arrive fairly at the conclusion, are too extensive, and fertile in difficulties, too obscure and deceptive, for a man easily to reach the goal. Genius and originality depend upon, and arise out of, causes, too minute to allow anything general to be averred about them; and we suspect that the persuasion of their decline or extinction, must arise, in general, from personal weakness contemplating our accumulated wealth of intellect with a kind of national self-sufficiency, and despairing of adding to the stock. An author coming before the public with this belief, resembles a warrior entering too late into the field of battle, and, seeing all the conspicuous posts occupied, stealing out again in despair; or, standing still, and pointing out to those around him the splendid achievements of those engaged.

It is not difficult, however, to discover the source of this false notion; for, to ordinary habits of meditation, what could present a better reason for desisting from a voyage of discovery, than the innumerable swarms of ships which crowd every harbour of the civilized world? It would seem from all these, that the Ocean were as well known in the nooks and windings of the Thames.

But push out to sea, avoid the tracks of trade, and you will find that silence and solitude still keep undisturbed watch over the greater portion of the deep. It is the same in letters. The navigable edges of all subjects have been adventured upon by the smallest craft; but the distant depths of very few indeed, have genius and industry completely and intimately explored.

Subjects are not exhausted because much has been written on them; for it is possible that what has been said may all be false, and that future researches may prove it to be so. Abundance, in this case, may be the cause of our sterility. It is observable, that few of the ancients were ever desirous of saying all they could upon a subject; it was their manner, to give, in as few words as possible, the result of long meditation. Most of our contemporaries, on the contrary, seem desirous of exhibiting the scaffolding of thought, of anticipating their reader in every thing,—in short, of placing him in a kind of intellectual easy chair, in which he may be wheeled about amidst the deepest speculations of the human mind. This is one secret cause of the preference generally given to the latter, and of the apparent universality of knowledge and capacity. But genius is not content with seeing the public mind over-flooded by a hasty and muddy inundation, whose waves seem to carry instruction up to every man's door; it prefers the prospect of a few deep streams wandering at will over its surface, and leaving to the intermediate spaces all the wild freshness of its native verdure, which may tempt the Palmer of Knowledge to take his pitcher in hand when he would quench his thirst at her living fountains. Nevertheless, it is to this thin alluvion, which has been mistaken for the full drenching of a Nile-like overflow, we owe it, that men have thrown a flimsy veil of words over subjects whose depths they were afraid to look into. They have made over them a practicable path for idleness to saunter in,—for folly to exhibit her pranks on; but have not hid from the keen observer the gulfs, that yawn like those forsaken quarries, nearly covered with briars, which we sometimes perceive by the way-side. These subjects, therefore, are truly the property of genius. It may justly seize upon them, and drive out the idle race, who have done nothing but disfigure their outward appearances. It will convert that into a fruitful estate, which now appears a stony and unfruitful common.

Yet are we to hear it repeated that originality and genius are not to be looked for in this age. "One Milton, &c. is enough:" and the best we can do is to be critical. A certain order of minds were in the habit of giving vent to such conceits as these even among the ancients,—in the midst of that boiling overflow of original thought which has come down like a vast tide upon these remote days. But want of matter is never believed in, or felt by genius. It laughs at these prognostications of coming to the end

of infinity—of wanting sea-room in the ocean—of being beaten back upon the visible discovered world in its excursions into fancy's fairy-land. It possesses, indeed, the power of seeing further every way than other minds. Like an eagle, it hangs calmly upon the wing in those rarified heights of speculation (in which more earthly spirits find no support for their plumes of lesser volume), and discovers far and wide over the regions of possibility and truth.

Excessive civilization, doubtless, induces indolence of mind, and represses the activity of the imagination; and hence criticism increases as works of fancy become more rare; for, in general, critics are no more than excluded spectators of the procession of Genius to the temple of Immortality, who, according to their easy or caustic humour, make remarks on the gait and appearance of those engaged in the pageant; sometimes busying themselves in keeping back daring interlopers, who would mingle with the august throng, and in laying open to the pressing-forward multitude the particular folly and madness of these pretenders. This is easy work compared with the processes of the imagination. This faculty, indeed, is something more than the bare registration of images in a kind of intellectual common-place book, which it has been sometimes mistaken for.* It supposes a combining, comparing, and creative power, exerting itself with continuity and method. It is genius itself in one of its most brilliant modes of being. Is it to be marvelled at, that the critical spirit, naturally destitute of this faculty, should find itself *at fault* when it encroaches upon genius's most peculiar patrimony—invention? Untreated subjects lie, of course, among undiscovered things; and are as much beyond the reach of common thought as the topography of the poles, or the events yet to be brought forth by time. But there is no necessity that genius should labour only at these: there are, among the best known things, relations, affinities, similitudes, differences, which have never been observed. Out of these, invention may build up a new structure of thought; call new images into being; and open the way to pure and unaffected originality. This being the case, it is hard to judge so harshly of our contemporaries, as to imagine them incapable of genius and invention, because former times produced a Shakspeare and a Milton, who, it seems, have taken possession of the first eminences on Parnassus's "glory-smitten hill." To judge of contemporaries is no easy matter. One should run with the foremost, and possess as clear a vision, to know what and how far he sees. But, in truth, men are hurried forward too rapidly by the machine of society, to contemplate profoundly the spirit of their age. They are, besides, too much entangled by its prejudices and peculiarities, to be able

* See Hobbes's definition of it, in his *Treatise on Human Nature*.

to step beyond it, and see how it will look in the eyes of future men. Futurity, like a cloud, is ever before us ; but we perceive only the shifting feature of the moment ere it be lost in the past. Yet is there an art of projecting our vision into this dim land,—of discovering the efflorescence of causes now scarcely in the bud, it is that of pursuing a consecutive chain of ideas to its conclusion.

Whoever is capable of this, is competent to make a judgment on the spirit of his own times. He perceives the boundary which it has not passed, and the path it must take when beyond that boundary. He measures the energies of his contemporaries, by the same rule as he does those of men of long past days ; he does not lop them down to the length of the Procrustes-bed of criticism ; or attempt to lead them, by an *ignis fatuus* kind of taste, to wander over the rotten parts of literature. Whatever may be the fashionable note among the common literary race, he will always be persuaded that genius may spring up in any age ; that original subjects can never be wanting ; that the human soul and its faculties, *quoad species*, is endued with the perpetual freshness of youth ; and, that, though civilization may have curbed its passions, and moulded its wayward fancies into theoretical trim, it has not, and cannot, reduce it to a mere thermometer, to indicate the degrees of warmth in the genius of our forefathers. The truth seems to be, that abstruse subjects, those most fertile in true originality, are at present unfashionable. But it is one thing to feel that nature, and man's relations to nature, have all been properly investigated ; and another to perceive that the taste of the times is averse to such subjects. It is to be presumed, that there are certain sets of ideas particularly adapted to every successive stage of refinement, and modification of government ; and, that as nations verge towards barbarism or despotism, they evince a hankering after their old superstitions, which, for one brilliant moment, had been exploded, and come about again to love the same kind of compositions as served for ladders to their first improvements. If you continually ascend, there is no mountain whose top you will not at length reach ; and when there, to proceed is to descend. It is thus in the march of nations ; there is a *highest point* ; but it is only in refinement—in civilization, not in intellect. This distinction should be kept in view. The Romans were far on the descent when Tacitus arose ; but did Rome ever hold a more exalted mind when she stood highest ? Modern Italy, too, is full of examples of genius rearing up its head from the lowest pitch of national degradation. It were useless to parade names ; the bare hint is sufficient. It is indeed obvious that the new situations in which men are constantly perceiving themselves, must give birth to new reflections ; for, at every advance of society, genius observes an entire shifting of the scene, a fresh vortex of interests and passions.

But, it is because man has been in this path for so many ages, because he has always pretended to keep his eye upon himself and nature, that every thing is supposed to be at length exhausted, drained of novelty, made as familiar as a post-road. Another irruption of Goths and Vandals, and another night of ignorance, it seems, are necessary to destroy every vestige of letters, that the seeds of future genius may be called forth, and the trade of book-making begin again! The idea of the Edinburgh Review, that all the niches in the temple of genius are filled, seems to have been taken from a picture-gallery, already so crowded with masterpieces of art that not a nail remained to suspend a new production on. But, to the piercing sight of genius, this accumulation of great works, which seems to have dismayed the reviewer, appears but as an observatory, from which it may more clearly contemplate the laws and principles of invention; and not an intellectual skreen to keep off the genial warmth of nature, and plunge the mind in dulness and decay. A better reason why few works of genius appear, than that given in the Review, is the inherent difficulty of producing such works at any time: but that difficulty is not greater *now* than it was two or three hundred, or thousand, years ago. People nourish a wrong idea of genius, as if it were an involuntary fire from heaven, which ripened a man's conceptions, while he slept, or remained indolently passive; and not rather the highest possible wisdom, engrafted, by severe study and long meditation, upon an elevated imagination and strong and steady passions. To create a work of genius, a man must be content to forego the frequent pleasures of "mine inn;" must stop up the numerous outlets by which the vigour of his mind might lapse into the current of the world; must concenter his views, his feelings, nay, his very being, in the "oneness" of his design. Whoever does this, will be able to create such a work, even on the verge of the millenium. There is some truth, however, in the opinion, that the creative vigour of the imagination is repressed by the general effect of criticism; not that the man of genius fears what the critic can say, but because he despises that fame which must come through such impure strainers, and which, during life, he must be content to share with very equivocal company. Besides, it is, doubtless, this criticism which has rendered so many people ashamed of simplicity, and nourished that craving after novelty which has made a puddle of so many brains. But it has not, in reality, narrowed the walk of intellect; though tending to increase the number of those persons who imagine it a sufficient reason why nothing beyond their knowledge should exist, that they do not know how to discover it. We, who are short-sighted, can sympathize with such persons; for frequently has it happened, that, after having strained our eyes to no purpose, in order to perceive some distant object, at the sight of which our better

opticked companion has been all rapture, we have become sceptical at once, as to its actual existence, and considered the unlucky wight labouring under a *delusio visus*. It is the same in the intellectual world. A man of moderate abilities, with a devouring thirst of fame, notwithstanding, looks about for some little unobserved nook in the world of ideas, by bringing which to light, he may clothe his name with immortality as with a garment. But he stands on low ground, and has, besides, but a weak vision; the range of his observation, therefore, is not wide. Where it falls, all is cultivation, and in possession of some one already (as it is indeed far beyond that); he therefore concludes that there is no spot left for the wise of these days to dig up with their own hands! and that they can do nothing better than saunter about the country, making pretty remarks upon the gentlemen's grounds and houses, and lamenting, occasionally, that they have no lands or tenements of their own.

But it is a sad thing indeed, to imagine ourselves come in at the end of the great feast of nature, after the lusty and joyous visitors have cleared the board; to thrust our meagre faces among the giant guests, who would laugh our imbecility to scorn, were, in such case, most unwise. But this is not a fault after nature's fashion; her board is ever heaped high; the hand may take freely and fear no dearth; she is inexhaustible. Here, likewise, are no favourites, whom she assists to the choice morsels; whatever is, is free to every hand. This is a serious truth, which cannot be too strongly rooted in the mind of every one who is about to turn his thoughts to the pursuit of literature. If his mind be weak, and his imagination apparently barren, in the beginning, he ought neither to be discouraged, nor throw blame upon nature as no longer affording anything new; nor mourn the lateness of the time in which he came into the world: for mind and matter are still pregnant with novel truths, and society is constantly presenting man to his contemplation under new phases. To observe and study these, is to tread the road to original conceptions.

But, instead of that necessary and intimate union, which should subsist between a writer and his subject, and convert what he treats of into part, as it were, of himself, we may observe through all their wit and seeming self-possession, that many of our most successful writers are not upon the best of terms with their muse; that amidst a world of ostentatious familiarity, there is a secret misunderstanding at bottom; and that, without confidence and faith in each other, they would be glad to break the connecting link, and fly off into more genial society. When, therefore, we meet them together in public, we may be sure it is for the purpose of state or interest; the patron only delighting in his protégé for the respect or gain he acquires by obliging it to play off antics before the people. Is it matter of wonder, that neither the

writer nor the world is the wiser for all this? The author does not desire it. He gains his point, which is petty fame, or pettier gain, and goes away into oblivion, with the supporting consciousness that he has often out-numbered votes in contests with the greatest geniuses of his time. But no one expects that a writer of this stamp should invent anything. He does not thoroughly understand the most antiquated theme: but he writes, and measuring his genius by the quantity it pours forth, his friends pronounce him a great writer. Those who go before their species into the unknown spaces of nature and truth, are a quite different kind of minds. They seldom throw out premature lights to inveigle admiration, but traverse the same path again and again, lest the newness and strangeness of the objects which present themselves, should at first have blinded them to their true properties. Even in poetry, such is the proceeding of genius. It doubts all but those eternal principles upon which the art itself is built. It does not trust to instinctive imagination, but, having wisely and coolly traced out the theory of the work, sends forth that faculty to adorn it with her collected stores. Thus it is, that in great and perfect poems, we find chaste and severe design united to the highest splendour of colouring; and an almost infinite diversity of character sustained throughout by wary and delicate distinctions.

Madam de Staël observes, that to be original, an author has only to confine himself to those perceptions and judgments of things which are strictly, though not exclusively, *his own*. There is much truth in this, for every man occupies a point in the universe, which, until he remove, no one else can stand in; and, owing to the rapid changes which take place in all things, he must from thence observe more narrowly the contexture of certain combinations and objects than any other person. It will be of no use to say that such a study is too confined to produce anything great, and that without greatness originality is worthless. His own observations are the sum of every man's real wisdom, and whatever he possesses beyond those, is wisdom upon trust or authority, unless verified by his own experience. Besides, each man's mind is, in some measure, a peculiarly constructed mirror, which reflects back the images of things re-fashioned by its individual conformation. It is therefore possible, at all times, for genius to find its proper *pabulum* around and within itself. Critics think differently, from being hedged in and overshadowed by the luxuriance of their own prejudices. They confine themselves to those close tracts of country, in which the breath of heaven comes to them lagging and heavily, they swelter in the hot sun of the valleys, and are unnerved, and therefore disbelieve in the rapidity of genius, who ascends the pinnacles of the highest mountains, and is braced and fanned into activity by their keener air.

The race of Genius and Criticism, indeed, resembles one between

a well-fed miller's horse and the light barb of the desert—they are companions only at the starting-post; for, from that moment, genius, rushing before it with the rapidity of fire, flies through the glancing light, and is presently beyond its companion's ken. Nothing remains then for the outstript charger, but to insinuate that its antagonist is galloping in the wrong path, and will infallibly be rewarded with broken neck or bones. The way in which many of the professed critics of the age have spoken of, perhaps, the greatest manifestations of genius that ever came before them, confirms and justifies the above comparison. Were they able to keep pace with Mr. Shelley's muse? Did they not halt at the first step; and turn about, and laud those more sober and manageable spirits, who were willing to drive their chariots in the worn-down rut of fashion? But who that has seen Manfred, Prometheus Unbound, and Childe Harold, and has a soul to be warmed at the censer of genius, can give way to the persuasion that this is a mere critical age, an age of cold comment and retrograding industry, and not rather the very era of the confluence of deep thought, with the most brilliant and forcible imagination? So far, indeed, is judgment from being the characteristic of this age, that we doubt not but posterity will discover our greatest deficiency to have lain in our want of taste and critical acumen; for by carefully collecting the announcements of *coming* genius, which appear in the reviews, one might imagine there existed an intellectual hot-bed, where the thing was matured in a season. But turn to their pages, when, on the contrary, an extraordinary mind *does* appear, and they will either inform you that its productions are unintelligible, or pass them over as totally beneath their notice.

We possess, indisputably, a few keen judgments, who can turn up the surface, and perceive the richness or barrenness of the intellectual soil. But these are the first to do justice to contemporary merit. They yearn with brotherly fondness to the productions of genius, they erect themselves into a fence to keep off the nipping blasts from the early stages of their vegetation, they mark with joy the mellowing effect of summer-days, and come in at the harvest-home, to share and increase the festivity. This was the practice of the great in ancient days; and will always be of those who merit to become the cherished ancients of a future race. The splendour of great men is increased by their uniting together; as the hoary purple of the grape seems deeper in the cluster, than when singled out and divided from the stem.

One symptom, which has shown itself for some time amongst us, might, in truth, persuade a hasty observer, that the world drew near its second childhood—we mean our excessive garrulity. It is this failing which makes us tell the same stories, and repeat the same ideas over and over, till the notion becomes prevalent that there is nothing new to say. But who does not see that there

always have been shoals of these babblers in all ages, with sometimes more and sometimes less of "method in their madness?" Greece had its sophists, numerous as locusts, who taught all possible wisdom for a few oboli. They were the night-mares of knowledge in those days, and at length rode it to a contemptible skeleton. The "eternal city," too, if we may credit Tacitus, &c. was infested by the same species; and all other countries, we may be sure, have felt the same scourge. So garrulity, we see, is no indication that the world has got into its "lean and slippered pantaloons;" or that all the sap and vigour of nature has been sucked out by time. Books about nothing multiply of course; but now and then there comes up a whale, an "Aaron's serpent" of a production, which swallows them by myriads. This, my Lord Bacon says, is what is wanted.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, AND PROPOSED MEANS OF IMPROVEMENT.

Without a tolerable administration of justice, which the people of India are far from enjoying, every man will acknowledge that all attempts to improve either their circumstances or their character, must be attended with disappointment. What then is the inference? Are the government and the people to go on, forever, in their present deplorable situation; the people suffering all the evils of a state of anarchy; the government struggling with eagerness to help them, but in vain? If it were possible for the English government to learn wisdom by experience--which governments rarely do--it might here at last see, with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke!--*Mill's History of British India.*

It is to be regretted, that the able writer, from whose masterly and philosophic work we have selected the passages placed at the head of this article, should have touched on this subject incidentally only, and that he should not have given the whole force of his powerful mind to the important question of Colonization, which, as applied to India, may be truly called "the one thing needful." Wherever he has alluded to it in his History, he has, however, invariably reprobated the system opposed to it; and spoken in such terms of the evils arising from the want of an independent European public, in that country, as to leave no doubt that he is among the firmest advocates for the free and unrestrained settlement of Englishmen in India, as the most effectual means of rendering it productive, powerful, and happy.--If it were necessary to cite other portions of his excellent History than those already given, we might particularly direct the attention of the reader to the following remarks on an act of the Marquess Wellesley, who banished a number of unoffending Englishmen from the territo-

ries of the King of Oude, where they were pursuing their avocations peaceably, and doing as much benefit to the country in which they resided, as they were themselves receiving from their pursuits. It is this :—

The hostility of the Governor General to his fellow-subjects, pursuing, independently of the Company, their occupations in any part of India, is expressed without a word to indicate reasons, in a political letter from Bengal, in October 1798, thus :—“ The number of British subjects established in Oude, is a mischief which requires no comment ! My resolution is fixed to dislodge every European excepting the Company’s servants. My wish is to occasion as little private distress as possible, but the public service must take its course ; and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure.” These last words (observes Mr. Mill) indicate extensive numbers. Why did not the Governor General (asks the historian), before he dared to strike at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the evils which they produced ? For what reason is it, let them declare who know what is understood, under a government such as ours, by the responsibility of the ruling few, that he has never yet been called upon to account for such conduct. The good which they were calculated to produce is obvious to all : the question still remains unanswered—What were the evils ? *

Mr. Adam, who possesses all the leaning to Eastern despotism, without the talents, which marked the character of the Governor General here alluded to, has professed to answer the question, and to show that innumerable evils would arise to India, from the settlement of Englishmen in that country, and the introduction of English skill, intelligence, and freedom. How well he has succeeded in *proving* the evils he alleges, the reader may have seen in the articles on the Press, which were given in our two preceding Numbers. The *only* evil there clearly shown is this :—That if there were an intelligent and free community residing in India, instead of the ignorant and enslaved people that now inhabit its extensive regions, acts of despotism could not be committed, as they now are, with impunity ; and that if there were a free press, a thousand abuses would be brought to light, which are now enshrouded in convenient darkness. This, in Mr. Adam’s estimation, is an evil of the greatest magnitude : and they alone, among his “ honourable masters,” the East India Directors, who think and feel with him, that there are more evil than good deeds in the history of the country they govern, can, like him, prefer darkness to light, because they desire to hide their own shame. The British public will not readily sympathize with their alarms on this head ; nor can we be induced to believe that even the British Parliament will long continue to countenance such a system of misrule, which that must be which shrinks from all investigation. It shall be our

duty at least, to remind them perpetually of what the great body of their countrymen in India expect at their hands : and we shall not easily be prevailed on to abandon our course, until some steps are taken for the removal of those evils, which all who have witnessed them cannot fail to deplore.

In our last Number we presented the reader with a powerful array of *arguments* in favour of the immediate Colonization of India by Englishmen. In the present we shall follow those up with as powerful an array of *facts*, showing in their true colours the manifold evils of the system by which India is at present governed, and adding to these the suggestions of the same writer as to the best means of counteracting them. These are contained in a Letter addressed by an officer of rank and respectability in the East India Company's service, and written from Bengal, to his friend in the British Parliament. We consider ourselves peculiarly fortunate in possessing this valuable document, as facts will often make an impression where arguments entirely fail ; and our knowledge of the source from which this information proceeds, as well as of the individual to whom it was addressed, is a sufficient guarantee, to us at least, of its general accuracy throughout. Those who have resided long in India, will perceive at every step, the unfortunately too great fidelity of the picture ; and hundreds now in England will bear testimony to its truth.

It remains to be seen whether the Member of the British Parliament, to whom this Letter was addressed, will deem it his duty to institute any inquiries in the House on the subject. We hope and believe he will. In the mean time, we lay before our readers the narrative which the letter exhibits, and put it to their feelings, as men and Britons, whether such a state of things ought to be endured for a moment beyond the period of its exposure. The Letter is as follows :—

My dear Sir,

Bengal Presidency.

IN presuming to address you, I can sincerely aver that I am chiefly induced by the esteem I entertain for the humanity and independence of your public character, nor do I believe any Member of the British Parliament better qualified to introduce the subject of my letter to its favourable consideration. My motives, I can most solemnly declare, are entirely dispassionate, if an ardent desire to ameliorate the condition of my Indian fellow creatures is compatible with the term—a desire originating and accumulating under a conscious certainty of their abject vices and manifold grievances, and encouraged by the pleasing hope of communicating to them the same virtues, happiness, and blessings, as distinguish my native country.

The object to which I would entreat your benevolent attention is the glaring necessity of a complete reformation in the Judicial System of British India—principally by the substitution of an English for the present venal and ignorant Native Bar—to which all impartial Europeans and Asiatics conversant with the practice of the Company's courts will assent ;

and which the following instances out of thousands, perhaps, ten times stronger, (but of them I happen not to have notes,) must, I humbly maintain, decisively demonstrate.

Extracts from a Diary kept by me in India.

1st. A native banker told me, it was a common mode with the kootwal (police-officer of the first class,) of the town of Meerut, when a robbery occurred there, to silence the sufferer before the report reached the magistrate, by pretending to have certain intelligence of the robber's being the paramour of his wife or daughter; and, although the poor man knew this to be a diabolical calumny, he would rather put up with his loss, than be exposed to so great a scandal before the judge, the court, and the public; there being nothing of which an Asiatic is more jealous than the reputation for chastity of his female relations. The natural inference was, that the said kootwal participated in every robbery in the town and district, and they were infamously frequent and daring.

2d. A highly respectable chief, enjoying numerous marks of the approbation of the British government, informed me, that the tanahdar (police-officer) of Noh, a town contiguous to his estate, but in the Company's territories, having had criminal intercourse with the daughter of a shopkeeper of that place, he accused the father as being guilty of the act, and, under threats of taking him up, being disgraced and imprisoned (which, alas! suborned witnesses and corrupt *native* law officers render too easy and common), extorted 500 rupees from the wretched parent.

3d. The superintendent of police arrived at Meerut on his circuit; and it was generally said, that the aforesaid kootwal bribed his native confidential officers with the enormous sum of 10,000 rupees, to prevent complaints of his iniquities reaching him; or, if they did, to make him believe they were founded in hatred and malice. It was further stated, that one native, bolder than usual, seized an opportunity of putting his petition of wrongs into the superintendent's hands, which he referred to the judge and magistrate, and the redress he obtained for his trouble was *imprisonment*. The ascendancy of this kootwal over the judge was the general conversation of the district; and through his influence every appointment was made, the kootwal deriving large sums from the holders. It is needless to add, he exercises his influence to enrich himself, and disgrace and stain the British character.

4th. Riding out with the native chief above alluded to, a villager complained to him that his buffaloes had not yet been restored. I inquired of the nawab what was the story, and he thus related it:—Not long ago, five buffaloes were stolen from that villager, who is a tenant of mine, and conveyed into the district adjoining, which belongs to the British government. I gave the man a letter to the British officer in charge of the police there, mentioning the case, who sent orders to the tanahdar of Pul-wail to make the requisite search. This scoundrel, as soon as he discovered where the buffaloes were, took 10 rupees from the thieves to conceal them, and then demanded 20 from the owner of them to serve him; but the unfortunate villager, doubting the tanahdar's sincerity, would not give this bribe without the nawab's advice. Di-coursing with the nawab on the notorious villainy of the petty police-officers in the service of our government, he said he could acquaint me with innumerable examples proving that they were in league almost invariably with the thieves, and, by inconceivable artifices, extorted money from all subject to their power or spite; and he promised to communicate some in writing. This promise not being performed, I have repeatedly and urgently written to the nawab to do so, but in vain; and the last time I met him, he frankly told me he was afraid of making himself enemies amongst the English gentlemen in authority, as they would deem him an informer. If this fear operates on one in his independent situation, and of his education, what power must it not exercise over the inferior classes

of natives, from whom it is quite impossible to extract any information, when they perceive their names are likely to be brought forward to prove the oppressions or abuses in existence !

5th. The tanahdar at Deyra-Doon informed me, that the judge and magistrate of Saharunpore, under whom he acted, had lately a raffle for a horse, into which he and all the tanahdars and inferior police-officers throughout the district had been made to put money, without even any intimation of this, excepting the deduction of the price of their tickets from their salaries : That the mohurrur under the tanahdar of Deyra, whose salary does not exceed 13 rupees, was one month thus deprived of the whole, and 5 or 6 rupees from two other months' pay : That the jemadar under him has 10 rupees per mensem, and suffered similar deductions.

6th. The person who relieved the above tanahdar told me, if he were to add together all the deductions made from his salary for tickets in these raffles, it would amount to hundreds of rupees—that some months he did not receive a farthing. He never got a prize.—That regularly, however, receipts were sent him for signature, as though he had obtained his full pay, and that he always returned them signed, knowing that otherwise he would soon lose his place. Whilst treated in this manner, can it be matter of wonder, that the tanahdars should reimburse themselves by taking bribes ? I happened to speak in an English company of the exactions these people had undergone for the raffles, and the principal British officer then living at Deyra, the next time he saw the tanahdar, rebuked him in a very angry tone for mentioning the circumstance to me, saying, “that if he had any thing to complain of, his master was the proper person to hear it.” The tanahdar in considerable alarm expressed his conviction that he would be turned out of his situation. This abundantly proves the grounds which the natives have for suppressing their grievances, and for believing that the English would conceive ill will, rather than compassion, at the disclosure.

7th. The tanahdar at Deyra, finding the poverty of the district opposed to his rapacious designs, pretended to be sick ; and getting leave, repaired to Saharunpore, to negotiate his removal to a more fruitful one, through the agency of the serishtadar of the criminal court there, who enjoys the utmost confidence of the judge and magistrate. This removal he effectually managed, paying the serishtadar 300 rupees, or a *twelve months' salary*, for his good offices. Let any one reflect, by what means he has to subsist during that period, and he must see at once that it can only be by the most audacious oppressions—probably extorting ten times the sum he has given, from the unhappy inhabitants of Dabun, a populous town to which he is gone. The tanahdar himself informed me of his removal thither, and of his giving 300 rupees to the serishtadar for managing it. This tanahdar may now be guilty of almost any outrage on the people whom he is sent to protect, with impunity. Since the serishtadar who sold him his place is the sole channel of communication between the magistrate and the natives, he may present or withhold what petitions he pleases, and even if he reads them to him (as the magistrate cannot himself read Persian) he may pass over any part he likes, or by garbling and misrepresenting, totally defeat the complainant's views.

8th. An officer of the Saharunpore court told me, that it was a frequent occurrence in that district, for the people who are robbed to compound with the robbers for half, perhaps less, of their own goods, rather than experience all the harassing delays and exactions of prosecuting. Can anything more forcibly declare the wretched state of the police and the entire mistrust of justice in the courts ?

9th. A civil servant of the East India Company is reported to owe 25,000 rupees to a native lady of rank in his own district.—She and her connexions of course, will be exempt from all processes of the court ; or, if a suitor, she will be always successful.

10th. Major General Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident of Delhi, recently

discovered that his name had regularly been borne on the King of Delhi's books as a *royal* pensioner, for 2000 rupees per month, during the whole period of his formerly filling that appointment; but of which pretended pension he never received a rupee. The money was received, no doubt, by some one else; but the fact plainly shows how prevalent is the belief among the natives of all ranks, of the venality of English gentlemen, whose carelessness in allowing their servants to extort bribes, alas! leaves too much room for that disreputable imputation.—There can be little doubt but that some of Sir David's dependants enjoyed the benefit of this handsome *douceur*, and persuaded the Court of Delhi, that their master received it regularly.

11th. It is difficult to imagine a stronger proof than the following, of Asiatic demoralization; of the imperious necessity for the British officers, civil and military, of the East India Company, to put no important trust in their native servants; and of the ready credit that is yielded by the Indian public to every Englishman in India having his price. Mr. Metcalfe, the late Resident at Delhi, preparatory to his transfer to Lord Hastings's family, desired Khoda Bhux Beg, the *russuldar* or commandant of a troop of native horse, attached to his station, to whom, since a youth, Mr. M. had been kind, and in whom he reposed peculiar confidence, to dispose of his carriages, horses, cows, &c. at fixed prices, to any person requiring them. Instead, however, of conforming to his patron's orders, the *russuldar*, pretending that he was secretly sent by Mr. Metcalfe, went to all the principal and wealthy chiefs in Delhi, to apprise them of Mr. Metcalfe's being called to the most confidential post in the Governor General's family, where he could employ his influence to advance or defeat their interests, in proportion to their compliance with his present expectations; and after this strain persuaded the *Bullungur Raja*, a minor, to pay him down 50,000 rupees in part of a lakh (100,000) to be given for the ejection of his uncle from a place under Government. The *Alvar Raja's* *vakeel* he cajoled out of 15,000 rupees for a *landau*; and from *Jesook Roy*, a rich merchant, 30,000 rupees for cows, and so on for the rest of the articles. By a fortunate accident Mr. M. discovered how his honour and trust had been prostituted by a man indebted to him for his promotion, protected by him from his creditors, and distinguished by his regard in every way.—A common servant, whilst attending his master to dress, could not help offering his congratulation on the vast price he had procured for one of his horses. This roused Mr. Metcalfe's suspicions, as he had only received from the *russuldar* the ordinary price; and he immediately sent for the purchaser, who fully confirmed the story he had heard. He then naturally presumed the *russuldar* had disposed in the same manner of the other property, which a rigid inquiry soon disclosed to be the case; and that all the purchasers had believed that *he* (Mr. M.) was the extortioner. I cannot describe the sentiments of contempt, disgust, and indignation, excited in Mr. Metcalfe's mind towards the natives in general, for so easily believing him to be capable of such base and execrable venality, after having been stationed amongst them for many years; and, as every body knows, truly meriting the fairest and highest character for purity of intention, mild and equitable conduct, the most sedulous industry, and undoubted honesty.

12th. An officer of the Company's service, speaking of the notorious impediments to justice in the court at Saharunpore, said he had, when there, frequently himself remarked crowds of people from day to day, waiting for a hearing, to the great detriment of their affairs, and perhaps at last obliged to abandon their complaint; having consumed the little money or provisions they were able to bring from their homes, probably from 50 or 100 miles distant! To prove the grounds which the people have for their discontent, he also mentioned, that a female in his service was forced to pay a bribe of 10 rupees to a native law officer of the Saharunpore court, before she could get her suit even put upon the file. The concurrence of all the inhabitants in these accusations against our administration of justice surely warrants my

affirming my conviction of the extensive injuries and oppressions under our present system of rule in India, where it is impossible to obtain justice without bribing the whole of the natives attached to the courts.

13th. A person who had been in the employ of an English gentleman who was at once judge, magistrate, and collector of revenue and customs (a union of appointments quite incompatible in their nature, and too much for even two men properly to discharge), assured me that hundreds were detained sometimes following him about the district from day to day without an audience; that the bribery and oppressions of the public native servants and lowest chuprasses under him, were shocking; and that in the course of the short time he was with him, he was sure, through his unfitness and inertness, and the corruption just stated, that Government lost in customs at least 100,000 rupees.

14th. A civil servant of the Company told me of the following case which had lately come before him at Saharunpore. Three custom-house chuprasses met a man with a bullock load of allum, worth about 70 rupees, for which he had regularly paid the duty, and showed his pass; nevertheless they seized it, feigning to believe it to be salt, and consequently not corresponding with the pass. When the poor man went away, they secretly conveyed it to a shop in the town to be taken care of, and having got the shopkeeper's receipt for it as allum, departed to procure salt to substitute in the bags, thus to make good their villainous imposition, and defraud both the proprietor and Government;—for the same quantity of salt was worth only five or six rupees. The proprietor, aware of the villainy of the government chuprasses, flew instantly to Mr. Monckton, who with laudable promptitude summoned the three wretches. They insisted that they had only done their duty; that it was salt, and not allum: but being ordered to produce it, they pretended that they had forwarded it, as soon as seized, to the custom-master, many miles off. Fortunately the shopkeeper to whom they had intrusted the allum, heard of the stir that was making, and fearing to be implicated went and told Mr. M. of his having it, and that he had given his receipt for it as allum, and not salt. This clearly convicted the chuprasses; but 30 strokes a-piece with a rattan was all the punishment they suffered: they at least should have been transported. I have selected this from a thousand instances that exist of the oppressions practised in the Custom department all over India; and where one is detected at least a hundred escape! These rapacious villains are scattered throughout the country, far from the control of the European custom-master, or dread of the magistrate. They indiscriminately detain every thing, even though not merchandise, on the plea of *zeal*, or *doubts* of its being exempted, or answering the pass; but in reality to extort money, which is at once given in preference to the greater loss which a harassing detention would produce, being too well aware of the trouble and expense which they must suffer to prosecute these harpies successfully. It is needless to dwell on the injury which trade of every description in India experiences from these impediments. Often and often have rich bankers replied to me, when I have asked them why they did not embark their idle capitals in commerce, "that to an European it might be profitable, as the Custom-house chuprasses durst not molest him, but to them it was not only a loss, but often involved them in tedious litigation, ending in disappointment and ruin, besides subjecting them to insults and suffering."

15th. Not long since, two gentlemen in the civil service were transferred from the revenue branch to the high appointments of judges of circuit and appeal. The one, many years back, was found unequal to the duties of the judicial line; and the other had only served in the most subordinate judicial station for a year or two. In Europe, what would be said if a lawyer's clerk, or a nobleman's steward were to be elevated to the bench? and if they are thus appointed in India, is it possible that their decisions can be sound, their habits industrious, or the natives subjected to their judg-

ments satisfied! It is worthy of remark, that the situation of a judge of circuit in India (which exactly corresponds with our judges of assize in England,) is looked upon as one of *repose*; and I have it from good authority, that Mr. G. Dowdeswell, late a member of the Bengal council, and long secretary to government in the *judicial* department, used to write to his friends who applied for his interest, and ask, "whether they would like to *slumber* as a judge of circuit, or be placed in some *more active* appointment in the service." What an overwhelming confirmation is here presented of the indifference with which Englishmen treat the lives, liberties, and rights, of the vast population of India! What would they think in England, were the judges there so to perform their responsible functions as to render the office one of ridicule, by neglecting, or at best slurring over, the serious duties of their station, and yet feel no shame in eating the liberal wages of the public! Would it in Europe be tolerated that a judge should pass all the day in his own house, smoking his hookah, and amusing himself with a novel, merely deigning to attend court for an hour and a half, at most, immediately after sunrise, a period at which the natives are engaged in their devotions and ablutions; indecorously hurrying through the evidence, brow-beating and abusing a witness or the native law officers, if slow or prolix, and flying into a rage at any cause of detention; in short, going to court more for form than business, and more anxious about expedition than the interests of justice! I have understood that a certain *deserving* judge of this description, who now engrosses various other duties, travels in dilatory state over his district to make the land settlement, dragging after him in chains fifty or sixty *untried* and perhaps *innocent* prisoners; and followed by numerous civil suitors, in vain imploring a decision. Again, let me ask, if it would be endured in Christendom, that a judge from *pure caprice* should suspend the assizes of a large city and surrounding populous country for several months,—the court in fact being shut, whereby the properties, liberty, health, and happiness of hundreds of thousands are exposed to injury, the guiltless to a cruel and disgraceful confinement among murderers and felons, and the British name to odium and execration, whilst he was diverting himself with tiger hunting and roving over remote provinces—because, forsooth, he had taken umbrage that Government had in political questions considered him subordinate to a senior servant; and that he disliked a city life, though he had no dislike to enjoy the salary, (a very handsome one too,) as if he had duly earned it. Well, indeed, as long as such things can happen, may the inhabitants of India curse British jurisprudence; and the Court of Directors acknowledge that the summary, though often unrighteous judgments of the Mogul despots, were deemed preferable, because speedier, by their Indian subjects.—Influence and money *then*, no doubt, turned the scales of justice, but the parties were soon put out of suspense; whereas under us, the same causes have ample effect, through the chicanery and impenetrable duplicity of the native officers; but in addition, the vexatious delay and wearisome processes of law are experienced, producing in the end decisions quite as unjust.

The foregoing extracts from my Journal, form, my dear Sir, the grounds upon which I rest my opinion of the extraordinary occasion which exists for the benevolent interference of the British Parliament, to rectify the shameless negligence of a *vast majority* of the English judges and magistrates, and the gross bribery and cupidity of the *whole* of the Native officers of the British Courts of Justice in India; it being idle, in this country (India), to hope for the smallest amendment *THROUGH OURSELVES* (I mean the servants of the Company), so long as the circle of Anglo-Indian society is so contracted, and, of consequence, under the domination of the chief personages; most of whom, from long habit, are reconciled, if ever they felt any objections, to the established usages, or so long as they

need not dread the smallest exposure, through the PRESS, before the tribunal of the public.

The civilian embarks for India whilst a boy:—passing from school to the ship, he is utterly unacquainted with the practical blessings of impartial laws, or with the virtues of the eminent living characters of his country. He is rapidly advanced, perhaps before he has reached his twentieth year, to very arduous and authoritative situations, to decide over the honour, properties, liberties, and lives almost, (for on his proceedings materially depends the ultimate judgment,) of thousands; with his will unawed by public opinion, his prejudices and carelessness fostered by an interested and *grinding* gang of Native assistants; and, lastly, his weak side most studiously observed by his attendants and dependants, anticipating every desire, encouraging a love of luxury and dissipation, so as in the end to produce a confirmed dislike, if not incompetency, for the execution of the duties of his office. Ignorant, timid, and debased, as the people of Hindoostan notoriously are; without witnessing it, you would not believe the terrific consequences they ascribe, say all you can, to any *attempt* at complaint against their oppressors; firmly persuaded, that not only would they be injured by any attempt to substantiate it, by the agency of all the Native law-officers, and by suborned witnesses to prove them actuated by revenge for being properly checked in some infamous act or intent by the defendant. Such attempts would indeed involve them in expenses greatly exceeding the exactions they had paid, and infallibly bring down upon them and all their relations the persecuting wrath of the acquitted, or, even if removed, of all his successors! In every civil action, the Native pleaders, where it is worth their while, betray their clients: they dare not express a sentiment or display a gesture that would displease the judge, or his Native minions; though they know it well, yet they tremble to hint at the venality or malice that is then working the ruin or death of their clients. And, in short, so debased and degraded are they, that instead of exerting their best abilities and energies to establish a successful defence, they are often leagued with their opponent's advocate *to defeat their own* client, under promise of a larger reward than he could afford to give. Thus trained, during a series of years, in the Zillah, or inferior courts, where the English judge and magistrate is a petty despot; he is next promoted to the Court of Appeal and Circuit, and is naturally unwilling to scrutinize the measures of those who fill his vacant seat, and, very probably, merely tread in his own steps! Moreover, the Zillah judges are all, more or less, personal friends of their superiors in the Court of Circuit, by having served under them as registrars and assistants, by having been long the intimate companions of their sports, and constant guests at their tables, or possibly more closely allied by blood or marriage (for there now exists several instances in India, where, through matrimony, a family connexion nearly equals a Scottish clan): of course, in any of these cases, there is but a slight hope of the misrule of the judge being noticed by the Court of Appeal; where, indeed, no advocate bold enough to bring the charge forward is to be found.

To illustrate the extent of this partiality, and the invidious construction put on a fearless and upright line of conduct, I shall only instance the case of Mr. Courtney Smith (brother of the late Advocate General, Percy Smith, and of the Rev. Sydney Smith), who incurred the hatred and bitterest invectives of all his brother civilians, for presuming, in fact, to

consider the Natives entitled to redress and protection from extortion, tyranny, and insult. Mr. Smith was, in consequence, scarcely visited by any European gentleman; his character was represented in the vilest colours; he was obliged to fight a duel: but, notwithstanding this, the Government acknowledged his zeal, talents, and integrity; and although, in pretended vindication of its own dignity, it has more than once suspended him from all employ, for the too warm and unqualified declaration of his sentiments respecting the interests of the public, yet he has been again restored to high appointments, and is at present a judge of the Company's Sudder, or Supreme Court of Judicature and Appeal, in Calcutta.

Allow me for a moment to direct your attention to the view taken by the Natives, in contradistinction to that by Europeans, of Mr. Smith's official character. Whenever his name is mentioned, it is with emphatic respect and praise; they gratefully speak of his patient and skilful investigations—his unbiassed and just decisions—his urbanity, and open intercourse with the Natives of all orders—his inquisitive and anxious inquiries of them, relative to the violation of their rights—and his thorough knowledge of the vernacular languages. Never did I hear a whisper of himself or his servants being accessible to bribes; yet, of many else have I heard it, who are deemed in European society, where these points are rarely adverted to, most honourable and amiable men. Indeed, I number in my acquaintance several who enjoy amongst their countrymen the reputation of fine, hospitable, disinterested fellows; while their professional conduct bespeaks a contemptuous neglect of the feelings, claims, and rights, of the Indians subject to their jurisdiction.

I am at the same time not by any means convinced, notwithstanding every thing adduced above, that, in the present day, Englishmen holding situations of power and patronage are themselves generally venal. No; I solemnly believe the contrary; and that though, in a thousand ways, they might be so with complete impunity, yet that such a disgraceful stigma no longer truly attaches to them. I will not deny, but that there may be exceptions; nor that the negligence and delegation to Natives of responsible and sacred duties, fairly subject many to the impeachment; for I am well informed, that it is the general practice of an oppressive and corrupt Native to insinuate broadly, that his superior (i. e. the judge, collector, or commissioner) participates in the fruits of his collections. On the other hand, I am bound to confess, and indeed I do it with a deep and painful sense of the humiliation of our national character, that very few of the civil or military officers in the Company's service *actively* sympathize (for mere words I count as wind) in the moral depravity, the deplorable superstitions, and the degrading injuries, of common notoriety, to which the abject spirit, the wretched and comfortless habits, and a train of vices too long and too hideous to recount, for so many ages trampling on the great population of India, may be attributed. They just conform to the *cold rules* of a narrow and hateful policy, supposed alone to be adapted to preserve the British dominion in the East; which proscribes all effectual efforts to introduce sound and useful education; and their hearts are contented, as long as their arrangements secure implicit obedience, and to themselves individually as little interruption as possible in their pleasures and slumbers. Examples abound where gentlemen holding arduous situations, surrender themselves (to avoid *bother*, as it is elegantly termed) into the hands of a private moonshoe, or public

Native officer, who seldom fails clandestinely to abuse the confidence reposed in him, disposing by sale of the appointments of cases, mufties, *serishtadar*, *pundit*, *vakeel*, *kootwal*, *tanahdar*, and even the police *chuprasses*. The inevitable consequence of this is, that the whole of these, in every corner of the peninsula of India, are fattening on the wrongs of their countrymen, whom they are employed to protect; openly living at a rate treble exceeding their salaries, they make no secret of their exactions, in order to impress a conviction on their victims, that their conduct must be tolerated by superior authority. Be the magistrate of the town or the *zillah* ever so vigilant, laborious, and capable, it is impossible to prevent these evils, whilst the present matchless subtlety and contempt for character, truth, and conscience, a frightful indifference to the species of means to perpetrate the object, distinguish the Natives of *all* classes; or until the people at large shake off their own despicable insensibility of the rights and dignities inseparable from human beings, and their slavish fears of malice and revenge. But where the magistrate is destitute of zeal, humanity, and abilities, then what atrocious havoc must be committed! His authority is the tool of every deadly sin, his court is viewed with horror; he is the miserable dupe of an artful, fawning creature, who stifles every complaint, or prevents its effect, (should it by accident pass the cordon of harpies surrounding his premises;) who prepossesses his passions (can I call it judgment?) according to the bribe he has obtained, and, in short, trades upon the lives, liberties, and properties of his fellow creatures, to the eternal shame of the British nation.

Whilst no apparent grounds of suspicion exist, a good magistrate is often unwittingly accessory to the preceding mischief, by nominating persons who, unknown to him, have bribed the person first in his favour, to *command*, if not directly recommend, his creatures as peculiarly respectable and qualified. A *tanahdar* will not grudge, in this way, to give 800 rupees to be appointed to a populous town, although the salary is only 25 rupees per month. They again often have to renew these douceurs, giving 200 and 300 rupees not to be removed to a less lucrative division.

It would be arrogating more than becomes me, to pretend, that the following propositions are altogether the best calculated of all others that abler men might suggest, to accomplish the removal of the numerous and serious evils which retard the civilization and prolong the miseries of our Indian subjects; but I humbly believe they would go a considerable way towards accomplishing that happy end, and may serve at least to guide the judgment of others.

The whole of the courts of justice should be presided over by lawyers appointed from home, assisted by European advocates and attorneys. The English should be substituted for the Persian language in all law proceedings, records, &c. the latter being equally foreign to the British and to 999 out of 1000 of the inhabitants. The laws and regulations for the Interior of India should be the same as those which obtain in His Majesty's Supreme Court of Justice in Calcutta; for these have been found to answer more for the good of the community, consisting of 800,000 of Natives, than their warmest original supporters anticipated; and 'as I can see no sound reason for retaining the semi-barbarous Mohammedan Code, on which all the Company's laws are grafted, why should not the rest of our Asiatic subjects have the same advantages granted them as are enjoyed by those who live in the metropolis? Let any candid and

intelligent person compare the state of the inhabitants of Calcutta now, with what it was prior to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and then look at that of other large cities, for example, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, Futtyghur, Delhi, &c. he must admit that there is a glaring difference. Why we have adhered to the Mohammedan criminal code, stained as it is with the cruellest penal punishments, has always surprised me. The Mussulmans, like ourselves, conquered Hindoostan, and at once instituted their own laws; they form, I imagine, not one tenth of the people of the country; still we deemed it requisite to preserve the jurisprudence they had selfishly and violently introduced. I conceive, were the English to enact an entirely *New Code of Laws*, taking for their basis the most approved principles of legislation, it would be hailed with universal gratitude, and would render the duties of the judge comparatively easy and expeditious, and the rights of the people safe and intelligible. Sunk, as the Natives are, in ignorance, wickedness, and prejudices, it would, perhaps, be dangerous to empower them at present to act as jurors. I would therefore suggest, in the first instance, that juries of five Europeans or Eurasians (half-castes) should be impanelled at the stations where the society could not conveniently afford more. If anything of the above description were to take place, I would stake my existence on the happy result of the experiment, and of the greatest advantages being derived from it: the first of which would certainly be, speedier and more equitable decisions, less perjury, less corruption and oppression in innumerable shapes; and in all departments, a rapid change in the character of the people, caused by an assurance of justice and respect. But alas! my dear Sir, will any reform ever originate *here*, or with the *India Directors*, several of whom have themselves been civilians in India, and are of course inveterately impressed from habit with a partial regard for the usages of their own formation, or at all events their own observance, during their early life, when attachments are most deeply imbibed; and all of whom, besides, have sons, nephews, and near relations in the civil service, averse to every reduction of their consequence and power?

I cannot silently pass over the importance of European Colonization to India; it would conduce more than any means I know of, to the prosperity of the people, and of consequence, the benefit of their rulers. Behold the peasantry of Tirhoot and Purneah, two provinces more thickly occupied by European planters than any other in India; there the Native Indians are proverbially more orderly and industrious, less litigious, less wedded to old customs, and more attached to the English name, than the rest of their countrymen; and it is notoriously owing to the interchange and communication of sentiment and interest betwixt themselves and the indigo planter, who offers them his counsel and experience, sympathizes in their misfortunes, gives them medicine in sickness and help in distress; whence naturally arise gratitude, exertion, confidence, emulation, and a train of good effects as honourable to the promoter, as they are happy and advantageous to the (before) ill-treated, ignorant, lawless, and almost brutalized peasants.

I have weighed and considered long the question of Colonization, and sure I am that it would be a measure both politically and morally wise: I am happy that it is in my power also to add that this is the opinion of men of the first rank and abilities amongst the Company's servants in India. Indeed it has already been said, by a high authority, How short-sighted

it is to suppose that we can embrace or reject this measure as we please : for, even under the present system, the Colonization of Hindoostan is going on imperceptibly, through the alarming increase of an uneducated, or at least half-educated race of Indo-Britons, who commonly possess all their mothers' vices, with none of their fathers' virtues.

Another powerful drawback to the diffusion of education, and the improvement generally of affairs in India, springs from a pitiful jealousy on the side of the senior servants of the Company, of the success of any proposal or attempt made by their juniors. It is by these alone that suggestions and efforts of the kind are likely to be made ; and as length of service almost entirely constitutes claims to office in this country, of course every high and influential station is filled by the former, most of whom (with some honourable exceptions) are bigoted in their attachment to old principles, usages and alarms. General Ochterlony, the resident of Delhi, instead of assisting an individual who endeavoured to establish there a Native school by subscription, would neither subscribe one shilling towards it himself, nor countenance it by his recommendation to the Native chiefs, nearly all of whom need only such countenance to induce them to contribute handsomely. In short, after repeated solicitations that he would lend his powerful aid, he explicitly declined, and added that he even objected to enter into any discussion on such a subject as the benefits of education to a Native !

Our noble (I apply the word literally, not alone courteously) Governor General, Lord Hastings, among other blessings which he has conferred on India, has shown himself a warm patron of Native schools, and his example you may be sure has not failed to kindle a similar *apparent* feeling where it before was dormant or unknown. To Lord Hastings I am the reverse of being indebted for any favour, so that I am unlikely to be warped in my commendation of his administration, which has done more good for India than any of his predecessors. But the vast territory, the various departments, the difference of laws, customs, and language, all conspire to make it quite impossible for the ablest and the best European Statesman to comprehend the variety of interests he has to preserve in the short period he is destined to govern the country, unless he is powerfully supported by a good Code of Laws—a larger European population of persons not dependent on the Government—and a perfectly Free Press—to bring every misdeed to light, and, while it honours the good, to hold up the bad to public censure.

Thus far the writer of the Letter ; in the accuracy of whose facts and in the soundness of whose opinions, we place the greatest reliance. He has passed a long, an active, and a useful life in the country from which he writes ; and is a happy exception to the general rule of men becoming callous to evils with which they are familiarized. In his tribute to the excellence of Lord Hastings's administration, we believe him to be as sincere as in every sentiment contained in his Letter. We may add, that in as much as Lord Hastings was, in the early part of his residence in India, friendly to the spread of Education and the Freedom of the Press, we were also among the warmest of his admirers and most sincere of his eulogists. But in as much as in the latter part of his career

he suffered himself to be prevailed on by others to restrict the very freedom he had voluntarily offered, we have felt it our duty to condemn the inconsistencies into which this change of policy and conduct necessarily betrayed him.

The question is not now, however, whether Lord Wellesley or Lord Hastings were right or wrong. Our inquiry should be, What are the evils of the present *system* (without reference to men or names) by which our Indian Empire is governed; and what are the measures which ought to be taken in order to introduce a better? The *facts* stated by the writer of the Letter, before given, can leave no doubt as to the nature of the evils, of which they are but a few;—and his *opinion* that the best remedies for these would be a new Code of Laws—an independent British Public—and a Free Press—we believe to be also the opinion of nearly all the intelligent inhabitants of India, who have bestowed any attention on the subject. Let us hope that the Court of Directors, and the British Parliament, will no longer disregard the claims which humanity and justice here so forcibly press on their attention—since, it never can be too often repeated,—“He, who permits oppression, shares the crime.”

LEAVES AND FLOWERS, OR THE LOVER'S WREATH.

With tender vine leaves wreath thy brow,
And I shall fancy that I see,
In the bright eye, that shines below,
The dark grape on its parent tree;
'Tis but a whim, but oh entwine
My leafy crown round thy brow divine.

Weave of the clover leaves a wreath,
Fresh sparkling with an April shower,
And I shall think my fair one's breath
Is but the fragrance of the flower;
'Tis but a whim, but oh do thou
Entwine my wreath round thy blushing brow.

Oh, let sweet-leaved geranium be
Entwined amidst thy chastening hair;
Whilst thy red lips shall paint to me
How bright its scarlet blossoms are:
'Tis but a whim, but oh do thou
Crown with my wreath thy lovely brow.

Oh, twine green rose leaves round thy head,
And I shall dream the flowers are there;
The moss rose on thy rich cheek spread,
The white upon thy forehead fair:
'Tis but a whim, but oh entwine
My wreath round that dear brow of thine.

H. M. P.

**ON THE PROPOSED COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE
ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS.**

AMONG the various projects which have been at different times proposed for shortening the distance between Europe and the regions of Eastern Asia, that of forming a navigable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across the continent of America, deserves to hold the highest rank. The vast consequences which could not fail to result from the opening of a route, which would abridge by 2000 leagues, the passage from Europe to the East Indies, have powerfully attracted the public attention, which, from the time when Vasco Nunez de Balboa first crossed the Isthmus of Panama, in 1513, has not ceased to be directed to the formation of a canal uniting the two oceans across this narrow neck of land ; and yet, up to the present time, not a single step has been taken towards carrying the project into execution. It was indeed to be expected that, under the dominion of a government constituted like that of Spain, whose sole object with regard to her colonies was to extort from them those riches with which Nature had so abundantly supplied them, and to whom the interests of her distant subjects were as nothing, no such project would be permitted to take effect. Looking only to her own direct and immediate advantage, ignorant of the interests, and careless of the welfare of the countries over which she had extended her dominion, anxious only to secure to herself a monopoly of the advantages which they possessed, she was naturally jealous of any plan which would lead to a communication between her transatlantic subjects, and the enlightened and commercial nations of the world. But now that this dominion which Spain vainly imagined that ages of barbarity and oppression had fixed on an immoveable basis, has fallen before the roused spirit of her slaves ; now that these regions, independent and self-governed, are about to take their proper station among the nations of the earth ; now that, emancipated from the cruel policy which has so long fettered their energies, they are at liberty to cultivate for themselves alone, the peculiar circumstances under which they are placed, and to labour to turn them to the best advantage for their own interests ; we may perhaps be allowed to hope, without subjecting ourselves to the imputation of being too sanguine in our anticipations, that the time is fast approaching when this important object will at length be achieved.

It is not our intention to enter into a detail of the various projects which have been, from time to time, during the last 300 years, submitted to the Spanish Government, to be by it successively thrown aside and forgotten ; neither shall we extend our

investigation to those plans of modern date, which propose various communications, traversing the broader and more extended regions of North and South America. We shall restrict ourselves to placing before our readers an abstract of the propositions of the most celebrated modern authors, confining our observations to those which relate to that portion of the ancient Spanish dominions which lies to the north of the equator, as offering the best and perhaps the only attainable opportunities for their execution, and as fraught with consequences infinitely more momentous than could result from carrying into effect any of the other plans. At the same time we willingly admit that many of these are extremely ingenious, and would, if completed, lead to results of no trifling importance, as well to internal navigation as to foreign commerce. The authorities from which our statements will be principally derived are the interesting disquisitions of M. Von Humboldt, and the highly valuable observations of Mr. Robinson. The following are the points of proposed communication to which we purpose to confine our observations :

1. The Rio San Juan, and the Rio Atrato.
2. The Bay of Cupica and the Rio Naipi.
3. The Isthmus of Panama.
4. The Lake of Nicaragua.
5. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Beginning with the most southern of these points and proceeding northwards to each in succession, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers a brief and, we trust, accurate statement of the advantages and disadvantages which attach to it, in so far as they have yet been ascertained.

1. In the interior of the province of Choco, in New Grenada, one of the sources of the Rio Atrato, which falls into the Gulf of Darien, is separated from the source of the Rio San Juan, which flows into the South Sea, only by a ravine, called the Quebrada de la Raspadura. The Spanish Government were aware, more than two centuries ago, that, in the rainy season, this ravine formed a natural communication between the two oceans; but, influenced by that dread of improvement, which has always formed the leading feature of their character, they forbade, under pain of death, the rendering it more commodious. Nevertheless, in the year 1788, an enterprising monk, curate of the village of Novilla, either ignorant of the prohibition, or believing that it had grown obsolete, collected his Indian parishioners, and employed them to dig a small canal through the ravine, uniting the two rivers; by means of which, large canoes, loaded with cacao, have passed from sea to sea. The poor curate, however, was thrown into prison, and it was with much difficulty that he escaped the threatened punishment, for violating the prohibition, which was again strictly renewed. In consequence

of this interference, the navigation of the canal is at present completely obstructed; there are, however, several points at which a junction between the two rivers might be effected, by a shorter cut than that made by the curate of Novilla. The distance between the mouths of the two rivers, following the course of the ravines, is only 80 leagues; but the shallowness of the water over the bars at their mouths, and the numerous obstructions which exist in various parts of their course, must prevent their giving passage to large vessels. As a medium, however, for internal navigation, they are deserving of the most serious attention of the Columbian Government; under the liberal encouragement of which, they will doubtless, at some future time, become the channel of an important and extensive commerce.

2. A branch of the Atrato, the Rio Naipi, takes its origin at no great distance from the western coast of the same province. From the point at which it becomes navigable to the bay and port of Cupica, in the Pacific Ocean, is only 24 miles, and the intervening ground is said to be perfectly level. "We might almost say," observes M. Humboldt, "that the ground between Cupica and the mouth of the Atrato, is the only part of all America, in which the chain of the Andes is entirely broken." Consequently, a canal might be opened, without much difficulty, between the Bay of Cupica and the Embarcadero of the Naipi. The advantages of this position were first pointed out by M. Gogueneche; but it is impossible, without a more accurate knowledge of the country, to ascertain with any degree of certainty, whether this or the former communication is to be preferred, for the purpose to which alone either of them appears to be available; for the same impediments to the navigation by large vessels, of course exist with respect to this as to the other. It is obvious, however, that they are both capable of forming a navigable communication between the two seas, at least for the passage of large boats; and although this is not the object which we have at present more particularly in view, we cannot but feel a considerable interest in the anticipation of the profitable trade which may, even by these imperfect means, be carried on, under the auspices of an attentive and liberal government.

3. The extreme narrowness of that part of the American continent which has received the name of Isthmus of Darien or Panama, was the means of suggesting, in the first instance, the idea of a canal, traversing the isthmus and uniting the two oceans; and to the carrying this idea into effect, the attention of the Spanish engineers has been almost exclusively directed. It must be admitted, that were there not serious, and perhaps insurmountable physical impediments in the way of this undertaking, no other place could be selected, offering such pre-eminent advantages as this. It is only, however, within these few years, that the obsta-

cles to this enterprise have been fully pointed out, and the advantages of other positions properly appreciated.

The Rio Chagre, which has been selected to form a part of the channel of communication, after traversing a considerable portion of the narrowest part of the isthmus, falls into the Caribbean Sea, to the westward of Porto Bello. It is 250 yards broad at its mouth, and about 40 at Cruces, where it becomes navigable for large boats; and which place, following the course of the river, is about 20 leagues distant from the sea. The distance from Cruces to Panama is 23 miles, and the road winds round the sides of a chain of mountains, which form a continuation of the great Cordillera of the Andes, but with the heights of which we are totally unacquainted; for, surprising as it may appear, although innumerable private memoirs and official reports on the subject of this proposed communication have been submitted to the Spanish Government, none of them have been founded on a careful survey of the ground. Even La Condamine and Don George Juan, and Ulloa, who resided in this interesting region for the space of three months, seem entirely to have neglected this most important point. Various and contradictory are the reports which have at different times been presented to the Spanish Government; for, while some have boldly asserted that, by following the course of the ravines, a passage might be opened from the Bay of Panama to the navigable waters of the Chagre, twelve leagues in length, and as wide as the Gut of Gibraltar; others have declared, with equal confidence, that no water communication can possibly be effected, except by means of locks and tunnels passing over an elevation of at least 400 feet. Putting these contradictions, however, out of the question, it is tolerably evident that the obstacles to cutting a canal of any considerable capacity at the foot of these mountains, and following the course of the ravines, would be very considerable, if not insuperable; for the inequalities of the ground would compel the engineer to have recourse either to tunnels or arches, and consequently flat-bottomed boats alone would be enabled to frequent the passage. In order, then, to counteract this inconvenience, it would be necessary to establish *entrepôts*, for the loading and unloading of all merchandise destined to pass this channel, at Panama and Porto Bello; and thus the trade would not only be subjected to considerable expense and delay, but would also become entirely dependent on the masters of the isthmus. Let this obstacle, however be surmounted; let a canal capable of giving passage to an Indiaman be cut, from Cruces to Panama, or across any other part of the isthmus which might be judged more convenient, and we shall find that other impediments present themselves, if possible of a still more formidable nature. In the first place, with respect to the navigation of the Chagre; the bar at its mouth

will not admit the passage of a vessel drawing more than ten feet water; and it appears from the observations of Ulloa, that the fall of the river from Cruces to the sea, is from 200 to 250 feet, and it requires at least five days for boats to ascend to Cruces; but when the waters are high, the current is extremely rapid, frequently at the rate of one to two yards in a second, and it occupies even fifteen or twenty days to reach that station. The passage is much lengthened by the sinuosities of the river, which are very considerable; but any attempt to cut them would be attended with mischievous consequences, as they afford a *counter-current*, which is very serviceable to boats in their ascent. Again, supposing it possible that vessels of large burden could obtain a passage up the Chagre to Cruces, and that a canal capable of receiving them could be opened from Cruces to Panama, or supposing that a canal of sufficient capacity could be cut across any other part of the isthmus into the Bay of Panama, the most serious impediment would still remain unsurmounted. "The water along the coast in the Bay of Panama," says Mr. Robinson, "is so shallow, that none but flat-bottomed boats, of one or two feet in draught, can approach the shore." - - - "The anchorage place for all vessels of large size is at two small islands called Perico and Flamingo, distant about seven miles from the city." According to this statement, the correctness of which we have no reason to doubt, it would be absolutely necessary, in order to admit the navigation of large vessels, to continue the canal seven miles into the ocean; and supposing this Herculean task to be effected, it is obvious that it would be constantly liable to be choked up by the operation of the same causes which have accumulated the sand along the whole coast of the bay. Under these circumstances, we are surely justified in declaring our conviction, that the grand object of which we are in search cannot be attained at the isthmus of Panama, and that the idea of a pass across the isthmus from sea to sea ought to be entirely abandoned. Still there can be no doubt that the central position of the isthmus, and the proximity of the two seas, might be turned to great advantage, and that a good causeway from Panama to Cruces, or which would perhaps be better, from Panama to Porto Bello, might become the medium of a very extensive commerce with the western coasts of America.

A question of serious importance has received considerable elucidation in the course of the discussions on this topic; namely, whether of two neighbouring seas, as is the vulgar opinion, the one is more elevated than the other. This opinion has been so prevalent, that some have even gone so far as to predict that the consequence of opening a communication between the two seas, would be the inundation of the entire isthmus. This position has, however, been combated by Don George Juan, who found the

height of the column of mercury the same at the mouth of the Chagre and at Panama; and by M. Von Humboldt, who states, that the barometrical measurements made by him at the mouth of the Rio Sinu in the Atlantic, and on the coast of the South Sea in Peru, prove, with every allowance for temperature, that if there is a difference between the two seas, it cannot exceed 20 or 22 feet. Circumstances of a trivial or local nature, such as the configuration of the coasts, currents and winds, must have some effect in disturbing the equilibrium of the ocean. The tides, for instance, rise at Porto Bello scarcely more than a foot, whereas at Panama they reach 14 or 16 feet; consequently the levels of the two seas must vary with the different ports. This inequality of the surface of the ocean is confirmed by a comparison of the late observations of M. Moreau de Jonnés on the western coast of Martinique, with those of M. Humboldt at the Havannah, and of M. Fleurieu de Belle-vue, at Rochelle, from which it appears, supposing that the instruments employed were of equal accuracy, that the elevation of the waters of the Atlantic at Martinique is nearly 40 feet greater than at the Havannah, and nearly 70 feet greater than at Rochelle.

4. The next point to which we turn our attention is that which seems to offer the fairest prospect of complete success, although we are aware that there are many who are prepared to dispute this claim to superiority in favour of the succeeding one, which closes our series. The lake of Nicaragua is situate in the province of Costa Rica, between the 10th and 12th degrees of north latitude. It is about 120 miles long, and between 40 and 50 broad, and is navigable for the largest vessels, being throughout its whole extent from three to eight fathoms in depth. It communicates with the Caribbean Sea by means of the Rio San Juan. This noble river is about sixty miles in length, and large brigs and schooners now sail up its stream into the lake. It has commonly been stated that the bar at its mouth is covered by only twelve feet of water; but an enterprising Englishman, who casually visited it about twenty years ago, discovered a channel, which, though narrow, would admit a vessel drawing 25 feet water. The existence of this passage is said to have been also known at Honduras, but it has never been laid down on any map. Within the bar there is excellent anchorage in four and six fathoms water. So far there can be no doubt that vessels of any burden might be enabled with very little trouble to pass from the Caribbean Sea into the lake of Nicaragua. It only remains to ascertain by what means a communication might be opened between that lake and the Pacific Ocean.

At its north-western extremity the lake communicates by means of a river about eight leagues in length with the lake of Leon, and there are several smaller streams which flow from each of these lakes into the gulfs of Nicoya and Papagayo. The distance from

the lake of Nicaragua to the gulf of Nicoya is seven marine leagues, while to that of Papagayo it does not exceed four. The space between the latter gulf and the lake of Leon is scarcely greater, and the river Tosta which discharges itself into the gulf approaches much nearer to the lake. The ground in this very narrow isthmus is described as a dead level, only interrupted by some isolated conical hills of volcanic origin. "To arrive from Realexo at Leon," says Dampier, "we must go twenty miles across a flat country, covered with mangle trees." - - "The ground between La Caldera (the gulf of Nicoya,) and the lake is a little hilly, but for the most part level and like a savanna." The city of Leon itself is situate in a savanna. Under these circumstances there could be little difficulty in opening an extensive communication between the Pacific Ocean and either of these lakes. The coast is represented as free from rocks and shoals, particularly in the gulf of Papagayo, the shore of which is so bold that a frigate may anchor within a few yards of the beach. M. Von Humboldt asserts, and this is the strongest objection that has been hitherto started to this point of communication, that "the coast of Nicaragua is almost inaccessible in the months of August, September, and October, on account of the terrible storms and rains, and in January and February on account of the furious N.E. and E.N.E. winds, called Papagayos." This assertion, however, is denied by Mr. Robinson, who says that he has "conversed with several mariners who have experienced them, and has been assured that they are trifling when compared with the dreadful hurricanes experienced among the Antilles." "The Papagayos," he says, "are merely strong N.E. gales, which last about the same time during the winter season, as the northern gales in the gulf of Mexico. For more than half the year the seasons are perfectly tranquil, and more especially on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean;" and he has "conversed with persons resident in the city of Leon, who assured him that for twenty years past, they had not experienced anything deserving the name of a hurricane."

There are in the archives of Madrid several French memoirs on the possibility of the junction of the lake of Nicaragua with the Pacific Ocean; and the commerce carried on by our countrymen with Honduras and the Mosquito shore has contributed to awaken their attention also to this most important object. Several communications on the subject have been made to our Government by intelligent individuals who have resided in the Bay of Honduras. The most interesting memoir which has come to our knowledge was written by the late Bryan Edwards, but is not included among his published works. So deeply impressed was this celebrated man with the importance of Costa Rica to the British nation, and so convinced was he of the practicability of opening a communication between the two seas at this point, that he made use of the most

cogent and eloquent reasoning to induce our Government to seize the Isthmus of Costa Rica by conquest in war, or to obtain it by negotiation in peace. In fact, the immediate proximity of Jamaica, and our present commercial relations with the eastern coast of the isthmus render this a point of peculiar importance to the commercial interests of Great Britain.

5. We come now to treat of the last point in our series, and that which is by many considered as the most advantageous. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is situate between the 16th and 18th degrees of north latitude. It includes the intendancy of Oaxaca and a part of that of Vera Cruz. Its greatest breadth is about 125 miles, and its narrowest part contains the sources of the Rio Guasacualco, which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and those of the Rio Chimalapa and Tehuantepec, whose waters mix with the Pacific Ocean. The principal sources of these noble rivers are distant from each other about five leagues, and the intervening space is occupied by a chain of mountains, which may be considered as a continuation of the Andes. These mountains appear in many places to have been rent asunder, as though by some violent convulsion of nature, forming deep chasms or ravines, filled during the rainy season by a vast body of water, which finds its way by the rivers into the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans; and the Indians even assert—and Mr. Robinson, who resided for some time at Oaxaca, declares his conviction of the possibility of the fact—that, when the waters are at their height, they actually pass with their canoes entirely through the isthmus. It would appear, from this natural union of the waters of the Guasacualco, with those of the Chimalapa and Tehuantepec, that the project of forming an artificial communication between them might be carried into effect; still, as we have no survey of the ground, it is impossible to speak with any certainty. There is, however, one very serious objection, which cannot be overlooked, namely, the difficulty of obtaining, in the course of the ravines, a level on which to cut a canal sufficiently capacious to give passage to vessels of large burden.

The river Guasacualco is navigable for vessels of the largest size, to within twelve leagues of the navigable waters of the Chimalapa and Tehuantepec. At its mouth is the most spacious and secure harbour on the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico. There are always over the bar, at its mouth, 22 feet of water, and it is even said, that, during the flood of the river, the bar occasionally shifts, and affords passages in five and six fathoms water. It was crossed some years ago by a Spanish ship of the line, called the *Asia*, which anchored in the port. The Tehuantepec, on the other coast, affords passage for ships drawing 20 feet water, and it was on this river that Cortez constructed the vessels which he sent under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, to conquer Gua-

timala ; consequently there would be no difficulty in the navigation of these two noble rivers. The possibility of uniting them by a canal capable of giving passage to large vessels, is alone questionable. Should this, on a careful survey, be found practicable, the flourishing state of the intendancy of Oaxaca, its comparatively numerous population, the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, unequalled on the American continent, and the spirit and intelligence of its inhabitants, render the situation in the highest degree favourable for the execution of this grand project.

The idea of such an undertaking has long been a favourite with the inhabitants of Oaxaca. So long ago as the year 1745, they presented a memorial to the Viceroy, praying him to represent to the Court of Spain, the great advantages which would result from removing the great dépôt of the commerce of Mexico, from Vera Cruz to Guasacualco. The memorialists explicitly declare, that a canal might be cut so as to unite the waters of the rivers before mentioned, and suggest that, at all events, should political reasons militate against this proposition, a great road might be made across the ridge, by means of which property could be transported in carriages at a moderate expense. They propose also to open a traffic between the coast of Oaxaca and Manila, and point out the great advantages which would be derived from throwing that trade open to all the Spanish ports, instead of restricting it to that of Acapulco. They then proceed to show the decided superiority of the port of Guasacualco over that of Vera Cruz, and to enumerate the great number of excellent ports along the coast of Oaxaca, in the Pacific Ocean. The whole Memoir is full of interesting information, and luminous argument ; but these were points to which the government to whom it was addressed, were not in the habit of paying much attention. The various mercantile establishments which then monopolized the trade, immediately took the alarm, and put in motion every engine of intrigue to defeat the representations of the Oaxacans. They were of course successful ; the memorial was placed among the secret royal archives of Madrid, and an order from the Court prohibited the parties from ever again renewing the subject, under pain of the royal displeasure ; and stigmatized the memorialists as audacious innovators on the established regulations and commerce of the kingdom.

The history of this interesting transaction affords an excellent illustration, both of the liberal spirit and enlightened views of the Oaxacans, and of the policy by which the Spanish Government were guided. Among all the viceroys to whom Spain has delegated the supreme power in Mexico, the Count de Revillagigedo and Don José Iturrigaray alone have shown the least regard for the interests of the country which they governed. With both of these,

the project of uniting the waters of the Guasacualco with those of the Chimalapa and Tehuantepec was a favourite subject: they were convinced of its practicability, and made earnest representations to the Court of Madrid to induce it to sanction the undertaking. All their applications, however, were of no avail; and, in the end, they both incurred the displeasure of their masters, for their liberal principles. But these days of American degradation are now past; the jealous spirit of the Cabinet of Madrid can no longer repress the energies of the Mexicans; they have burst asunder the chains which bound them to the barbarous policy of Spain; and it cannot be doubted that they are ready and anxious to seize the opportunity of forwarding the work which is to render their country the great channel of communication between the Eastern and Western world.

Such are the details which the present imperfect state of our information enables us to give, relative to the principal points at which it has been proposed to establish a communication between the two oceans. It cannot fail to strike the attention, even on a cursory review of them, that we are in want of the most essential data for ascertaining precisely the advantages of each. It is obvious that the first step to be taken, in order to ensure success, would be to obtain an accurate survey of the country which is to be the seat of operations; and to determine precisely the various levels of the ground over which the communication is proposed to be made; and that, until these are ascertained, we are wandering by the glimmerings of a very uncertain light. In fact, with respect to this most important point, we have scarcely anything to guide us in forming a judgment, but the mere conjectures of travellers, unsupported by any accurate observations. But, by what means is this indispensable preliminary to be attained? Would it not be worthy of our government, of the government of that nation which, in all human probability, would profit most by such a communication, to take proper steps for ascertaining with certainty the points which offer the greatest facilities for its completion? Would it not be worthy of them to employ in the investigation of this, the most important subject, in a commercial point of view, that can occupy their consideration, some portion of that attention which has, of late years, been almost exclusively devoted to expeditions to the north, for the discovery of a passage, which, when discovered will be, to all purposes of international communication, utterly useless: expeditions professedly scientific, and placed under the direction of men whose names rank deservedly high in the annals of science, but from whose labours in the barren soil to which they have been restricted, the benefits that have accrued to science have been of the most unimportant nature? If, however, they are of opinion that they are more profitably occupied in pursuing these idle speculations, and refuse to lend their assist-

ance towards the execution of this stupendous undertaking, we may confidently expect that other governments will not neglect the present favourable crisis. Such, indeed, is the interest which this project has excited among the citizens of the United States, that it is asserted that one of the states of the Union has actually offered to sustain the entire expense of carrying it into execution : and it cannot be doubted, that a nation which will derive from it such splendid advantages, inferior only to those which would accrue to this country, will neglect no opportunity of promoting it.

Thus then the matter rests at present. In this stage of the investigation, it would perhaps be premature to inquire into the detail of the means by which this grand project is to be finally completed ; to point out with how much ease labourers might be obtained to carry on the work ; or to decide from what source, whether of a public or private nature, the necessary funds ought to be provided. The latter point, indeed, would involve us, on the supposition of national proprietorship, in an extended discussion of the probable consequences which would result to the world at large, from the various modifications of policy by which the nation, which would thus acquire the greatest facilities for carrying on the most extensive commerce on the surface of the globe, might be actuated ; and which might even close to the rest of the world a passage which ought only to exist for the common benefit of mankind. On the other hand, on the supposition of a joint stock company, although little hesitation would be required, in pronouncing that a more productive stock could not well be contemplated, yet there are many serious objections to this mode, which would require to be carefully investigated before such a company should be formed. It would be superfluous also to attempt to enumerate the incalculable results which would flow from the opening of this passage, not to the merchant alone, but to the Christian, the philosopher, and the politician ; who are all equally interested in the consummation of a project, which would place as it were within the focus of civilization, and expose to its influence, the interesting islands of the South Sea, the hitherto unexplored regions of the western coast of North America, and more especially the vast and semi-barbarous empires of the east of Asia, those splendid monuments of veneration for existing institutions and dread of innovation.

We shall here quit the subject, satisfied with having recalled the public attention to this most important undertaking ; which, we may venture to predict, will ere long receive that serious consideration to which it is so justly entitled.

EXCELLENCE OF ORIENTAL TALES.

Most books are written as if mankind had nothing to do but to read: they are endless in amplification and circumstance. It is impossible to calculate upon coming to the end of them. This has arisen from men having an equal affection for all their ideas; like Abraham, they are unwilling to cast out the bond-woman and her child, although they be not of the true stirp, nor at all calculated to inherit the promised land with Isaac. There is another praiseworthy reason for this equal treatment of ideas. Most men's minds are like inns, filled with strangers and sojourners, who as long as they are worth anything, are not to be treated worse than the children of the family. From a constant habit, therefore, of looking upon all inmates of their brain as on an equality, writers come at length to observe very little real distinction between them; and when occasion offers, use them without any unjust preference or favouritism. Hence proceeds the effect of which we complain.

The only natural remedy for this evil would be to awaken the old, unfashionable love of fame. No other motive will keep men to the earnest worship of the Graces. No other light can burn on with vigour to the end of the race, or lighten the burden of dejection, or make glad the face of affliction and sorrow. It is the sweet gale that carries on the weary bark to the haven of a life of toil.

The people of the East are no niggards in the distribution of fame. Their commendations are rather above, than below par; but when only bestowed upon real excellence, there results no evil consequence. This disposition of theirs, is indeed the strongest excitement which in despotic countries could at all lead men into the track of study; but, uniting with the natural thirst of knowledge, and acting upon those inflammable temperaments which curiosity moves, it has ever been found sufficient to give rise to every species of lighter excellence.

At present we will confine what we have to say to the Tales and Apologues of the East, and to such European imitations as have approached most nearly to their peculiar merits.

The first excellence of productions of this kind is an air of reality, because it is the real *substratum* upon which all the interest we take in them reposes; nor is this air dissipated by the use of supernatural machinery, so long as there is a reserve and uniformity in its operation, which preserves that likelihood required by the mind in every action whatever. The question in the understanding is not whether such or such beings exist, but granting that, together with the necessary degree of power, whether they would conduct themselves in this or that manner. If their supposed power be competent, and their nature consonant to their deeds, we

inquire no further, but admit their agency, and pursue their adventures with much the same anxiety as we do those of our fellow mortals. Fancy knows no impossibility; but contradictions check and impede her progress. She is not therefore offended at the existence, but at the ill use and unskilful management of supernatural machinery.

This is most apparent in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Nowhere is there a more violent or startling mythology employed. The land you tread on is Wonder's own patrimony; genii, magicians, fairies, rattle by you as familiarly as fallen leaves in autumn. But these beings have their laws, their manners, modes, likings, and dislikings, as well as other people, and are perfectly *natural* in the acting and expression of them. You are therefore quite reconciled to their existence, and never suffer one meddling doubt to interrupt the tenor of your creed. In truth you never know exactly whether you believe or disbelieve a thing, till it become a matter of duty to yield your credit to it; but then scepticism is sure to come in, and put a serious face upon the matter. In such cases you soon find out what you think.

The second thing which distinguishes these productions is their humour, and exact imitation of life. In common works these two qualities, as if they were divided by some natural antipathy, shun or drive out each other:—humour, arising out of exaggeration; and correct imitation, from laboriousness of detail. But here both are cheerful guests at the same board: they agree, and reflect light and facility on each other's labours. This union is the charm of story. The humour which peeps forth through the periods of the Arabian Nights, is not a coarse clown taking aim at your gravity with ostentatious rudeness; but a perfectly polished companion, who, from the very constitution of his nature, gathers up the more pleasing sprigs of the ludicrous which lie scattered over the face of things, to make a nosegay for your entertainment. The porters of Bagdad are fine sprightly fellows, whose company even ladies of the first fashion in those days did not think amiss. The one, for instance, who figures in the introduction to the story of the Three Calenders. "My good lady," said he to Amine, who had purchased so much wine, apricots, lilies, jessamin, pistachio nuts, &c. for him to put in his basket, "you ought to have given me notice that you had so much provision to carry, and then I would have got a horse, or rather a camel, to have carried them." The porter's humour, however, does not save his bones; for though the lady laughs at it, she is incorrigible in buying victuals, and goes on heaping his basket with "cloves, musk, pepper, ginger, ambergris, and several other Indian spices." One already sees that a feast and an adventure are upon the anvil; and is anxious that the lady would hasten her marketing and carry us home with her. The current of our curiosity goes on deepening

at every line. We come up to the "magnificent house, whose front was adorned with fine columns, and which had a gate of ivory." Virgil's door of dreams never led to anything more delightful. We meet Zobeide, the celebrated Zobeide, and her sister Safia, as soon as we enter; we are delighted with "thrones of amber, columns of ebony," &c. but more than all with the lively dialogue which ensues between the three sisters and this most fortunate porter. He is not satisfied with being well paid for carrying the "camel's burden" of provisions, but, seeing no man in the palace, is seized with a desire of partaking of their entertainment, and humourously excuses his boldness by observing, "that a company of women without men must be as melancholy as a company of men without women. To this he added several other pleasant things to prove the Bagdad proverb, 'that one is never well at table, except there be four in company;' and thence concluded, that since there were but three, they had need of a fourth."

In this story, notwithstanding that the events which follow are the most marvellous in the work, the mind is gradually led off from nature and life through such a scene of humour, incident, and curiosity, that, like a traveller descending the imperceptible slope of some hill, it perceives not when it has descended upon the plain of impossibility.

The conversations which take place, too, are highly dramatic; full of wit and vivacity, and plainly bespeaking the hand of some prose Shakspeare. One is never wearied with them, for they are truly part of the story, disclosing or hastening, or altogether giving rise to the events. One speech is not made for the mere purpose of dragging on a reply, but every thing springs out of the texture of the circumstances, and savours of time and place. They are full, likewise, of those aphorisms, sayings, proverbs, &c. so much cultivated and admired in the East. Wit shoots about like a wild falcon, seeming to strike down the game of its own accord. It is extremely natural and refined, and gives one a very high notion of the polish and pleasantry of those days.

In the beginning of the story of Sindbad, looked upon by many as a mere tale of the nursery, there is illustrated, by a piece of wise conduct in that experienced traveller, one of the finest suggestions of ancient wisdom. That "Sailor" *par excellence*, as is well known, had amassed great riches in his voyages; and in the evening of his days, being of a magnificent and feastful humour, he retired to a pleasant part of Bagdad to enjoy himself. A porter passing one day before his door, was invited by the western breeze, and the pavement of the street being sprinkled with rose-water, to rest himself. The magnificence of the house, the music which he heard within, the fine savour of delicious viands which issued forth, threw him into a temper of moralizing aloud upon the unequal

conditions of men. He wondered what Sindbad had done, that Providence should thus have heaped its favours upon him, while to himself nothing but labour and misery had been allotted. The venerable mariner hears his complaint from the window, and sending one of his servants to fetch him in, undertakes to disarm the envy of the city, represented in this porter, as well by an act of generosity, as by showing that in reality his fortune had not, upon the whole, been so very enviable. To prove this, he relates his adventures—his calamities—his sufferings. In the sequel, therefore, the porter finds, that his own condition is by no means so bad as he had believed, and no longer envies Sindbad the possession of his great riches.

The machinery of these tales is altogether necessary for reaching the end which it is evident the writer proposed to himself. He wished to place man rapidly in a series of positions, which no possible course of events, without supernatural agency, could ever lead him to; and seeing that it was less improbable that the common laws of nature should be altered by superior beings, than that they should give way without any visible cause (as in our novels), he chose to give up the marvellous to the direction of genii, &c. and reserved to himself the development of the passions and effects produced by it in the personages of his story.

This being admitted, what graceful fiction do we not find in them! The characters, most commonly amiable, and full of enthusiasm, are fitted with the utmost nicety to the events.—If unfortunate, their piety and patience reconcile them to it; if rich, they are generous or extravagant, according to their temper; if honoured with supernatural visitation, they act with coolness, and endeavour to make the most of the circumstance. Above all things they are *credible*, and void of caricature. Turn to the story of Nouredin and the Fair Persian, or to that of Ganem, surnamed Love's Slave, and all we say will be intelligible.

Another feature is the exquisite description of palaces, gardens, mosques, and all the rich variety of external nature, with which they abound. The perfect landscapes which might be painted from scenes depicted to the mind in these tales are almost infinite:—the vast and solitary cemeteries lying in the still moonlight, or only disturbed by the foot of some magician, or unfortunate, seeking for repose among the tombs; the desert, specked with camels, or banditti; the far uninhabited isle receiving the shipwrecked mariner; mountains "whose heads touch heaven" with barren billows ever dashing at their feet; rich plains studded with cities; and meadows with lowing herds upon their bosoms. Such are some of the elements of its pictures; and they are wrought out with a genius and taste not to be equalled by many prose writers. The indistinctness complained of in descriptions has no place here. The scene rises up before the mind with all the truth of a

camera obscura; and, for this reason, may be treasured up in the memory, and made the subject of comparison with actual nature.

All other Eastern Tales have one thing in common with these—and that is, naïveté of manner. They seem frankly to disclose all they know, and to be as eager as the reader to come at the clue and catastrophe of the story. This is the perfection of tale-writing. One does not like to see an author assume airs of consequence, because he happens to see further than the reader into his own inventions; it turns off the zest of inquiry from the events, to the ability of their contriver, and obliges us to exert ourselves in order that we may not be cheated into too much admiration.

The secret cause of our considering that to be the perfection of art in writing, which involves and conceals itself in the integuments of its own excellence is the innate hatred we all bear to power and external influence. We would be independent, if we could, of all other minds; and to be subjected, for our instruction or amusement, to the caprice of other men, is a servitude by no means pleasing. Hence the universal disesteem of an arrogant writer, and the love approaching to veneration which we experience for those, who, with the humility of true policy, have seemed to set forth their high ideas with a shrinking modesty and diffidence. Power is never so safely exerted as when it acts invisibly, or comes up to you with a reluctant and unobtrusive step. Those great writers who have grown into the most unlimited fame, and who are never looked into but they influence and sway the reader, have ever been observed to bear themselves with simplicity and meekness. Their wisdom is curtailed of its pomp; and when it would take possession of the heart, it is not in the guise of an officer of justice, with his forces following at his heels,—it comes, a quiet pilgrim leaning upon his staff, his fair garments redolent of other lands and skies.

Whatever the Orientals say in their stories, has something of this air about it. But if, as sometimes happens, knowledge be directly to be set forth and made the subject of praise, like Homer they have their Nestors, who dispense it securely beneath the shelter of age. We rarely see the incongruity of youth professing extreme sagacity. Besides, as if they had taken a lesson of our old critics on the Epic Poem, every tale has generally for its aim the illustration of some point in morality.—Sometimes it is destiny, which sweeps, like a hurricane, man and all his helpless concerns before it; sometimes conduct and virtue lead to eminence and splendour; then it is keen wit or blameless stratagem that prevails; anon you see the excellence of the virtuous man melt away before the furnace of worldly manners and maxims.

One circumstance in these Tales would naturally lead one to suspect that some great revolution had taken place in eastern manners since the times they relate to—we mean the free inter-

course between the men and women which they constantly exhibit. But as refinements in manners arise from superior knowledge, we may suppose, perhaps, that in the time of Haroun Al Raschid, and his immediate successors, women were allowed much greater freedom than the ignorance of after-times thought politic to grant them. Haroun's own sister, whom he treated with so much cruelty and injustice, was a woman of great wit, and a fine poetess. She was not educated for seclusion. Her powers of conversation were so great, that the Caliph could not forego the delight of having her near him. All this bespeaks not only cultivation, but the use and habitude of speaking.

The chief beauty, indeed, of the Arabian Nights, may be said to spring from its female characters. The part they act, however, resembles not the course of life of European women; it is not a cold routine of visiting and parties, but a deep, mysterious, and often tragical path. But if sometimes they seek after amusement or pleasure, their mirth becomes extravagant—their passions acquire a degree of fury. This goes to show that they moved in an unusual element, and experienced extraordinary excitements from the presence of new objects and vicissitudes of life.

But in Arabia, the condition of women never resembled that of the other females of Asia. They were always free, and often engaged in the active business of life. Cadijah, Mohammed's first wife, carried on a considerable trade with Syria; and in his wars and quarrels we find women constantly upon the scene. Nay, they were sometimes renowned for policy or knowledge of affairs, and the greatest generals and politicians came frequently to consult with them about matters of the highest moment. It is reasonable to conclude that the Arabian Caliphs carried with them in their conquests the primitive and simple manners of their country, and did not think of immuring their women, until foreign notions worked their way in their minds. The Omniades were particularly remarkable for this simplicity; never even employing a vizier, but transacting all their affairs themselves, in the manner of the patriarchs.

It may be presumed, therefore, that while Bagdad was the seat of the Caliphs, this relique of Arabian manners subsisted among the people; and that the author of these celebrated tales being himself an Arab, it was natural for him to perpetuate the memory of his country's customs, in preference to those barbarous usages which were afterwards adopted.

The changes which time has wrought in these people, is the principal cause why the pictures that are given us of them in the Arabian Nights are suspected of being fictitious, or, at best, vastly exaggerated. But it should be remembered, that in the time of the Caliph Al Mamoun, the city of Bagdad alone contained fifty public libraries, and that the principal Greek and Roman classics

were in the hands of the Arabs in their own language. Books were sought, and the sciences cultivated with the utmost avidity; and it would not, perhaps, be too much to say, that the Caliph's porters were better instructed in those days, than at present the king of Persia's chamberlains. The high civilization of the Greeks, before the reign of Alexander, and the immense number of its sages, would meet with nothing but disbelief, were it not placed beyond contestation by the books they have left us; and could we read the remains of that flourishing period of Arabian science and literature, there is little doubt but the nation would be considerably raised in our esteem.

This testimony of history in favour of the correctness of the *Arabian Nights*, is confirmed by M. Galland, the French Translator, who first made them known in Europe. He observes, that though the author be altogether unknown, (what a reproach to his age and country!) yet are they so exquisitely true to nature, and the manners of the various people they describe, that even a residence among the very nations themselves could add nothing to the knowledge which might be obtained from studying them. His opinion ought to have the more weight, inasmuch as he lived many years in the East, and was every way competent to judge. It is to be regretted that, entertaining so high an opinion of them as he did, (he pronounces them the most perfect compositions of the kind in any language,) he should, notwithstanding, have omitted many of the stories; for although it may reasonably be concluded he did not reject the best, still nothing from so good a source could have wanted interest. The same magnificent invention which perfectly transports the imagination in the great stories, is still visible in the lesser, making strongly against the opinion that, like our old miscellanies, they are "by various hands." We cannot believe that these *Homeric remains* of the East are the labours of any "literary society"—they have every appearance of having undergone gestation in the same brain—of having been poured forth from the same prolific matrix, with the stamp of brotherhood upon them. It is likely enough that their inventor wrought, in many cases, upon the frame of popular traditions, for in all countries genius has done so with success. We all love to see the rude delights of the nursery, or paternal fire-side, meet us again in manhood, re-cast into so elegant a form by genius, that we can be familiar with them without fear of ridicule. They bring with them that "sunshine of the breast," of which we catch so few glimpses from the highway of life. Homer, the tragic poets of Greece, and our own Shakespeare, have worked miracles by the force of this feeling alone. Imitation may lead men into the way when it has once been opened; but nothing but genius could at first have sought out this hidden little path to the heart; for common minds admire far

more than such ways, the loftier pretensions of declamation, and care not for your good esteem if unaccompanied by wonder. Genius comes like a friend, no matter how unnoticed by the crowd, so it take possession of your affection.

With what delight must the Oriental nations look into this noble chronicle of their happy days! How must the Arab exult at seeing the pomp and glory of his nation deposited in so imperishable a record! For where, alas! is the splendour of the Caliphs, their palaces, gardens, retinues, armies, to be found fresh as things of yesterday, but in the pages of this immortal work! There Bagdad stands, there the Tigris rolls its pure waters; and Haroun Al Raschid, Giafar, and Mesrour, go their nightly rounds as regularly as ever. We are unwilling to persuade ourselves that things like these have passed away—and were we travelling through the country itself, we should perhaps, in Mr. Wordsworth's spirit, leave Bagdad *unvisited*, as a delicate cate for the imagination to feast on as long as life.

But we have been led by this great work to pass over other Eastern productions of the same kind, which, though inferior, are yet well worthy of notice. We shall, however, return to the subject again, and together with the tales, make some observations on the beautiful and ingenious Apologues which resemble them. The latter are still less known, perhaps, and therefore a more fertile field for criticism.

INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa. By William J. Burchell, Esq. Vol. II. with numerous Engravings, 4to. pp. 648.

WITH the first volume of this admirable work, most of our readers, we doubt not, have been long acquainted; and to all who have seen it, whatever may be their particular pursuits, we are convinced it has proved a source of pleasure and information. The second volume, which is now presented to the public, is not inferior to the preceding one. It is equally full of popular information; with which it combines notices of those extensive researches into zoology and botany which secure to it the approbation of the naturalist. As the volume itself will not be easily accessible to many of our distant readers, we shall perhaps perform an acceptable service in giving the following abstract of the author's route and adventures.

Departing from Klaarwater, with a party consisting of six Hottentots, a Bushman, and a Bachapin, which was afterwards joined by several other Bushmen, the first consideration of the traveller was to avoid encumbering himself with any baggage, except such as was

absolutely indispensable. A small tin pot and a tea-kettle formed the whole of his cooking apparatus; and a quantity of tobacco, intended principally for presents, with five sheep, were the stores laid in for the journey. The remainder of their baggage consisted of watchcoats, arms, and ammunition; together with three blankets, an umbrella, and two tin boxes; one to hold papers, compass, &c.; and the other, a small change of linen, with a few medicines, particularly volatile alkali for Mr. Burchell's use.

The river Gariep was crossed on a raft at two trips; the wagon, oxen, &c. being, after all the reductions, rather a lumbering equipage. The party soon after arrived at the Braakriver, along the channel of which (then a string of ponds or pools,) their route fortunately lay for some distance. They were shortly joined by Kaabi, a Bushman of some consequence; and after a journey of five days, the average rate of which was three miles and a half an hour, they arrived at the kraal of their friendly companion. This consisted of twenty huts, placed in an irregular circle, and contained about one hundred and twenty inhabitants; two-thirds of whom were females. It is esteemed one of the largest kraals of the Bushmen of this portion of the Cisgariepine. The situation is such as is generally chosen for preventing hostile surprise, on the top of a hill, without any object to prevent a distant view in every direction. His residence here enabled the author to obtain many curious particulars relative to the customs and manners of life of the Bushmen, which are given at considerable length, and much of which was obtained from the women, who were particularly communicative.

Departing from Kaabi's kraal, after a residence of several days, Mr. Burchell resumed his route, and arrived on the third day at another; the chief of which was distinguished by wearing the head of a crow fixed upon the top of his hair. This singular distinction procured for him, from the Hottentots, who are extremely ready at nick-names, the appellation of oud Kraai-kop (old Crow-head); and affixed to his residence the denomination of Kraai-kop Kraal. In this, as in the former village, the friendly dispositions of the natives were conciliated by a present of tobacco to each individual; and a very moderate portion was found sufficient to produce the warmest gratitude. This kraal is much less important in point of riches and population than the one last visited. Remaining at this station only one night, the party again advanced; and arrived on the sixth day at the borders of the colony, in that division of the Graaffreyneet which is called Achter Sneeuwberg, (behind the Snow Mountains). The boorish treatment here met with from the first farm which they reached is forcibly complained of. Not even shelter was afforded to the travellers, who were compelled to pass the night in the manner which they had been accustomed to, while in what are called the savage districts. On

their arrival, however, on the following evening at another farmer's, the utmost hospitality was evinced.

The passage of the Schneeuwberg mountains was attended with considerable difficulties; and the continued rain, combined with the intensity of the cold, so grievously affected several of the Hottentots, who had been accustomed only to a warm climate, that fears were entertained for their lives. A young Bushman, in particular, was so severely attacked by the cold, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be preserved; and so much time was lost in consequence, that the party were under the necessity of remaining the whole night exposed to the utmost inclemency of the weather, and unable even to keep up a fire. A cold, which the author had previously laboured under, was considerably increased; and on the following day, after descending the mountains, his fever was so much aggravated, as to confine him to his bed. This, however, soon gave way; and on the second day after, the 25th of March, Mr. Burchell entered Graaffreynet.

Graaffreynet is situated in the heart of a country, productive in cattle and corn, and surrounded by a fertile soil; it enjoys abundance of water, and a healthy climate. With these advantages, it has been rapidly increasing during the last seven years, from a village into a town; while the population and property of the whole district have been doubled within the same period. Here the author was detained upwards of a month, by continual disappointments which he experienced in fulfilling the principal object he had proposed to himself in his journey hither,—the procuring an additional number of Hottentots: but having eventually succeeded in obtaining the services of only one, and there being no prospect of a further accession, he again resumed his journey, on his return to Klaarwater, where he arrived in twenty-six days. The route pursued on this occasion, was nearly similar to the preceding, and the kraals were again visited. That of Kaabi was found to have been removed to several miles distance from its former situation; and a considerable addition of cattle, which had probably been stolen from the colonists, had been made to its stock. The passage of the Gariep was again made with some difficulty, and not without personal risk to Mr. Burchell himself.

On the 6th of June, the journey to the interior was again resumed; and on the 18th, the party passed the Sensavan, a remarkable rock, to which all the surrounding nations repair for a supply of the *sibils*, a powder with which they are accustomed to rub themselves, and which they reckon so highly ornamental. It is prepared simply by grinding with grease, and is then rubbed over the body, and particularly the head, where it is used so freely, that the hair clotted with an accumulation of it, resembles lumps of the mineral. A Bachapin thus ornamented, is in full dress; but the author considers that this practice may be of real utility to those

who do not wear caps, by protecting the head from the powerful effects of a burning sun, as it equally does from wet and cold. The dark red colour which it produces is well known; but it is also intermixed with shining particles, which render it difficult to imitate it correctly in painting; Mr. Burchell has, therefore, in his portraits of the natives, made use of a preparation from the mineral itself. The country through which they now began to pass became exceedingly rocky, subjecting the waggon to much severe jolting, which continued for several days, until their arrival at the Kamhanni mountains, which form the line of separation between the Hottentots and the Caffres.

Several days were spent on the banks of the Makkwarin river, which the travellers reached on the second day after passing the Kamhanni mountains; during which they were visited by several straggling Bachapins. This time was principally employed in preparations, and in hunting: one antelope in particular was shot (*A. lunata*, a new species, of which only one was seen). The skin of this, together with many others of almost equal variety, presented with the greatest liberality to the British Museum by Mr. Burchell on his return, he most feelingly states in a note, that he had recently seen in a state of complete destruction; better, he says, would it have been, had it been left to be devoured by insects in the deserts of Africa, than to have been brought to perish in a similar manner in London!

The great plain of Litakun occupied several days in passing. As the author approached the town, of the size of which he had been unable from previous information to form any satisfactory idea, the numerous tracks tending in that direction began to awaken his attention to its unexpected magnitude. At he advanced nearer, the multitude of houses rising into view as far as he could see, as well as their novel form and character, excited his astonishment. They occupied, in detached groupes, a portion of the plain; not less than a mile and a half in diameter; and the spaces between the houses were sparingly covered with low bushes and a half-trampled herbage, intermixed occasionally with a few trees. From the first houses which he passed, the inhabitants poured out to meet him, and they increased into an immense crowd as he proceeded on his way to the house of the chief, Mattivi. Here, after a halt of several minutes, Mattivi was pointed out to him among the crowd, in outward appearance differing in no respect from those by whom he was surrounded. He wore an ordinary leathern cloak, and was ornamented round the neck with a thick necklace of twisted sinews, one string of large beads, alternately white and purple, and several small cords, from which, conformably to general custom, a common knife of Bichuana manufacture was suspended. He was barefooted, and wore nothing on the head; but his hair was plastered with a thick covering of grease mixed with sibil, which caused it

to shine with perfect metallic lustre. On his left arm, above the elbow, were five broad rings of ivory. He stood perfectly still, and spoke very little, the conversation being carried on through the medium of the Bachapin who accompanied Mr. Burchell. After about ten minutes, the Chief expressed a wish that they should sit, which being complied with, the traveller explained his object in journeying to Litakun, and his wish to remain there some time; to which the Chief assented: soon after which, he left the circle in which they had been sitting, and went into his house, returning in a few minutes with a calabash of milk, which he presented to Mr. Burchell without speaking; but intimating by his gestures that it was presented as a testimony of friendly feeling. The interview lasted on the whole about three quarters of an hour. At subsequent private interviews, Mattivi became more familiar; but in public, and when surrounded by his Council, his gravity was always resumed. Tobacco and snuff here, as in other parts of the interior, were the articles most generally sought after; but the request of a gun was one which was not parried without considerable difficulty in the first instance, and which was afterwards rendered successful by a mixture of intimidation and trickery, much to the annoyance of our traveller. The present reserved for Mattivi consisted of beads, tobacco, a brass pocket tinder-box, a snuff-box, a gilt chain, a cotton handkerchief, and a sheath knife; with which he expressed himself highly gratified, promising in return to reserve for his guest, when he should come again, all the elephants' teeth he could procure.

During his stay at Litakun, which lasted for three weeks, Mr. Burchell was extremely annoyed by the systematic and unceasing begging to which he was exposed; and by the attempts at trickery and over-reaching which attended all bartering with the Bachapins. But still more vexatious, and in some instances almost alarming, were the insubordination and laziness of his Hottentots, which had increased to a serious degree. Yet even with these disadvantages, and the continual harassing to which they subjected him, he was enabled to observe, and to derive much interesting information on the manners of the Bachapins; for which we must refer to the work itself. We cannot, however, omit to mention the existence of a blacksmith at Litakun, several specimens of whose work, made with tolerable exactness, considering the rudeness of his tools of his own invention, were brought home by Mr. Burchell.

At the departure from Litakun the narrative of the travels ceases; the two subsequent chapters, which complete the volume, being devoted to details connected with the town of Litakun, its history, regulations, population, domestic arrangements, &c. which are treated of in the first; while the second embraces a general description of the Bachapins; their government, ornaments, utensils, language, arts, amusements, &c. This last, though intended

more especially for an account of the *Bachapins*, will be found in most cases applicable to the other *Bichunha* nations, and will furnish a generally correct idea of some of the principal features in the character of the whole *Caffre* race.

Having thus laid before the reader a general outline of one of the most interesting volumes which have of late been submitted to the public, we feel bound to invite our friends to participate in the pleasure which we have derived from its perusal. The numerous plates by which it is illustrated are extremely well executed, and confer great credit on the author, whose varied talents have produced a work which in genuine merit has rarely been excelled.

UNREQUITED LOVE.

I.

YE wot not, lady, that the pang
Which love inflicteth, sinketh deep;
The reckless poison, whence it sprang
Returning not, doth swiftly creep
From vein to vein; commencing where
Slide in the images of things
Unspeakably dissimilar;
And, darting thence its serpent stings,
Doth round the fount of being play,
Disturbing at its source the stream
That erst imbibed the infant day
With wave as pure as is its beam.

II.

YE wot not that in vain I rove
With hound and horn the forest gray,
Heedless of many a faithful dove
That coos upon the morning spray,
While yet its back is wet with dew,
That, coloured by the orient sun,
Shines brighter on its downy blue,
Than jewels on a monarch's throne.

III.

BUT would you, lady, ride with me
Along the airy mountain's brow,
My love-worn heart would lighter be
Than any heart that beats below.
The earth, the sun, the buoyant air,
Contentment to that heart would give,
Would you, sweet maid, but smiling share
Our being's best prerogative.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 3.—*Tartary.*

THE characters of nations are best studied in their institutions. In these their permanent and natural tendency is brought fully under the eye of observation ; for if there be any energy or intelligence in a people, it must naturally be exerted in those things which concern its being and continuance. Nations, however, like those which from time immemorial have inhabited the Higher Asia, are rather governed by chance, than by any political system or principles ; and are carried, in a few years, through every diversity of government, by the stream of vicissitude. The vast plains which they inhabit, covered by innumerable tribes, resemble the sea, where the waves are driven now here, now there, by the force and variation of the winds. Nations upon that terrible scene have been confounded, or melted down into each other, with the rapidity of thought. People, who yesterday were powerful and flourishing, to-day are no more, or are become slaves and ministers of destruction to others. Cities and palaces have disappeared, like the verdure of spring before the locust-clouds from the desert ; and ignorance and brutality have reposed upon the ruins of sciences and arts. Still there have always existed some rude laws and institutions among the nations of Tartary ; but it is doubtful, whether it be possible to attain any very exact knowledge of their nature. For up to a very late period they had no native writers ; and foreigners passing hastily through the country, could in reality only make conjectures concerning the principles of its policy, and the reasons of its customs and laws. Besides, few travellers are statesmen enough to collect or understand the elements of a strange polity, or to perceive what stands on opinion and ancient prejudices, and what on actual and positive laws. They are always making comparisons with the institutions and customs of their own country, generally to the prejudice, and always tending to the misrepresentation, of the country they survey.

From reading the greater part of what has been written on the Tartars, one might be led to believe, unless he used much caution, that they subsisted without any government at all ; and that they were kept together in society by some miraculous means. We see some of their actions ; but, disunited from all their intermediaries, they seem independent of each other, and to be the result of no intelligible motive. But we must devest ourselves of numerous prejudices, or peculiarities of mind, arising from our European relations, before we can perceive with clearness the nature and relative power of a Tartar's motive. We must know all his wants, and see with his eyes the importance of satisfying them. We

must calculate the amount of his ideas, and confine ourselves strictly to the views of nature and society which his limited conceptions allow him to take. We must not lend him our discoveries and advancement in knowledge, and then wonder at that inconsistency of conduct, and strange perversion of means which only exist in our minds.

In inquiring, therefore, concerning the nature of those principles by which this vast country of Tartary is governed, it will be requisite to keep an extreme watchfulness over that propensity, common to us all, for filling up, and giving a fictitious completeness to what we find deficient. It is better in these matters, that whatever imperfection or inconsistency exists, should be left apparent, that we may be the better able to judge what manner of minds gave birth to the subject of our inquiries. People, however, who have one or two favourite ideas, by which they expect to solve all difficulties, whether in legislation or manners, never follow this plan. They advance positions, and then go in search of facts which may be made to support them; instead, as truth demands, of establishing positions upon previous analyses of facts. Many of our older writers, through a portion of this spirit, maintained that the patriarchal government is the government of nature; and that men enjoy under it every rational species of liberty. The estimate which experience will compel us to make of Tartar freedom will decide this question.

Most of those who have undertaken to speak of the excellence of the various forms of government, when compared with each other, have been particularly anxious to point out the evils which attended the rapid changes and revolutions of the old democracies; deciding against the popular form of government on account of those changes. If their reasoning be admitted, the patriarchal, or simple monarchical form, must be allowed to be the worst of all; for the atrocities of all the democracies that have ever existed in the world, would sink into nothing, if weighed against those, which, by that form, have been entailed on Tartary alone.

The earliest accounts that have been transmitted to us of the affairs of Tartary, represent it in a state of anarchy and perpetual change; and although it be their enemies, the Chinese, who have drawn up these relations, we have no reason in this instance to question their veracity. The author of the very learned History of the Huns has afforded us a demonstration of the fact, in the tables he has drawn up of the numerous dynasties which have governed or tyrannized over it. But although the Chinese were sufficiently acquainted with the temper and characteristics of the Tartarian governments, and often experienced their terrible cruelty, it is nevertheless very evident that but little was known to them of what was going forward in the interior of the country. And this is not surprising. For what power of scrutiny could they exercise

across those impenetrable wastes, now presenting a scene of infinite commotion and barbarity, and anon becoming silent and barren solitudes? For this reason we altogether distrust what they relate of the countries bordering on Khorassan, the Aral, and the Caspian; especially as to what concerns those remote ages, in which they appear to know but little with certainty of their own affairs. In the Chinese History of Khotan, translated by M. Abel-Rémusat, the Kathayans are said to have passed into that country, for the *first time*, about a century before our era. Now Khotan was either a part of ancient China, or, at least, bordered it closely. As it is the country of Musk and Jasper, also, the Chinese would doubtless have more temptation to make themselves masters of it, than they could possibly have to carry their arms into the barren interior of Tartary. The capital of this country contained, at that remote period, 2,300 houses or families, 19,300 persons, and about 2,000 soldiers, or nearly one out of every family. It is described as being pleasantly situated, and as containing many splendid temples, palaces, &c. It was nearly two hundred years after this (A. D. 75,) that the Chinese subdued this country; and even then the tribute, which was very light, was sometimes paid, and sometimes not. The population of the capital had increased amazingly, for at this period it is said to have contained 32,000 families, 83,000 persons, and 30,000 soldiers, or nearly one out of every family, as before.

Some time after this conquest, a warlike tribe of northern Tartary having entered into the kingdom of Khotan, ambassadors were despatched to Peking to demand succour, as the capital, though strongly invested, still held out, although the nation was unable to expel the invaders. The Chinese Emperor now discovered that Khotan was situated at an immense distance from his place of residence, that it would hardly be possible for any troops he might send to arrive in time, and that even were that practicable, still the discipline of his soldiery was not altogether to be relied on in an encounter with the bold and fierce hordes of the north. The ambassadors were, therefore, advised to return home, and inform their countrymen that they must submit, for the present, to their enemies; but that in a year or two the celestial Emperor's troops might be in better condition, in which case he would not fail to come and *re-subdue* them. With this comfortable assurance they were compelled to be satisfied.

This is a sample of the Historical Remains of those times. In pursuing the thread of their adventures, the most shocking details harass and distress our feelings. We feel a repugnance to admit the actors in such terrible scenes to be of our species, so monstrous and incredible were their atrocities. The ferocious spirit of the race runs through, and breaks forth from the texture of their very fables; their remote progenitors are represented as wolves, which,

by the command of heaven, mingled with the human race. Such are their ideas of excellence. Manners seem to have corresponded among them to notions. Every thing appears to have an air of unrelenting fierceness. No softening sentiment, which, in enlightened nations, clothes even despotism with something of mildness, was ever here allowed to become a substitute for the charities of life. To the security and subsistence of the tribe every thing was sacrificed; nor among ignorant and indigent wanderers like them could philanthropy or forbearance be looked for. It is possible, however, that a few remote hordes, inhabiting the fertile banks of some great lake or river, such as the *Aquatic Tartars*, described by M. Visdelou, out of the track of the emigration of the greater swarms, might have nourished more humane notions, and softer or less savage manners. But the virtues ascribed by Horace to the Scythians were certainly not indigenous to the soil. Savages, indeed, have no mind to conceive virtue. Nor is this surprising; for it is not instinctive, and they are governed entirely by instinct. Knowledge will never make any considerable progress where there are no means of transmitting it; and "in ancient times, the people of these countries instead of writing, made use of little pieces of wood, which signified different things, according to the order and arrangement which were given them. Their garments were nothing but the skins of hogs. Others had no knowledge of writing; and, in fact, there exists no historical monument of those ancient people; and if, in later times, a few Tartar authors have arisen, it has only been when they have inhabited either Persia or China." "By their conquests of China, the Tartars have frequently had it in their power to apply themselves to the sciences; they have even done so, while masters of that country, but have no sooner been driven out, than they have entered again into their primitive barbarism; so much does their climate appear hostile to the sciences."*

One method of obtaining an insight into the original government of the Tartars, is to follow them in their migrations, and observe the species of institutions, to which, when settling in new countries, they showed most inclination to submit. The invasions of Southern Asia, by the Scythians, of which we find mention in ancient history, are too vaguely depicted to allow of any certain conclusions being drawn from them. They did not come permanently under the observation of Europeans, until under the name of Huns, being driven from the country to the north of China, they poured themselves like a deluge into the Roman empire. The remains of these barbarians who settled in Hungary, sometimes evincing a rude preference of liberty, but at most times totally enslaved, still wear the indelible marks of their origin.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Tom. 40. p. 213.

In those invasions of China which took place under Genghis Khan and his successors, there is not one symptom of any leaning towards other principles of government than those of despotism. We find the Tartars ravaging, destroying, enslaving; but, as regarded themselves, never making any effort for freedom. Let us take a rapid glance of the laws of Genghis, and of the method by which he subjugated the inferior Khans. This Khan, it appears, had elevated his mind to the knowledge of one true God. It was, no doubt, praiseworthy in the abstract, although it does not appear to have had any powerful influence over his conduct. But, be that as it might, he contrived to render it a subject of war and despotism. By his first law, he *commands* his subjects to believe in one God: but as numerous tribes and families in the vast countries he had subdued, were, from the most remote times, addicted to the worship of idols, or at least to some modification of polytheism, a necessity arose from this law that they must either disobey their sovereign or their consciences. It seems that monarchs have never been content to reign over the bodies and actions of men, but have ever a desire to extend their tyranny over the mind; and although the absurd attempt must ever, from the nature of things, be attended with failure, it is repeated from age to age, as if they were the only men in the world upon whom light is never to obtain any conquest. Genghis created likewise by this law, a seemingly just excuse for making war upon most of his neighbours; but other circumstances rendered it unnecessary for him to resort to it.

He exempted all ministers of religion from the necessity of holding any public office, or more properly, he excluded them from all the affairs of government. This was the most judicious part of his institutions. It is but too well known that priests have a propensity to neglect the affairs of the other world, whenever they find it possible to meddle with the business of this; and therefore all such princes as have a true concern for the future welfare of their subjects, should be careful to keep their pastors strictly to their spiritual duty. Genghis experienced the benefit of this policy, in the internal peace and prosperity of his empire. No revolts, no assassinations—or at least none of peculiar atrocity—disturbed his long reign.

By his fifth law he declared that peace should on no account be made with any king, prince, or people, until he or they were entirely subdued. This was reviving the most savage part of the Roman policy. Under an appearance of dignity, a state acting upon so vile a principle might be in perpetual war with those around it, as it would depend on its own discretion to fix the point of cessation.

By the tenth law, Genghis protected the game of Tartary, prohibiting hunting from March to October. This was a singular regulation, both in its nature, and in its relation to the country and state of society. How was it possible for the wandering Tar-

tars, to-day pitching their tents on the banks of the Amoor, and to-morrow journeying by the Irtysh, to observe this absurd prohibition, in defiance of hunger, and the necessities of their manner of life? Who, besides, could inform against; and who could punish these nomade people? It is plain the inferior governors of tribes were a kind of feudatories, holding of some greater personage, who in his turn depended on the Great Khan. These were held responsible for the actions of their tribes, and therefore must have possessed over them the most despotic power; for it would be the acme of absurdity to make any man the surety of another's behaviour, unless he had the means of directing his actions. We see here another proof of the tyranny of the patriarchal form of government; it has uniformly had the same effect.

But the coarse nature of Tartarian despotism is nowhere so apparent as in the fourteenth law, by which all the subjects of the Great Khan were obliged to labour in his service one day in every week, besides a certain number of days at the public structures. This is worse than taxation. It is a greater infringement of natural liberty, inasmuch as a man's person is dearer to him than his property, and could only be submitted to in ages of great ignorance, or in countries where the prince is every thing and the subject nothing. Had Genghis possessed the mind of a legislator, he would have perceived that the public structures might have been reared with equal facility, by drawing contributions from his slaves; but what we have dignified with the name of LAWS were no more in reality than the petty regulations of a barbarian, attempting to strengthen his power at the expense of his people. We fall into the same error in analysing the rude legislative fabrics of many other countries. Paltry and ill-digested provisions against injustice, or awkward fences raised around property or individual liberty, are immediately denominated LAWS; although the framers of them must have been utterly unable to conceive the awful majesty of law. One man constructs an intellectual hovel, where the shivering understanding sits exposed to wind and weather nearly as much as *nub dio*; another contrives an intricate and endless labyrinth, which if the mind once enter, it is almost inevitably lost. Both are the enemies of freedom; and of the two the latter is the more dangerous.

Genghis was resolved that the Tartars should in no case forget that they were invested with bodies, for blows were the unceasing punishment of every petty crime. Robbery was punished with death. It is true that theft, among a people like them, must be a dreadful crime, inasmuch as it might induce the destruction of a whole tribe; for a people of such improvident and indolent habits, keeping, we may be sure, no more of aught than may be demanded by necessity, are easily reduced to starvation. They have besides few means of securing their property; the men engaged frequently

in petty wars, leaving upon occasion the whole of their possessions in the hands of the women; and always living with their tents open. This, of course, applies only to the northern tribes. Those who are fixed in cities exhibit more resemblances to the civilized nations of southern Asia, but all are equally deprived of freedom, in the sense in which it is used by Europeans. In the assembly of the inferior Khans, in which Genghis was chosen Emperor, certain authors have pretended to find some faint evidence of liberty; but, besides that the condition of the Khans influences in no respect the freedom of the people, we are told that this very conclave of little tyrants, at which the people were present, as at an amphitheatre where their rights were hunted down for amusement, was drawn together by the liberality, or in other words, by the bribery of the Great Khan. The same means, we see, are in use all over the world to secure the possession of power; and civilization only converts the gross bribes of barbarous nations into the shape of honours, titles and places. Pure unadulterated law is every where a stranger, and men only pay adoration to a vain phantom which cunning presents in her stead.

We are told by the priest Carpini, who visited Tartary under one of Genghis's immediate successors, that he was particularly struck by the profound subjection in which the people were held by the emperor. He assigns to all the chiefs and their attendants the place in which they must reside; and "whatsoever is given them in charge, wheresoever and whensoever, be it to fight, or to lose their lives, they obey without any gainsaying." When he expresses a wish for the daughter or sister of any of his subjects, the lady is at once given up to him. Sometimes even a general collection of virgins is made throughout the Tartar dominions; and the emperor, having chosen such of these as he pleases for himself, bestows the remainder upon the officers of his court. "To be short, no man dare say, this is mine, or that is my neighbour's; but all, both cattle, goods, and men, are the emperor's."*

This is a sad state of society; but it is to this that despotism constantly tends. The subjection in this vast country is the more complete, because the inhabitants almost universally are plunged in the ignorance of the savage, and in the vices of the civilized state. Their hasty and short-lived conquests have produced this evil; for passing through countries depraved by a long-continued despotism, united with an imperfect and dangerous degree of civilization, they have caught the bad, which is rapid in communication, and have been driven back into their deserts, before the useful and the moral could make any impression on their minds. De Guignes, indeed, decides,† that they are incapable, as a nation,

* Carpini, quoted by Murray, *Hist. of Discoveries*.

† See the citation, page 434, from the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*.

of any considerable advances in the sciences and arts; for having subdued the Chinese empire, and governed it as conquerors at various periods, and having been polished and enlightened in some degree while they remained in that country, fortune has no sooner frowned and driven them back to their wilds, than they have re-clothed themselves with barbarism, as with a natural garment, which they had been obliged to put off for a season. China was governed by a Tartar dynasty as early as the third century; and again, in 419, the empire was divided into two parts, the northern of which was under the dominion of the Tartars. And in 1644 the Mantchou Tartars rendered themselves complete masters of the whole country, and reign there still. De Guignes supposes that there is something in the nature of their country and climate which is essentially hostile to the sciences; and it must be owned, that experience contributes strongly to support his assertion. An exception in favour of Bucharra, is made by Abulghazi, its very name being derived, according to the same author, from *Buchar, a learned man*; "because," adds he, "all those who are desirous of being instructed in the languages and sciences, go into Bucharra." Tartary, consisting chiefly of immense plains, and intersected by few large rivers,* seems designed by nature to be the scene of perpetual vicissitudes, and to offer, in fact, "one vast field of battle" to the human race. The Kurdes, the Georgians, the tribes of Caucasus, are fierce and terrible in their fastnesses, and remote valleys; but they move with difficulty out of their country, which, in turn, it is not easy to invade. But nothing interrupts the migrations of the Tartar hordes; the very eye seems to command the whole sweep of northern Asia, from the Chinese Wall to the Aral and the Caspian. The map of Tartary explains the secret of their subjugation and mutations of fortune. It is but to break one dyke, to let the whole flood of change and invasion loose to roll over the land. This facility of mutation prevents the march of civilization, keeps back the progress of knowledge; and ignorance and superstition perpetuate tyranny. Such is the picture of Tartary!

The history of the Seljukian princes illustrates, in the most striking manner, the rise of power among the Tartars. According to Khondemir, Seljuk was the son of the principal officer of Bigou, prince, or sultan of that race of Turks which inhabits the country of Khozar or Kapschak, to the north of the Caspian Sea. Upon the death of his father, Seljuk's education was undertaken by the sultan; but this ungrateful youth repaid his prince's kindness with insolence. For one day, when the sultan was absent, he entered his palace, and penetrated to the secret chambers of the women,

* The Oxus formerly discharged its waters into the Caspian, but the Tartars changed its course, and directed it into the desert, where it is lost in the sand. They likewise altered the course of the Jaxartes. This proves that they are not very large rivers.

wishing to see the inmates of the harem. When Bigou understood the temper of Seljuk, he prepared for vengeance; but the latter secretly departed from his court, and went and established himself and numerous followers in the neighbourhood of Samarkand. It is reported, that upon this occasion he adopted the Mohammedan religion. His quarrels and skirmishes with Belil Khan, Governor of Samarkand, were the first foundation of his greatness. The khan wishing to get rid of so troublesome a neighbour, drew out his forces for the purpose of compelling him to retire; but the wily Tartar lay in ambush for his foe, and gained a considerable advantage. This gave him reputation and boldness. He marched away to Bokhara, and was received into it as a conqueror. Here Seljuk turned all his cares to the augmentation of his power, and to the education of his grandsons, Mohammed and Daoud. These were the children of his eldest son, who had died young, and by his will he declared them the heirs of his riches and rising state. These young princes considerably enlarged their territory, by the defeat of many petty princes of Transoxiana; and awakened apparently the jealousy of Mahmoud of Gaznah. He requested them to send some confidential person to him, with whom he might treat of an important affair. They despatched their uncle, Israël. Mahmoud inquiring of this personage how many troops the Seljukides could furnish him with in case of necessity, Israël, who at the time held a bow and two arrows in his hand, replied—"If you send one of these arrows which I hold in my hand into our camp, they will immediately despatch fifty thousand men for your service."—"And if I want a greater number?" "Send this other arrow," said Israël, "to the ordou (tent; whence horde, a tent or tribe) at Bilkan, and you may reckon upon fifty thousand more." Then Mahmoud, wishing to know the extent of their power, demanded how many he might depend upon in the utmost necessity of his affairs. Israël presented him his bow, and replied in a firm tone—"If you send this bow into Turkestan, you may rely upon two hundred thousand men." This alarmed Mahmoud so much, that for fear of these terrible arrows and bow, he put Israël in prison, and kept him there during life.

It was not, according to all appearances, until the reign of Mahmoud's successor, Massoud, that the Seljukians passed the Gihon, under Togrul Beg and Giafer Beg. The Sultan of Gaznah treating them with contempt, they made war upon him, and after many victories, established themselves peaceably in Khorassan, which they united to their kingdom of Transoxiana; and thus laid the foundation of that great monarchy which extended itself by degrees over the whole of Asia. They were divided into three contemporary dynasties, one of which reigned in Iran, the second in Kirman, and the third in Asia Minor.

But what principally amazes one in looking over these dynasties and empires of Asia, is their rapid formation and transient existence. Not one of these races of princes continued for more than 220 years; and humanity would grieve at this duration, were it not that they were succeeded by barbarians as inhuman as themselves. Kaikobad, the tenth sultan of the dynasty of Roum (Natolia), reckoned the greatest prince of his race, was poisoned by his son; and their whole empire soon after destroyed by the Moguls. The Ottoman power sprang in some measure from these sultans of Iconium; for Ortogrul and Othman were trained in the armies of Kaikobad.

This short sketch, however, of a subject so full of horror, will suffice. To pursue Timour in his expeditions, would only be to trace again, in more bloody characters, the conquests of Genghis; and so of their successors. The actors and the scene are a little varied; the *res gestæ* remain invariably the same.

ANTICIPATION OF SPRING.

SWEET, oh sweet is early Spring!
And April showers which wet the wing
Of birds that, skimming to and fro,
In search of nest-materials go.

No longer by the steaming river,
The limping hare doth creep and shiver,
While the frost its fretted hoar
Spreads along the mossy shore.
The poet's mind unfrozen plays,
Delighted in the vernal rays;
And Fancy, first in Nature's rout,
Brings her buds swift-opening out,
Like a flower of richest scent,
To greet the warming firmament.
For she, just like the swallow train,
Hies her o'er th' autumnal main
To warmer skies, when Winter sere
Shakes about his influence here;
But aye is first with changing wing,
To hasten back and greet the spring.

Now the ruder winds go by,
In angry murmurs through the sky,
Rending the heavy clouds, that weep
Their slavery to their parent deep,
And stealing down o'er plain and hill,
Seek in its breast to hush them still.
Near me, pent in wooden cell,
I hear the dove its plainings tell

To love-lorn mate, in hollow coo :—
 Poor bird ! 'tis far too cold to woo !
 Wait, like me, for summer days,
 And hie we forth our various ways ;
 Thou to the groves, and farther I
 To older woods, or opener sky.

Meantime, perchance, we spend the hours
 As nearly like as differing powers
 Permit—we dream of soft green lawns,
 And murmuring springs, and dewy dawns,
 And moist sweet buds on waving trees,
 And copses filled with hum of bees,
 Who leave the sheltering hive what time
 The dew lies sweetest on the thyme,
 At peep of day :—I add, perchance,
 O'er memory's field a backward glance,
 And call her nations up who lie
 Beneath the intellectual eye,
 Arranged ; old Grecia's honoured sons,
 And they who lived where Nilus runs,
 And Tyre and Sidon's daughters, those
 Who graced the land where letters rose—
 This only, if I true divine,
 My dreams distinguishes from thine.

Jan. 2, 1824.

BION.

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 2.—*The Edinburgh Review.*

THE *Edinburgh Review* is not what it was ; and it never was what it might and ought to have been. To compare little things with great, the *Edinburgh Review* might, at one time, have done as much for the Republic of Letters as Napoleon might for that of France : and possibly, like Napoleon too, the conductor of it had at one time—when his power was merely *in prospect*—some floating and indistinct intentions which pointed at some imaginary good, not exclusively connected with his own personal views and sentiments. But who shall answer for the effects of a little actual power in the hands of not a little ambition ?—France made Napoleon her first consul ; and he proceeded forthwith to *make himself* an Emperor !—England admitted that Mr. Jeffery was her first of critics ; and he was not content till he had proved himself to be a blind and reckless partisan. We allude to the determined partisanship of the *Edinburgh Review* as an after-thought of its conductor ; for such we are willing and even anxious to believe it. That this was not the case with respect to those who connected themselves

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with him in the undertaking, we are equally ready to suppose. And who,—with a little enthusiasm, many accomplishments, a mind of unrivalled activity, and no particular point before him towards which to direct his ever-springing efforts,—who, thus situated, would be proof against the machinations of a knot of “super-subtle” Scotchmen, prepared and determined to mould all things to their own limited views—their friends, and even themselves, included?

Does Mr. Jeffery smile at our English innocence, in indulging in the theory hinted at in the above question? Then all we can say is, that until he chooses to gainsay that theory in plain words, we are resolved to dress our opinion of him by it, if it be only for our own satisfaction. He has done the state of Periodical Literature infinite service; and we are not disposed (if we can avoid it) to attribute that service to the merely accidental turn of a purely personal and party undertaking. And in fact, we are scarcely justified in so attributing it without good evidence, when it is considered that the originator of that undertaking was, at the time he commenced it, nearly unknown, out of his own private circle of friends; and that, to make himself honourably known in the first instance, (if *that* was his object,) the most obvious course was not that of starting as the follower, or even the leader, of a political party: at least, if it *was*, we are strangely mistaken in our notions of party tactics.—But a truce to speculating on what the Edinburgh Review was intended to be. It is our business to inquire what it was, and is—and (if we have time and space) what it is likely to become.

Immediately before the Edinburgh Review was established, criticism (the ostensible object of that work,) was in the hands of a few “sober-suited” scholars, and indigent men of letters, who, if not absolutely at the command, were certainly at the call, of those Macænasæ of modern literature, the Booksellers. It was the prime merit of the work to take criticism out of the hands of both these classes of persons, and throw it at once into those of wits, beaux esprits, and men of the world. This, at a time when literature was, by its own innate energies, becoming a worldly thing, was an admirable consummation to effect: and not the less admirable from the propriety and even the necessity of it being so obvious. At the period in question, (as at present) to be an *author*, and an author, too, of considerable and well-deserved fame and influence, it was not necessary to make any pretensions to the character of what then was, and still is, understood by the term, a *scholar*. On the contrary, if an author was known to be particularly distinguished as a member of the last-mentioned class of persons, this was of itself considered as *prima facie* evidence that his work was not likely to be of much general value and importance, unless the subject of it was peculiarly connected with

scholarship. For scholars, *par excellence*, were then, and are now, and in fact always will be, from the very nature of their calling, a class of persons standing alone ; independent of any other classes, and unsympathizing with them. A scholar's world is his books ; and the actual world in which we live is at best regarded by him but as one of his books, which he is called upon to study, only in so far as it is connected with and explanatory of the rest. And as to men and women, in general, they are but viewed by him in the light of pictorial illustrations of books ; to be picked up here and there, as it may happen, and stuck into their places, as we meet with them in illustrated copies of history, &c. A mere scholar, therefore, if he were able, (which he is not,) would be unwilling to write for any but mere scholars ; and would consider any admiration, but that of his own class, a species of imputation as well on his authorship as his scholarship. That persons of this description, when called out from the " illustrious obscurity" of their cells, to pronounce upon the literary merit of productions written *from* the world, and appealing *to* the world, must have felt themselves completely hampered between their own knowledge and other people's ignorance,—cannot be doubted : for they must have had the sense to know that, under the existing circumstances of the times, to treat such productions according to the value which *they* attached to them, was not what they were employed, or even empowered, to do. And then, as to the world of imagination,—a mere scholar takes as little interest in *that*, and the productions issuing from and addressing themselves to it, as he does in the other ; he knows and cares as little about the poetry of fiction or of actual life as he does about the prose ; he reads nothing in Homer but the Greek, and sees nothing in Virgil but the verse. How completely *abroad* must he feel himself, then, in the midst of a host of literary productions, almost every one of which—whether belonging to the world of fiction, or of reality,—whether addressing itself to the knowledge, the imagination, or the passions of its readers—is, in some way or other connected, by a multitude of evanescent as well as obvious ramifications, with the passing events, and sentiments, and modes of thinking, and frequently with the very persons, and habits, and fashions, of the actual time and place in which it appears !

That a class of literature of the nature above described calls for other estimators of its value and character than mere scholastic recluses, must be pretty obvious to all who take the trouble of thinking on the subject. And perhaps, upon the whole, it could not fall into better hands, with a view to the purpose in question, than those of wits and men of the world. For though ridicule is very far indeed from being the test of truth, either abstract or practical ; and though men of the world are very far from being the best possible judges of either moral or intellectual beauty ; yet

we live in times which are so entirely "of the world, worldly," that it is absolutely necessary that those who give the tone to the general sentiments and modes of thinking of the day, should have a very extensive control over the literature which expressly appeals to those sentiments and modes of thinking; otherwise we should be deluged with an interminable flood of ephemeral works, which need never cease to flow, because it would flow in a circle.

It is true that the classes of persons above referred to are not the best (if they are not the worst) qualified to judge of and estimate the productions of superlative genius. But this is of little import to the question; for a master mind needs nothing but its own innate energies to carry it forward in its course; and nothing that mere wits or men of the world can say, either for or against the results of its action, can essentially benefit or greatly retard those results: for in fact minds of the class to which we are now alluding, are sure ultimately to succeed in their endeavours, by in a great measure creating and diffusing not only the light by which the results of their efforts are to be seen, but the faculties which are to see them. That this has been strikingly exemplified, even already, in the case of Mr. Wordsworth and his critics, we may perhaps have occasion to show hereafter. At present we must proceed in our examination of the work before us. One of the principal merits, then, of the Edinburgh Review, was, that it took the weapons of criticism out of unfit and incapable hands, and placed them in those of persons who were at least *capable* of wielding them to a valuable purpose, and who were perfectly ready and willing to do so whenever the subject or the occasion on which they were to be exercised did not include considerations connected with personal or party views. It at once established a free, popular and liberal mode of examining and determining on the merits and defects of a literature which was, at all events, free, popular and liberal in its general character, whatever other good qualities it might want.

The next great achievement of the Edinburgh Review, and that which constituted its chief attraction in the eyes of those who read for something else than mere amusement—who read that they may think, not that they may avoid the trouble of thinking—was its invention and practice of a new mode of literary composition; and one admirably calculated to hit the tastes and further the views of all desultory and un-professional readers,—including that large class who read with a lively perception of what is placed before them, but without any pre-conceived, or at all events any settled notions on the subject in hand, and who are therefore open to any "convictions" that may be plausibly urged upon them. We allude to the Essay Reviews,—in which a fair account is given of the work which is ostensibly under review; and in addition to this, all that the reviewer knows, or thinks, or conceives may safely be said, on the subject in question: to these, and to those still more

novel and piquant Essays, in which the title alone of a book is taken, and used as a kind of text or heading, under which to collect, arrange, and condense his knowledge, or to diffuse, expand, and illustrate it,—as may best suit the views of the writer. It was in these classes of papers that the great strength and attraction of the Edinburgh Review consisted; and unquestionably very many of these were done in a manner that evinced in the writer great skill and facility in availing himself of materials, and extreme cleverness in adapting himself to those readers whom it was the object of the Review to attract and fix. It is not part of our general plan to particularize individual papers; otherwise many might be pointed out in the early Numbers of the Review, which are models of excellence in their way, and with reference to the express objects of the work.

The only other striking general merit that we shall attribute to the Edinburgh Review is, that of having introduced to the English reader a *prose style*, which, we will venture to say, was greatly superior in most respects to all that had preceded it. Or perhaps we should rather say, that it introduced several new and different styles, each of which was admirable in its way, and upon the whole of which might be founded one that would entirely supersede the necessity of any general change in future. We are far from asserting that the styles of the principal contributors to the Edinburgh Review were faultless, even at their best; but we do say, that from the papers of Mr. Jeffery himself, of Sir James Mackintosh, of Mr. Brougham, &c. a vast variety of long passages might be culled which are, in fact, not to be surpassed in their several kinds. And we will add that the general style of the two first of these writers, who were at one time the principal contributors to the Review, was, upon the whole, superior to the style of any one English writer that had preceded them; and superior in almost every distinguishing quality of a good style—in perspicuity, in force, in correctness, in copiousness, in exhaustless variety; and above all, for a certain brilliant and vivacious spiritedness, added to a certain colloquial and natural eloquence, the best portions of these styles had never been equalled. We would entreat those who doubt the propriety of this panegyric on the various styles of the Edinburgh Review, to compare them with those which prevailed during our (so called) Augustan era of English literature. Swift's is, perhaps, upon the whole the best style of that period; but, with all its wit, it is hard, coarse, dry, and ungainly, in comparison with those to which we have alluded. Pope's is not only laboured and affected, but frequently trite and common place. And that of Addison itself,—which is so constantly held up, even in the present day, as a model of purity and perfection,—cannot be placed in comparison at all; for, with all its occasional clearness, sweetness, amenity and grace, there is no denying that it is not only watery, rapid, and monoto-

nous, but very frequently disfigured by a looseness of construction that would scarcely pass in a king's speech, and with grammatical errors that would disgrace the theme of a school-boy. In fact, the best style of the period in question was that which came the nearest in its origin to the one more immediately before us; namely, that of the "gentlemen who wrote with ease,"—and who would have scorned the imputation of being professed authors—as the Edinburgh Reviewers of the present day would probably do also. We mean the Arbuthnots, the Atterburys, the Steeles, &c. But even *their* styles were greatly inferior to those of the Edinburgh Reviewers, in all things except a certain graceful and gentlemanly ease. And probably it is fair to suppose that the latter are advisedly deficient in these qualities; or rather these qualities are not among their *distinguishing* features, merely because it was not the cue of the writers to make them such. It was their business to give an appearance of earnestness and sincerity to their lucubrations; which appearance is not remarkably compatible with that polite carriage, whether of pen or of person, the foundation of which is indifference.

We are aware of the peril in which we place ourselves, by venturing to speak thus plainly of writers whose reputations have been awarded and consecrated by time itself—the only just chronicler after all. But it must be observed, that we have alluded to the *style* of those writers alone, not their general merits. These latter, we scarcely think, can be over-rated, generally speaking. But even in venturing to hint at the deficiencies of the mere style of those distinguished writers, we have gone a step beyond the Edinburgh Reviewers themselves, in plain speaking. And, to say the truth, in whatever other particulars we may wish our lucubrations to resemble those of our celebrated cotemporary, it will never be in that pretended candour towards the dead, with which they occasionally seek to cover their unjust severity towards the living.

This reminds us that we must no longer delay turning to the errors and delinquencies of the Edinburgh Review; which, however, we do somewhat reluctantly, because we have long cherished a feeling of gratitude towards it, in our private capacity of its "constant readers;" and because, moreover, none of its faults have been of a nature to render us peculiarly *desirous* of seeing them pointed out, and therefore peculiarly quick-sighted in discovering them. But we have promised to speak the whole truth, and must not shrink from our self-imposed task; particularly as the work of which that truth is to be spoken, is as little apt to soften or embellish it when speaking of others, as it is accustomed to hear it in regard to itself; and as, besides, we have not scrupled to speak it in tolerably unmeasured language, in regard to what we consider as the commendable portions of that work.

Probably if a hundred persons were called upon to name the most prominent fault of the Edinburgh Review, ninety-nine of them would fix upon its determined subservience to the views of a particular party in politics. But we cannot entirely agree in this opinion; for, notwithstanding what we have said at the outset of this examination, we must candidly confess our belief that, but for its partisanship, the Edinburgh Review would never have been what it was and is,—that it never would have reached the eminence on which it stands,—and that, in fact, it never would have *deserved* to reach it. It is true, we have asked, what might not the Edinburgh Review have done for the republic of letters, if its conductor had not abandoned himself to the views of a party?—And we have endeavoured to illustrate the question by referring to what Napoleon might have done under different supposable circumstances. But, to say the truth, this is a very idle mode of treating the matter. The question is, not what *might* have been, under the circumstances we are supposing in the first instance, but what *would* have been. And as to the illustration we have used, it merely amounts to the question of, What might a certain person do under certain circumstances, putting the case, that he were another person under other circumstances? If the Edinburgh Review had not been a Whig publication, it would in all probability have been a Tory one; and, in that case, we should have been without the Quarterly Review, which (with all its faults—and they are not few, or light ones) we could not afford to be. In fact, though the partisanship of the Edinburgh Review is, in itself, a crying defect, yet, in our present disposition to “find good in every thing,” we must contend that, but for that, it never could have commanded the services of those contributors who were its main support at its outset, and who gave to it that character and influence which it still in a great degree possesses. And we must in fairness add, that (unlike its tory rival) the faults which may be traced directly to the party views and feelings of its supporters, are by no means those for which it would find the most difficulty in excusing itself.

Taking leave, then, of the partisanship of the Edinburgh Review, we must reluctantly proceed to charge it with a fault, in comparison with which *that* is but a venial one. The Edinburgh Review, from its first establishment, up to the present day, has shown a lamentable want of due regard to the productions of superior genius; connected with a still more lamentable disposition to place those productions in a ludicrous or a contemptible point of view, in order partly to excite towards itself a sentiment of comparative superiority, and partly to pander to the base passions of the multitude. We venture to state these as the joint *motives* for the delinquencies to which we are now alluding; but we do not state them as the sole *cause*: we conceive *that* to have been

made up of the above motives, added to, and acting upon, a natural obtuseness, not of intellect, but of sensibility, which prevented the reviewers from perceiving the full value and virtue of what they were vituperating; for if they *had* seen these, they could not have failed at the same time to have seen, in prospect, the natural and necessary consequences of what they were doing. Nothing,—not all the gratified malignity of the envious among its readers, nor all the clamorous admiration of the fools,—can ever compensate the Edinburgh Review for the mingled contempt and indignation which has been excited against it, by its treatment of Mr. Wordsworth alone. Nothing can make up to it for this, even as a matter of barter—of mere profit and loss. But, as a matter of reflection, with reference to the ultimate general results of the treatment alluded to, the mortification must be still more galling to the party inflicting it; for the triumph of truth and justice is already complete. Both Mr. Wordsworth and his reviewer have lived to see the whole body of poetry belonging to the most brilliant era that England or any other country ever knew, taking not only the tone of its sentiment, but the colour of its attire, from two or three despised volumes, which the one gave to the world as a mere experiment, and the other endeavoured to fling from it with utter contempt!

It is painful to us to dwell on this part of our subject; because every one of the attempts which the Edinburgh Review has made of a similar character with the above, has proved utterly abortive, and we have therefore no personal pique against the author of them, as we invariably have against the successful perpetrator of mischief. In the instance before us we forgive the culprit, just as we would forgive one who should only *attempt* to rob or ill-treat us on the highway, and should get cudgelled and dragged through a horse-pond for his pains. But still, as the crimes and misdemeanours of the Edinburgh Review in this class are the most prominent in their character, and the most mischievous in their tendency, of any that it has been guilty of, we must in fairness allude to a few more of them: otherwise we should not be in a situation to mete out the full measure of justice to one of its more guilty rivals in this particular.

Perhaps the least pardonable exploit of the Edinburgh Review, in the way of abuse, was its attack on Montgomery. In one of the most gentle, graceful, and pathetic of poets, it pretended to see (or it *could* see—for it is welcome to the alternative) little better than an idiot and a driveller. But if its palate was too coarse to enable it to taste the sweetness of tears, and its habit too robust to admit of its feeling the sting, much less “the luxury of grief,” it was still a pity, surely, that the philosophy which placed it above the influence of these merely human impressions, could not at the same time teach it to detect something else in them than

subjects of derision; or could not at least whisper to it, that, even supposing its impressions to be true on the matter in question, idiot laughter is but little better evidence of wisdom than maudlin tears.

In "Lord Byron, a Minor," the Edinburgh Reviewers *caught a Tartar*; and moreover, as he himself seems to think,* and as we are perfectly willing to admit, their subsequent treatment of him has been more than just—it has been generous; for nobody need lack subjects of censure in *him*, if they are disposed to seek them out. So that in his case we have no ground of quarrel with the Edinburgh Reviewers. Neither do we join in the clamour which was raised at their contemptuous treatment of the prurient and popular Mr. Little: for, whatever admiration we may feel for the splendid talents of Thomas Moore, and however unexceptionable we may consider *his* works to be, we are of opinion, that Thomas Little was nearly as silly as he was mischievous. In short, as we have, for various reasons, no violent sympathy with any of the other distinguished living writers who have suffered under the lash of the Edinburgh Reviewers, we shall not stay to make their punishment (however undeserved it may in many cases have been) a subject of particular charge against that work: especially as the writers in question, if they did not exactly deserve the lash for that particular fact for which it was ostensibly inflicted on them, were in the daily habit of meriting it on many accounts: so that, if it had been laid on upon a right principle—namely, that which actuated the country pedagogue in flogging his boys all round before he left them for a day, secure that long before he returned they would all have richly deserved it—we do not know that any one would have seen much cause to complain. What, for instance, does Mr. Coleridge not deserve from all the critics of the land—not for what he does, but for what he neglects to do? And as for Mr. Southey—he is the chief aider and abettor of the Quarterly Review; and gets wealthy for his pains; so that nobody need feel much tenderness towards *him*.

Our limits compel us (and we are not sorry for it) to sum up the other defects of the Edinburgh Review in very few words. We have ventured to attribute those among its reviews of contemporary poetry, of which the public has most cause to complain, partly to a want of sincerity and good faith, and partly to a natural defectiveness of poetical feeling; which latter prevented it from taking a deep interest in anything unconnected with its own immediate views, and particularly in anything which could not fail to call forth in it feelings of immeasurable inferiority—which feelings, when they are unaccompanied by a due love and reverence towards that which calls them forth, are among the most

* See a late Canto of *DON JUAN*.

debasement and mischievous that can find entrance into the human breast: for they are sure to bring in their train a host of others, scarcely less mischievously active than themselves, and not a whit less difficult to control or to endure. We shall close our list of the remaining faults of the *Edinburgh Review*, by attributing the whole of them, great and small, to this one fertile source. Hence, in our view of the case, its occasional arrogance,—which will not try to see, because it feels that it cannot; and which yet will insist that it sees more clearly than any one else. Hence its unmeasured abuse, partly for the sake of abusing, and partly to cover and conceal the absence of that praise which it has not the heart to award. Hence, too,—not that want of scholarship which it has occasionally exhibited,—but that want of skill and tact which has prevented it from letting its deficiencies in this respect lie concealed. Finally—(for we should be but sorry theorists if we did not make our theory conformable to our facts in all things)—hence its lamentable failures in the matter of political predictions; for there is nothing so fatal to the far-sightedness of the mental optics as a tendency, and a consequent disposition, to doubt and depreciate the general power of the human mind, and its general tendency to emancipate itself from the influence of evil, of whatever kind and degree.

Upon the whole, we take leave of the *Edinburgh Review* with mingled feelings of gratitude and regret: of gratitude, for the unquestionable good which we conceive to have arisen from the impetus that its establishment gave to the intellect of the country; of regret, that circumstances (no matter of what kind) prevented that good from being more extensive than it has been, and less mingled with evil.

ON MY INFANT SON.

THE dawn breaks bright upon thy brow,
And life's first incense smiles are fair;
Oh! could thy hours be e'er, as now,
Untouched by grief, untouched by care.

Couldst thou but find some fairy world,
Where every sigh, where every tear,
Where every smile the lip that curl'd,
Were, as thy artless breast, sincere;

Thou mightst be blest—nor e'er repine,
To man so short a space is given;
But meek, and calm, and good, resign
A soul untainted back to heaven.

THE ADVENTURES OF HAJJÍ BABA, OF ISPAHAN.*

THAT a novel is the most lively and attractive dress in which information can array itself, is tolerably certain; but that it is the most useful, is rather more problematical. In other words, that the *utile* and the *dulce* are natural allies, or can ever be made cordially and efficiently to co-operate with each other, is more than we will venture to assist in laying down as a rule for others, or even take for granted for ourselves, though it should be proved to us that such has been the opinion of the most philosophical poets, or the most poetical philosophers, that ever thought or wrote. And the reason of this our incredulity is, that we have never yet been able to find the assertion square with our own pretty extended experience on the point in question. We will frankly confess to a long-indulged and still existing desire to discover a "royal road" to information. We have anxiously attended to all the various advertisements that have appeared during our time, announcing the discovery of such a road—from the Prospectuses of Professor Feinagle and his Art of Memory, to the puffs of the Scotch novels inclusive; and have placed our full trust in each successively, until we came to try and prove it. But the result of all our experiments is, that the desideratum in question is still to seek. Even the delightful and admirable productions above named—to which we owe, and shall ever be ready to pay, the homage of our praise and gratitude—are valuable in our eyes purely as sources of pleasure and amusement.

It must not be understood that we would speak slightly of the extensive and delightful class of works called novels. As moderns and as Englishmen we had not need do so; for while they are one of the great boasts of our English Literature, they are also the only class of works, with the exception of periodicals, of which, as moderns, we may claim the sole credit of the invention. But the point in which this class of works is peculiarly adapted to excel, and in which all the hitherto distinguished examples of it do in fact excel, is the delineation of character and passion; that is to say, of the essential qualities of our nature, as opposed to the accidental ones. That the latter may be most happily brought in aid and illustration of the former, no one can doubt; and in fact, a novel, or a fictitious work of any kind, can scarcely be made to appeal powerfully to the breasts of *modern* readers in particular, without this aid and illustration. But a work of this class, which rests its claims to attention almost entirely on its delineation of manners, habits, and customs, will probably be

* 3 vols. 12mo. Murray, 1824.

considered as having performed but half its task, and that half the least important.

We are afraid the pleasant production, the title of which stands at the head of this paper, must be content to accept the above limited share of commendation. Still, however, it is of so agreeable a cast, and the scenery and manners which it delineates are so comparatively new and little known to the general reader, that we shall no longer delay to give a slight abstract of it: and we do this the rather, as we have reason to believe that the work is the production of a gentleman whose pursuits have qualified him to treat the different matters he takes in hand as subjects of his own personal knowledge and observation.

The Adventures of Hajji Baba are preceded by a somewhat long Introductory Epistle, in the manner of those which form such amusing prefaces to some of the Scotch novels. The copy, however, though it is sufficiently explanatory, wants the quaintness and humour of the originals; and at the same time it offers a very unfavourable specimen of the writer's style and manner of expressing himself: besides which it has the unlucky effect of exposing, at the very outset, the chief deficiency of the work, in favour of which it is intended to bespeak the reader's good opinion. The supposed translator, in addressing his imaginary correspondent (a certain Swedish Doctor, whom he had met at Constantinople), alludes to conversations which had passed between them relative to the difficulty of gaining a just notion of the manners and habits of foreign countries by means of books; and in doing this he takes care to remind the said Doctor of all that he had then urged against the various modes hitherto adopted of obtaining the desired end; and in particular he repeats what had been urged as conclusive objections against *the very mode* which has in fact been adopted in the work before us: namely, that of a European "collecting so many facts and anecdotes of actual life, as would illustrate the different stations and ranks which compose a Mussulman community, and then working them into one connected narrative, upon the plan of that excellent picture of European life—*Gil Blas of Le Sage*." After stating his objections to this plan, the Doctor sagaciously adds, "But if a *native Oriental* could ever be brought to understand so much of the taste of Europeans in investigations of this nature, as to write a full and detailed history of his own life, beginning with his earliest education, and going through to its decline, we might then" (and he evidently means not *till* then) "stand a chance of acquiring the desired knowledge." To all this, as well as to the conclusive nature of the Doctor's objections to the first-named plan, his correspondent seems fully to assent; and accordingly, though he professes himself well qualified to put in practice the plan of the fictitious narrative alluded to, he yields to his friend's arguments, and determines to wait till his "imaginary

manuscript of some imaginary native of the East" shall present itself: which, of course, presently *does* present itself, and is forthwith *translated*, and published for the benefit of the reader! Now all this is very awkward and unprofitable—not to say impertinent; because the work is evidently intended to come forward as an example of the plan suggested in the first of the above quotations. Of what avail, then, is this double mystification, which, in fact, is intended to be none at all?

We shall only say further, of this Introductory Epistle, that it is written in a most loose, slovenly, and ungrammatical manner, and that it impressed us with very unfavourable expectations respecting the work it ushers in; which expectations, however, we will at once confess, have been agreeably disappointed.

The work, as we have hinted above, professes to relate the adventures of a native Persian; the scenes are laid chiefly in the two principal cities of Persia, Tehran and Ispahan; and the manners and customs represented and illustrated, may be considered as those of the present day. For the sake of variety, the specimens we shall select from the work will be embodied in our brief abstract of it.—Hajji Baba is the only son of a distinguished barber of Ispahan, by whose care and instruction he acquires an early and brilliant reputation in his art.

By the time I was sixteen it would be difficult to say whether I was most accomplished as a barber or a scholar. Besides shaving the head, cleaning the ear, and trimming the beard, I became famous for my skill in the offices of the bath. No one understood better than I the different modes of rubbing or shampooing, as practised in India, Cashmere and Turkey; and I had an art peculiar to myself of making the joints to crack, and my slaps resound.

Thanks to my master, I had learnt sufficiently of our poets to enable me to enliven conversation with occasional apt quotations from Saadi, Hafiz, &c.; this accomplishment, added to a good voice, made me considered as an agreeable companion by all those whose crowns or limbs were submitted to my operation. In short, it may, without vanity, be asserted that Hajji Baba was quite the fashion among the men of taste and pleasure.

But Hajji had "a soul above razors," or at least fancied he had; and was disposed to see more of the world than that part of it which lay within view of his father's shop. Accordingly, at the age at which we have introduced him to the reader, he enters into the service of a Turkish merchant, who is just starting on a trading expedition to Meshed, and they join a caravan which is bound for the north of Persia,—Hajji taking with him no other fortune than his father's blessing and a case of razors, added to the unhappy prognostications of his mother, as to the results of a journey undertaken under the auspices of a *Sini* instead of a *Shiah*.* And it should seem that the old lady's fears were not ill-founded; for

* The *Sinis* and the *Shiahs* are two inimical sects of the Mohammedan religion, the Turks being of the former, and the Persians the latter.

the first step into life which her hopeful son makes, is one which leads him into captivity and danger. In passing along an unfrequented part of the road between Tehran and Meshed, the caravan is attacked by a strong party of Turcomans; and notwithstanding the bullying pretensions of the Chaôusch, or officer whose duty it is to protect the caravan, (and who consequently runs away at the first appearance of danger,) the whole party, merchants, pilgrims and all, are plundered by the bold freebooters; and Hajji and his master are carried, among other prisoners, to the temporary settlement of the tribe. Here the talents of Hajji in beautifying the persons of others stand him in some stead, and his own good looks in more; for while his fat and unwieldy old master, Osman, is sent into the mountains to look after a herd of camels, he is appointed to the honourable office of shaver to the chief robber, and of surgeon to his principal wife. Not being fully satisfied, however, with either of these appointments, he determines to gain his liberty as soon as may be. And to this end he with great difficulty, and by means of good luck and cunning combined, possesses himself of the old turban of his master, which had been thrown aside in the robbers' tent on stripping him, and which Hajji knew to contain a treasure of fifty ducats sewed in between the linings. The possession of this treasure seems at once to warm into life all the hitherto latent propensities of Hajji's Persian nature; and he shortly after starts up before the reader a tolerably finished specimen of knave and fool; the two qualities being combined within him in about an equal proportion,—the latter however, if any thing, predominating. The reader will probably anticipate that a person of this stamp is not exactly the best qualified to furnish forth either a very profitable tale, or one of unmingled amusement. And his conjecture is not ill-founded; this almost unmingled roguery of Hajji, without any superior wit or accomplishment to carry it off, being in fact the chief defect of the work.—But we, like the reader, are anticipating. Let us proceed in our narrative.

Having remained about a year with the Turcomans, and acquired, among the other good qualities which abound under such circumstances, a tolerable capacity of enduring fatigue, he is at length taken into the confidence of the chief robber, and agrees to be the guide of the band in a proposed predatory excursion to his native city of Ispahan. Before setting out on this expedition, he has a meeting with his old master, Osman; and the following is no bad specimen of the manner in which he sophisticates with himself on the occasion, touching the affair of the old man's fifty ducats.

And here I had another struggle with my conscience on the subject of the ducats. Should I restore them? Would it not be more advantageous, even to my master, should I keep them? My ability to take advantage of this opportunity to escape, might depend upon my having a little money in my purse; and what chance had he of being relieved but through my interference? All things considered I let them remain in my girdle.

The expedition to Ispahān takes place, and concludes successfully; Hajji being induced, through fear of the consequences, (for he is somewhat of a coward, in addition to his other good qualities,) to behave himself manfully in the attack, and remain true to his associates after it. The result of the expedition is a considerable booty, and three prisoners whom the Turcomans carry away with them, in the hope of exacting ransoms from their friends. Two of these turn out to be persons of no note; but the third proves to be the favourite poet-laureate of the reigning Shah—the Dr. Southey of Persia—who relates his history to Hajji, and they determine to make their escape together, as soon as a convenient occasion presents itself. As far as regards Hajji, this occasion soon arrives; for, being ordered to accompany his master, the chief, in an attack on what they conceive to be another caravan of merchants,—but which turns out to be the cortège of one of the Shah's sons, well guarded and armed,—he purposely throws himself into the hands of the latter, and gets treated as he deserves; namely, well beaten, plundered of his fifty ducats, and sent about his business to begin the world again. By the help of a good-natured muleteer, who is attendant on the prince, he reaches the city of Meshed, to which the party is bound, and is fain to take up with the trade of a water vender; in which capacity, by dint of lying words and hypocritical looks, duly applied among the thirsty pilgrims to the tomb of the Imam Hossein, he acquires sufficient money to enable him to take a step forward in life, and start as an itinerant vender of smoke. Let us take a look at him when he is just installed in his new calling.

I held a consultation with myself as to what I should do next for my livelihood. Various walks in life were open to me. The begging line was an excellent one in Meshed, and, judging from my success as a water-carrier, I should very soon have been at the head of the profession. I might also have become a *litti*,* and kept a bear; but it required some apprenticeship to learn the tricks of the one, and to know how to tame the other: so I gave that up. Still I might have followed my own profession, and have taken a shop: but I could not bear the thoughts of settling, particularly in so remote a town as Meshed. At length I followed the bent of my inclination, and, as I was myself devotedly fond of smoking, I determined to become an itinerant seller of smoke. Accordingly I bought pipes of various sizes, a wooden tray, containing the pipe-heads, which was strapped round my waist, an iron pot for fire, which I carried in my hand, a pair of iron pincers, a copper jug for water, that was suspended by a hook behind my back, and some long bags for my tobacco. All these commodities were fastened upon my body, and when I was fully equipped, I might be said to look like a porcupine with all its quills erect. My tobacco was of various sorts—Tabas, Shiraz, Susa, and Damascus. It is true, that I was not very scrupulous about giving it pure; for with a very small quantity of the genuine leaf I managed to make a large store, with the assistance of different sorts of drugs. I had great tact in

* The *littes* are privileged buffoons, addicted to keeping monkeys, bears, and other animals.

discovering amongst my customers the real connoisseur, and to him I gave it almost genuine. My whole profits, in fact, depended upon my discrimination of characters. To those of the middling ranks, I gave it half mixed; to the lower sort, three-quarters; and to the lowest, almost without any tobacco at all. Whenever I thought I could perceive a wry face, I immediately exerted my ingenuity in favour of the excellence of my tobacco. I showed specimens of the good, descanted on its superior qualities, and gave the history of the very gardener who had reared it, and pledged myself to point out the very spot in his grounds where it grew.

I became celebrated in Meshed for the excellence of my pipes. My principal customer was a dervish, who was so great a connoisseur that I never dared to give him any but pure tobacco; and although I did not gain much by him, particularly as he was not very exact in his payments, yet his conversation was so agreeable, and he recommended so many of his friends to me, that I cultivated his good will to the utmost of my power.

This is lively and picturesque, and it has also the merit of showing the reader what an accomplished blackguard our hero has already become. The dervish, here mentioned, soon takes a fancy to Hajji, and thinking that he is made for better things than to retail bad tobacco, gives him a little good roguish advice, and illustrates the value of it by the history of his own life; in which example he is followed by two of his brother dervishes, to whom he introduces Hajji. Instructed and enlightened by the disinterested disclosures of these mock dervishes, Hajji now seriously thinks of turning his talents into another line; instigated thereto, it must be confessed, by a sound bastinadoing on the soles of his feet, which he gets about this time from an officer of justice, whose duty it is to see that the good people of Meshed are not cheated by anybody but himself. Accordingly, immediately on his recovery from the effects of this unlucky infliction, he quits Meshed in the dress of a dervish, intending to proceed to Tehran; but an accident stopping him on the road, he wisely determines to try his hand in his new capacity, previously to presenting himself in so experienced a city as Tehran; and with this view he collects an audience around him, and relates his first story—story-telling being one of the most approved employments of the wandering dervishes, and that on which they may the most securely depend for a favourable reception among the lower orders of the people. This story, being an amusing one, we might probably have laid before the reader in little, but for the consideration that, if he happens to be a reader of daily newspapers, he may chance to have already perused it some half-dozen times; with some few unimportant alterations, however; those veracious vehicles of information having been pleased to palm it upon their readers as a *true story* of the late Ali Pasha, and as a pleasing specimen of that ruler's occasional propensity to blend justice and a joke together! In the work before us, from which the story is extracted, it is told as one of the thousand and one exploits of the celebrated Caliph Haroun al Raschid. It is about a barber and a wood-cutter; and how each

was, in turn, too cunning for the other. We are induced to notice this circumstance in passing, as an instructive example of the improving effects of the Daily Press on whatever is lucky enough to pass through its hands.

Hajji now quits Meshed in high spirits, and with twenty gold *tomauns* in his purse—(the late savings of his honest industry); and on his road he meets with a courier who is carrying news to the court, of the escape from captivity of Asker, the laureate whom Hajji had left in the lurch among the Turcomans. This is enough to set his wicked wits to work afresh; so he contrives to steal the courier's letters and his horse, and leave him to his repose, while he (Hajji) hastens to carry the good news to the poet's family, and claim the due reward on the occasion. Accordingly, he reaches Tehran; delivers the unexpected and somewhat unwelcome news—for poets, like other people, are but too apt to be forgotten in their absence—sells his horse, and escapes scot-free for his roguery, on refunding the money; lays out, like a fool, his whole twenty tomauns in buying himself fine clothes; and then waits for the return of the poet, through whose interest he hopes to get a place at court at the least. And he is not wholly disappointed; for the poet, notwithstanding he is a laureate, does not disdain to remember his old companion in captivity, and recommends him as a fit assistant to Mirza Ahmak, the king's chief physician. The first employment he is engaged in on behalf of his new master, is that of prying into the practice of an European physician, who has just arrived at court in the suite of an ambassador; and whose extraordinary success in administering a calomel pill to the Grand Vizier, seems to threaten the court-doctor's reputation, unless he can contrive, by some means or other, either to discover the secret of the new mode of treatment, or (which would be still more satisfactory to him) throw some suspicion on the ultimate views of his European rival. This latter, after a little intriguing together, the master and his man contrive to effect; but when the question of reward comes to be agitated, Hajji finds that gratitude is not one among the physician's virtues: so he determines to quit his service as speedily as possible. This determination, however, he is soon induced to delay the fulfilment of, by a circumstance which forms an era in his eventful life: in a word, he falls in love. The object of his passion, who is a young Cûrdish slave, belonging to his master, is not slow in returning his love; and they very soon plight mutual vows of unalterable fidelity. At one of the interviews which Zeenab now contrives occasionally to bring about between them, she relates to her lover the whole economy of the harem of which she forms a part. As this detail may be considered as at once novel and authentic, the reader will be glad to see it.

Having never seen more of the interior of an *anderfin* than what I recollected as a boy in my own family, I became surprised, and my curiosity was

greatly excited in proportion as the fair Zeenab proceeded in her narrative of the history of her life in the doctor's house. "We are five in the harem, besides our mistress," said she: "there is Shireen, the Georgian slave; then Nûr Jehan, the Ethiopian slave girl; Fatmeh, the cook; and old Leilah, the duenna. My situation is that of handmaid to the *khanum*, so my mistress is called: I attend her pipe, I hand her her coffee, bring in the meals, go with her to the bath, dress and undress her, make her clothes, spread, sift, and pound tobacco, and stand before her. Shireen, the Georgian, is the *sandukdar*, or housekeeper: she has the care of the clothes of both my master and mistress, and indeed of the clothes of all the house; she superintends the expenses, lays in the corn for the house, as well as all the other provisions; she takes charge of all the porcelain, the silver, and other ware; and, in short, has the care of whatever is either precious or of consequence in the family. Nûr Jehan, the black slave, acts as *ferash*, or carpet-spreader: she does all the dirty work, spreads the carpets, sweeps the rooms, sprinkles the water over the court-yard, helps the cook, carries parcels and messages, and in short, is at the call of every one. As for old Leilah, she is a sort of duenna over the young slaves: she is employed in the out-of-door service, carries on any little affair that the *khanum* may have with other harems, and is also supposed to be a spy upon the actions of the doctor.

It may be observed here, that it is in such passages as the above that the chief value of the present work consists; so far as regards the instruction it is capable of affording.

In nearly the last of the interviews thus brought about by the ingenuity of Zeenab, the lovers make themselves more agreeable to each other than prudence and the Persian laws allow; and in the sequel the consequence proves fatal to one, and nearly so to both; for just afterwards the Shah himself pays a visit to his physician, and seeing the handsome slave and taking a fancy to her, she is of course presented to him; and is the next day delivered over to the chief of his harem, to be duly educated as a dancer. On the evening previous to this change in their fortunes, they contrive a short interview, in which Zeenab relates what happened on the King seeing her: and then, without any violent show of reluctance on the part of the lady, she resigns herself to the loftier station that awaits her, and takes leave of her lover for ever; little thinking of the consequences attendant on their having met once too often.

Returning for a moment to the Shah's visit to his favourite physician, we may here mention that this event gives rise to some very lively and picturesque descriptions, which will be found extremely curious and interesting on account of their almost entire novelty, as well as of the dependence which we conceive may very safely be placed on their accuracy and truth. Nothing can be better in their way than the two passages which follow; the first describing the ceremony and procession of the Persian monarch, on visiting one of his wealthy subjects; and the second describing the dinner given on the occasion. It is to be understood that these descriptions are strictly applicable to the present day.

The time appointed for the visit was after the evening's prayer, which is made at sunset. At that hour, when the heat of the day had partly subsided,

and the inhabitants of Tehran were about to enjoy the cool of the evening, the Shah left his palace, and proceeded to the doctor's house. The streets had been swept and watered; and as the royal cortège approached, flowers were strewn on the path. Mirza Ahmak himself had proceeded to the royal presence to announce that all was ready, and walked close to the king's stirrup during the cavalcade.

The procession was opened by the heralds, who with the distinguishing club of office in their hands, and ornament on the head, proclaimed the king's approach, and marshalled every one on the road. The tops of the walls were occupied by women in their white veils, and in the better houses they were to be seen peeping through the holes made in the screens which surround their terraces. Then followed a great body of tent-pitchers and carpet-spreaders, with long slender sticks in their hands, keeping the road clear from intruders. After this, walked a crowd of well-dressed officers of the stable, bearing rich embroidered saddle housings over their shoulders; then servants in the gayest attire, with gold pipes in their hands, the king's shoe bearer, the king's ewer and basin bearer, the carrier of his cloak, the comptroller of the opium box, and a number of other domestics. As this was only a private procession, his majesty was preceded by no led horses, which usually form so splendid a part of his grand displays. To these succeeded a train of running footmen, two and two, fantastically dressed, some with gold combs embroidered on their black velvet coats, others dressed in brocades, and others in silks: they immediately preceded the Shah in person, who was attended by the chief of the running footmen, a man of considerable consequence, known by the enamelled handled whip stuck in his girdle. The king rode a quiet ambling horse, richly caparisoned; but his own dress was plain, and only distinguished by the beauty of the shawls and other materials of which it was composed. After him, at an interval of fifty paces, followed three of the king's sons, then the noble of nobles, the great master of the ceremonies, the master of the horse, the court poet, and many others, all attended by their servants: and at length when the whole party were collected together, who were to partake of Mirza Ahmak's substance, five hundred would probably be called a moderate number.

The only persons, besides servants, admitted into the saloon where the Shah dined, were the three princes, his sons who had accompanied him; and they stood at the farthest end, with their backs against the wall, attired in dresses of ceremony, with swords by their sides. Mirza Ahmak remained in attendance without. A cloth, of the finest Cashmerian shawl fringed with gold, was then spread on the carpet before the king, by the chief of the valets, and a gold ewer and basin were presented for washing hands. The dinner was then brought in trays, which, as a precaution against poison, had been sealed with the signet of the head steward before they left the kitchen, and were broken open by him again in the presence of the Shah. Here were displayed all the refinements of cookery: rice, in various shapes, smoked upon the board; first, the *chilau*, as white as snow; then the *pilau*, with a piece of boiled lamb smothered in the rice; then another *pilau*, with a baked fowl in it; a fourth, coloured with saffron, mixed up with dried peas; and at length, the king of Persian dishes, the *narinj pilau*, made with slips of orange-peel, spices of all sorts, almonds, and sugar: salmon and herring from the Caspian Sea, were seen among the dishes; and trout from the river Zengi near Erivan; then in china basins and bowls of different sizes were the ragouts, which consisted of hash made of a fowl boiled to rags, stewed up with rice, sweet herbs, and onions; a stew, in which was a lamb's marrow-bone, with some loose flesh about it, and boiled in its own juice; small gourds, crammed with force-meat, and done in butter; a fowl stewed to rags, with a brown sauce of prunes; a large omelette, about two inches thick; a cup full of the essence of meat, mixed up with rags of lamb, almonds, prunes and tamarinds, which was poured upon the top of the *chilau*; a plate of poached eggs, fried in sugar

and butter; a dish of *badenjâns*, slit in the middle and boiled in grease; a stew of venison; and a great variety of other messes too numerous to mention. After these came the roasts. A lamb was served up hot from the spit, the tail of which, like marrow, was curled up over its back. Partridges, and what is looked upon as the rarest delicacy in Persia, two *capk dereh*, partridges of the valley, were procured on the occasion. Pheasants from Mazanderan were there also, as well as some of the choicest bits of the wild ass and antelope. The display and the abundance of delicacies surprised every one; and they were piled up in such profusion around the king, that he seemed almost to form a part of the heap. I do not mention the innumerable little accessories of preserves, pickles, cheese, butter, onions, celery, salt, pepper, sweet, and sour, which were to be found in different parts of the tray, for that would be tedious: but the sherbets were worthy of notice, from their peculiar delicacy: these were contained in immense bowls of the most costly china, and drank by the help of spoons of the most exquisite workmanship, made of the pear-tree. They consisted of the common lemonade, made with superior art; of the *sekenjebin*, or vinegar, sugar, and water, so mixed that the sour and the sweet were as equally balanced, as the blessings and miseries of life; the sherbet of sugar and water, with rose-water to give it a perfume, and sweet seeds to increase its flavour; and that made of the pomegranate; all highly cooled by lumps of floating ice.

The king then, doubling himself down with his head reclining towards his food, buried his hand in the pilaus and other dishes before him, and eat in silence, whilst the princes and the servants in waiting, in attitudes of respect, remained immoveable. When he had finished he got up, and walked into an adjoining room, where he wash^d his hands, drank his coffee, and smoked his water-pipe.

In the course of his eating he ordered one of the pilaus, of which he had partaken, to be carried to Mirza Ahmak, his host, by a servant in waiting. As this is considered a mark of peculiar honour, the mirza was obliged to give a present in money to the bearer. A similar distinction was conferred upon the poet for his impromptu, and he also made a suitable present. His majesty also sent one of the messes, of which he had freely partaken, to the doctor's wife, who liberally rewarded the bearer. And in this manner he contrived to reward two persons, the one who received the present, and the other who bore it.

The princes then sat down, and when they had eat their fill they rose, and the dishes were served up in another room, where the noble of nobles, the court poet, the master of the horse, and all the officers of state and courtiers who had attended his majesty, were seated, and who continued the feast which the king and his sons had begun. After this the dinner was taken in succession to the different servants, until the dishes were cleared by the tent-pitchers and scullions.

Hajji's bitter reflections on the loss of Zeenah, and the sight of a grand military review together, now fill him once more with active and stirring thoughts; and an event occurs about this time which opens a new road of fortune to him. He gets nominated as one of the officers of the chief executioner; an appointment of great trust and importance, in a country where every thing is done by means of executions, or the fear of them. This appointment too, happens at a busy moment, just when the Shah is about to set out on an excursion to his summer residence at Sultaneih; and upon the whole the fortunes of Hajji seem to be looking upward: for almost immediately on the arrival of the cortège at the place

of its destination, he and one of his comrades are sent to levy contributions on a little village at a distance, which it seems has not been able to send in its due quota of provisions for the King's camp. Here is opened a fine field for the exercise of our hero's roguish propensities; but luckily (as it turns out afterwards) being, as we have hinted, nearly as great a fool and a coward as he is a knave, his comrade contrives to appropriate all the profits, and, as Hajji's good luck will have it, all the ill-consequences attending them: for being discovered, and dreading the bastinado, he makes his escape; and our hero's bashfulness being mistaken for honesty, he is immediately installed in the fugitive's office of sub-lieutenant executioner, and at once becomes a man of no mean consideration, particularly in his own eyes.

The events that occur immediately and for some time after this appointment, are but little connected with the active adventures of Hajji Baba; so that we shall pass them over rapidly, merely saying that they chiefly grow out of various military affairs which take place between the Persian and the Muscovite troops; in all of which the former are of course beaten, and equally of course proclaim themselves the achievers of a magnificent victory.

We now come to the only serious event in our hero's life; and the only one which draws from him anything like feelings of humanity or remorse. The period of the King's return to his winter palace being arrived, the camp at Sultaneih is struck, and the favourite singers and dancers are ordered to meet the King near his capital, and duly usher him into it. But it appears that the Cûrdish slave, Zeenab, is not among them. She is sick, and cannot appear. Hajji can but too well conjecture the cause of her absence, and awaits in agony the result. On the King's arrival at his palace all is of course discovered, as far as relates to Zeenab. There is no concealing the effects of her love for Hajji; she is immediately ordered to undergo the punishment attendant on her crime; and her lover, in his capacity of sub-lieutenant executioner, is appointed to witness her fate, and direct the disposal of her remains. The following passage, which describes the event, may be taken as a fair example of our author's serious style; of which, however, he is very sparing.

With these feelings, oppressed as if the mountain of Demawend and all its sulphurs were on my heart, I went about my work doggedly, collecting the several men who were to be my colleagues in this bloody tragedy; who, heedless and unconcerned at an event of no unfrequent occurrence, were indifferent whether they were to be the bearers of a murdered corpse, or themselves the instruments of murder.

The night was dark and lowering, and well suited to the horrid scene about to be acted. The sun, unusual in these climates, had set, surrounded by clouds of the colour of blood; and, as the night advanced, they rolled on in unceasing thunders over the summits of the adjacent range of Albora. At sudden intervals the moon was seen through the dense vapour, which covered

her again as suddenly, and restored the night to its darkness and solemnity. I was seated lonely in the guard-room of the palace, when I heard the cries of the sentinels on the watch-towers, announcing midnight, and the voices of the muezzins from the mosques, the wild notes of whose chant floating on the wind, ran through my veins with the chilling creep of death, and announced to me that the hour of murder was at hand! They were the harbingers of death to the helpless woman. I started up,—I could not bear to hear them more,—I rushed on in desperate haste, and as I came to the appointed spot, I found my five companions already arrived, sitting unconcerned on and about the coffin that was to carry my Zeenab to her eternal mansion.

On the confines of the apartments allotted to the women in the Shah's palace stands a high octagonal tower, some thirty *gaj* in height, seen conspicuous from all parts of the city, at the summit of which is a chamber, in which he frequently reposes and takes the air. It is surrounded by unappropriated ground, and the principal gate of the harem is close to its base. On the top of all is a terrace (a spot, ah! never by me to be forgotten!) and it was to this that our whole attention was now riveted. I had scarcely arrived, when, looking up, we saw three figures, two men and a female, whose forms were lighted up by an occasional gleam of moonshine, that shone in a wild and uncertain manner upon them. They seemed to drag their victim between them with much violence whilst she was seen in attitudes of supplication, on her knees, with her hands extended, and in all the agony of the deepest desperation. When they were at the brink of the tower her shrieks were audible, but so wild, so varied by the blasts of wind that blew round the building, that they appeared to me like the sounds of laughing madness.

We all kept a dead and breathless silence: even my five ruffians seemed moved—I was transfixed like a piece of lifeless clay, and if I am asked what my sensations were at the time, I should be at a loss to describe them,—I was totally inanimate, and still I knew what was going on. At length, one loud, shrill, and searching scream of the bitterest woe was heard, which was suddenly lost in an interval of the most frightful silence. A heavy fall, which immediately succeeded, told us that all was over. I was then roused, and with my head confused, half crazed and half conscious, I immediately rushed to the spot, where my Zeenab and her burthen lay struggling, a mangled and mutilated corpse. She still breathed, but the convulsions of death were upon her, and her lips moved as if she would speak, although the blood was fast flowing from her mouth. I could not catch a word, although she uttered sounds that seemed like words. I thought she said, "My child! my child!" but perhaps it was an illusion of my brain. I hung over her in the deepest despair, and having lost all sense of prudence and of self-preservation, I acted so much up to my own feelings, that if the men around me had had the smallest suspicion of my real situation, nothing could have saved me from destruction. I even carried my phrensy so far as to steep my handkerchief in her blood, saying to myself, "this, at least, shall never part from me!" I came to myself, however, upon hearing the shrill and demon-like voice of one of her murderers from the tower's height, crying out—"Is she dead?" "Ay, as a stone," answered one of my ruffians. "Carry her away, then," said the voice.

This melancholy event oversets all the fine prospects of our hero, by inducing him at once to abandon his office, and quit the city with a determination to return to his native place, and reform all his wicked ways at once. Accordingly, he departs forthwith. But his wild conduct at the moment of witnessing Zeenab's death had been observed by one of his comrades, who had denounced him to the Shah as implicated with the culprit, and a pursuit immediately:

takes place ; which, however, comes to his ears just in time for him to avail himself of the sanctuary of the tomb of *Fatimeh*, near which he happens to be, on his road to *Ispahan*. From the precincts of this holy spot, even the firman of the *Shah* himself cannot remove him ; and here he remains for a considerable period, in company with his old friend the story-telling dervish ; till at length, the *Shah* arrives on a pilgrimage to the spot, and is induced to pardon him, at the instance of a holy man with whom he ingratiates himself by turning saint, and swearing to his innocence.

On his release from the confinement of the sanctuary, *Hajji* pursues his previous determination of returning to his native place, and reaches it just in time to close his father's eyes, receive his blessing, and become heir to his little wealth ; which latter, however, is not forthcoming, and he is obliged to apply to a diviner to learn who has robbed him of it, or where it lies concealed. Here we meet with many curious details relative to the funeral ceremonies of the Persians, and also to the operations of the diviners, or cunning men, when endeavouring to detect crimes, &c. Our space will not permit us to extract any of these ; but suffice it that by the aid of the art magic, as it is practised in the East in the present day, *Hajji* recovers a portion of his father's concealed savings ; and thinks it, upon the whole, the most prudent plan to abandon his search after the remainder, lest, in looking for what is lost, he should chance to lose what is already found. Finding himself, at this juncture, possessed of a little fortune of a hundred and ten gold tomanus, he wisely resolves to bid adieu to the vanities of youth, and seek for some steady and honest employment, as far as possible removed from the busy and dangerous scenes in which he has lately taken a part, and which are evidently so little adapted to his sedentary disposition. He, therefore, accoutres himself respectably, purchases a handsome mule, and sets out once more from his native city, to seek the advice and assistance of the holy man by whose aid he had procured the *Shah's* pardon at the tomb of *Fatimeh*. By the aid of this friend, *Hajji* is installed in the office of assistant to a celebrated man of law, or *Mollah*, at *Tehran*. This grave and reverend personage finds our hero exactly the sort of assistant he is just then in need of, to further a notable scheme he has in hand, of marrying together all the decayed and dilapidated widows or maidens of the city, and all the bachelors or unmarried husbands who may chance to stand in immediate need of such a commodity ; and of getting a reasonable remuneration out of each party on the occasion. This, it must be confessed, is a somewhat singular occupation for a distinguished lawyer in the capital of a great kingdom, as this *Mollah Nadan* is described to be. But this is the relator's business, not ours. Certain it is that *Hajji* is proceeding with enviable success in his new em-

ployment; when suddenly, through the unlucky ambition of his employer to rival in sanctity the chief priest of the city, and, if possible, dispossess him of his office, all their flourishing schemes are destroyed in a moment; and both master and pupil are stripped of their property, and banished the city with every possible indignity: their immediate crime having been an endeavour to stir up the popular indignation against the Christian inhabitants of the place; an office which the chief priest very properly considered as appertaining exclusively to himself. Here then is poor Hajj' once more thrown upon the world, without a friend, a home, or *dinar*; and, as one should suppose, pretty well convinced by this time, that dishonesty is at all events not the best policy, whatever honesty may be: though he is still, as it proves in the sequel, as little disposed to abandon the one, as to essay the other. But somehow or other, our hero's good fortune seems determined to stick by him (like a faithful wife to a rogue of a husband), whether he deserves it or not; for on returning at night-fall to Tehran, to try if any of his lost property, or of his master's (for he is not particular as to which,) can be recovered, he betakes himself to a somewhat unlikely place to find it, namely, the public bath; and there, by a strange and incomprehensible mistake, he is taken for the chief priest himself, who has just caused all their misfortunes; and while the latter is left to drown in the bath in a fit of apoplexy, Hajj' is conducted to his house instead, and left for the night to ponder on his new adventure. The result is that he makes up his mind to become a greater rascal than ever, and (strange to say) is successful in proportion. By means of forging the signature of the deceased high priest, he possesses himself of a fine horse, and a purse of money; and again sallies forth towards the frontiers. On the way, however, he overtakes his late master; and by another piece of strangely unmerited good luck, he consents to change clothes with the latter on entering a village where his friends live, and the natural consequence is that the mollah is mistaken for the horse-stealer, and suffers accordingly; while Hajj', after undergoing a few more dangers, reaches Bagdad in safety, with the greater part of his ill-acquired store of tomauns; and there, once more meeting with his old master, Osman Aga, by his advice he turns his thoughts to commerce, laying out his money in a stock of pipe-sticks for the Constantinople market; which he now visits without further delay, in company with Osman and a few more merchants. Arrived at Constantinople, our wanderer for some time drives a thriving trade in his pipe-sticks; till at last an apparently unlucky piece of good luck and rascality combined, leads to the final making of his fortune, and installing him in the honourable and trust-worthy office of secretary of legation. Thus it happens: a rich and handsome widow of Constantinople falls in love with him for his good looks and his seeming prosperity; and

he, taking opportunity by the forelock, palms himself off for a wealthy and well-born merchant, marries her, gets detected, exposed, and kicked out of the house; applies to his ambassador, (then just arrived on a secret mission) for redress against the consequences of his own roguery; finds favour in the said ambassador's eyes, he not conceiving that honesty and diplomacy have any necessary connexion with each other; and finally, after having been of signal service to his new patron, they return to Tehran together; where he gets introduced to, and noticed by the Grand Vizier, as a fit person to assist his views relative to the French and English embassies, just then struggling for supremacy at the court of the Shah: and at last, in virtue of the knowledge he had acquired of the history, &c. of all the European nations, in a conversation with a merchant one evening at a coffee-house in Constantinople, he is duly nominated chief secretary to the Persian embassy to the court of London!

"And here, gentle reader!" (thus concludes the work before us) "the humble translator of the *Adventures of Hajji Baba* presumes to address you, and profiting of the hint afforded him by the Persian story-tellers, stops his narrative, makes his bow, and says, 'Give me encouragement, and I will tell you more. You shall be informed how Hajji Baba accompanied a great ambassador to the court of England, of their adventures by sea and land, of all he saw, and all he remarked, and of what happened to him on his return to Persia.' But he begs to add, should he find, like Hajji's friend the third dervish, that he has not yet acquired the art of leading on the attention of the curious, he will never venture to appear again before the public until he has gained the necessary experience to ensure success. And so he very humbly takes his leave."

To this we briefly reply, in conclusion, that we would by no means discourage the translator from appearing again before the public; because we conceive him to be a lively, accurate, and well-informed person. But we decidedly object to hearing anything more concerning his friend Hajji Baba. We are by no means sorry to have accompanied the latter thus far; because he has afforded us considerable amusement; and because (notwithstanding what we hinted at the outset of our remarks) he has certainly conveyed to us a very lively notion of the state of manners in most classes of Persian life. But he has all along struck us as being gifted with so very limited a share of wit and discernment, and at the same time so totally deficient in common honesty and common spirit; in short, he is so very unattractive a mixture of knave, fool, and coward, that we have conceived an unmingled contempt towards him; and have no desire whatever to hear anything he may have to say relative to England in particular. In fact, her habits and institutions must have been entirely beyond the scope of his comprehension; and any observations he may have to make on them, however interesting they may

have been to the members of his own court at Tehran, can scarcely fail to strike the English reader as *faâde* and unprofitable at least, if not impertinent. Unless, indeed, which we half anticipate, his first exploit on reaching our capital was an attempt to purloin my Lord Castlereagh's snuff-box, or some such "petty larceny" matter; attended by the consequent kicking-out of English society. In which case, we still more strenuously protest against hearing any more of him: for, to say the truth, the crying defect of the above-described portion of his Memoirs is, that they are not calculated to excite any personal sympathy or interest whatever with the subject of them; and that we are induced to follow him through them because he has a good memory and a lively hand at description, and places us in a great variety of situations in which we were never placed before, or never in so efficient a manner. But, with his good leave, we are able to look at England for ourselves. If he were an Anastasius indeed—which we shrewdly suspect that his friend, the translator, mistakes him for—we might then be glad to hear what he thinks of us, or what happened to him while sojourning among us. But as he is, after all, no more than Hajjî Baba, the barber's son of Ispahan, we here willingly take what we hope will be a final leave of him. If, however, in spite of our friendly warning, he should again venture before us, we fairly advise him that we have collected against him a long list of critical charges, which our placable dispositions, added to the unexpected length to which our abstract of his Adventures has run, induce us for the present to keep *in petto*.

TO MINERVA.*

STERN maid of heaven! protectress of the wise!
 Why didst thou e'er forsake Athena's towers?
 Why from her mart of thought, her olive bowers,
 Didst thou avert thy lore-inspiring eyes?
 Is it that fickleness usurps the skies?
 Or that all states have their unhappy hours?
 Or that the gods withdraw their sacred dowers,
 When man from virtue's narrow pathway flies?
 Be as it may, return thee to the spot;
 Think of no ancient wrongs, O Goddess, now:
 Be all her failings, be thy wrath forgot;
 And whet thou canst, for fallen Athena show.
 Extend thy ægis o'er thy ruin'd fane,
 And give its ancient glories back again.

* Extracted from the smaller pieces appended to "ABDALLAH, an Oriental Poem, (just published.) By Horace Gwynne."

"KNOWLEDGE IS POWER."

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald and Colonial Review.

SIR,

Bath, Feb. 5, 1824.

I READ, with great pleasure, the following important information contained in your first Number, under the summary of Indian and Colonial Intelligence.

On the 1st of April, 1823, was established *The Singapore Native Institution*, to which 25,000 dollars had been subscribed up to that period. The Institution consists of a Chinese college, a Malayan college, and a scientific department. . . . The improvements suggested at Singapore by Sir S. Raffles, were proceeding rapidly, and every individual seemed to vie with his fellow-labourer in forwarding them.

This is as it should be, and affords another happy proof that enlightened individuals, at all times, and in all climates, are found disposed to make up, in some degree, by private sacrifice and personal exertion, for the indifference of governments to the instruction and happiness of the population subject to their control. It is no doubt in your power (and I think it would be of the first importance), to give the public, in an early Number of your Herald, a full account of every establishment now existing, tending, however remotely, to the improvement of the natives of India; and also statements, from time to time, of all such as may hereafter be founded for ameliorating the condition,—mental, moral, and political,—of the unhappy multitudes inhabiting these distant regions. With some care and research, this statement, I trust, may be accurately acquired, and the particulars turned to good account. Lest I should be misunderstood, I would add here, that if I have proposed to leave out of your inquiry the *religious* institutions which the sincere and devout zeal of some, and the ambition of others, have promoted, and which I also should depend upon, to assist in awakening the faculties, and enlightening the minds of the unhappy victims of superstition, I do so only because the motives of the principal agents in these undertakings have always been found strong enough to induce them to spread far abroad the reports of their own exertions and success; for we live not now in times when the great apostles of our faith consist of humble fishermen, retiring from the cities into fields, highways, and wildernesses, for the quiet and unostentatious promulgation of their doctrines.

Much has been said of the professions of those who are emphatically called "The Saints of Leadenhall Street." I am a plain man, Sir, and like to judge of men "by their works." On one occasion, when curiosity led me to attend one of their Public Courts at the India House, I heard these citizen monarchs, when under an appeal to their benevolence in debate, in a fit of goodly piety, implore of their Maker an enlightened understanding to direct them in the right path! Could I have satisfied myself with appearances, I might, in a moment of delusion, have supposed these lawgivers the spiritual descendants of Moses, acting under the same divine inspiration. I could have imagined them the parental protectors of the great Indian family—the sincere, zealous friends of her princes and chiefs—the benevolent dispensers of comfort, charity, and security to the meanest of the most abject castes:—dignity in their steps, love in their hearts, integrity entwining their venerable heads, and honour seated on their manly brows:—from their councils flowing, in purity and

abundance, the refreshing milk of human kindness! But, unhappily, I could not allow these delusive fancies to heat my imagination; busy murmuring sounds buzzed constantly around me, and I heard on all sides, from a seemingly indignant auditory, half smothered execrations for the solemn treaty violated—the sacred compact trampled under foot. Hyat Sahib, Fyaz Ali Khan, and a thousand other names were hurled in bitterness at their commercial majesties. Slaughter, rapine, oppression, usurpation, war,—were terms familiarly breathed from mouth to mouth in solemn bitterness. I was endeavouring to understand the particular application of such extraordinary expressions, when a groupe on my right excited my attention, by inquiring into the reason why the yearly sacrifice was allowed of hundreds of widows of all ages, who were barbarously burned upon the funeral piles of their deceased husbands, when a simple decree could arrest the inhuman practice. A party on my left were condemning the cruel *tribute* received by their citizen highnesses, and poured into their coffers, for granting the privilege to deluded members of certain castes, to perform certain pilgrimages, to expose sick and infirm children, and aged parents, relatives, and connexions on the banks of the Ganges, or to the more hasty and lenient death procured by the voracity of the numerous alligators infesting its waters. The yet louder clamour of the crowd in front, now forced my attention toward that quarter—but I had heard enough, and hurried from the assembly to reflect upon the causes of this mighty delusion. One hundred millions of men, said I, are supposed then to be living under the fancied superiority of these Imperial traders. Their ancestors, subjugated by a combination of fraud and force, have fallen, and left them the inheritance of dependance and suffering. The present race bend under their afflictions, but inquire not into the real nature of the power that wields the iron sceptre. How came this mighty ruin? The converse of my motto answers my query:—"Ignorance is weakness." Ignorance, the offspring of sloth, the twin sister of superstition; the nurse of immorality, the mother of crime. Ignorance, I repeat, is weakness—it is the bane, the curse of man.

But, Sir, the tide of information is set in—it is flowing. Let us direct the flood of her treasures from the western to the eastern world; let us watch over the healthful irrigation of these interesting regions, and we shall create a new mind. Your Journal, duly supporting its independent character, will, in process of time, and aided by other auxiliaries, awaken the dormant faculties of our Asiatic brethren. Yes, Sir, as the *HERALD of Knowledge*, it will be your duty to proclaim with firmness the moral duties of the governors and the governed. Power will be taught to acknowledge and respect the rights of those over whom it is to be exercised; and the subject cheerfully contribute to the strength of the state. The social compact may thus at length be recognised alike by all in their several stations: and the deplorable feuds of past ages subside into harmony and peace.

HUMANITAS.

[*Note*.—We are of opinion with our Correspondent, that an increase of knowledge is the great source to which India must look for improvement. We shall be at all times happy, therefore, to make our pages the medium of promoting that great end; and gladly avail ourselves of the information transmitted to us on this subject. *Ed.*]

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE public will receive benefit from one part of the Periodical Press keeping watch over the other, because there will grow up out of the practice a cautious self-observance, which has long been necessary. The Westminster Review has disclosed its intentions with great frankness in its commencement, and they seem, in their general tendency, deserving of high praise, inasmuch as they are calculated to discredit what is absolutely frivolous and worthless in literature ; but we hope it does not mean to carry the war into the territory of Imagination, which, from certain observations in the article on the "Fables for the Holy Alliance," we are somewhat apprehensive of. In the midst of a good deal of excellent reasoning and keen reprehension of what was really blameable in the spirit of that performance, there appears to be an unjust disposition to deprive poets in general of the faculty of reason. They are represented as solely the children of fancy, as persons who are instinctively supplied by their feelings with the rules of morality, and whose "love and hatred, approbation and disapprobation, are measured by no intelligible standard." It is the fault of mankind, if they will honour the mere dreams of the imagination with the name of poetry ; but we think the excellent writer of the article of which we are speaking ought not to have joined in the mistake. He is doubtless well able to arrive at better conclusions. It seems, however, that his zeal for the "good cause" prevented, for a moment, the exercise of his better judgment ; he was hurried by his warmth to reprobate the species for the fault of the individual. In all true poets, the imagination, it must be allowed, appears the prevailing faculty ; but it should be remembered, that it stands up as a statue upon the pedestal of a severe logic—that there is a concealed *substratum* of judgment beneath, upon which the fine mould of fancy reposes. If this were not the case, poetry would be totally worthless, and might be abandoned and driven from the world of letters without regret. But it seems to be the prevailing error to believe, that men, who cultivate those qualities of the mind, which principally assist them in their creations, as poets, must in reality neglect the severer attributes of the understanding, which should distinguish them as men of capacity and wisdom. The truth seems, however, to be, that there has never been a great poet who has not been equally remarkable for every mental excellence, by which one man is elevated above another ; which is the reason why such poets have not been more numerous.

But the writer was unwilling to be *too severe* upon Mr. Moore, and, therefore, chose rather to lay the blame upon poetry itself : "the fault seems to lie rather in the *art of poetry* than in the

artist; and perhaps all we have said amounts to no more than this—that Mr. Moore is a *poet*, and *therefore* is not a *reasoner*." This is paying too much deference to Mr. Moore. He had better be shut out from the assembly of Parnassus, than the assembly be cut off from the veneration of mankind. The truth is, that most of the reprehensible parts of these Fables, &c. have as little pretension to be called *poetry*, as they have to be called good *reasoning*. They are the production of bad taste, and real or *affected* prejudice—we hope the latter, because it may pass off:—for sound reason, as well as good taste, (to speak to one point,) has long come to a decision respecting Rousseau; and it is now pretty generally felt, that it is not for Mr. Moore, or such authors as Mr. Moore, to affect the permanent faith of mankind concerning that great writer. We have the highest possible respect, notwithstanding, for our Lyrical Bard, but feel a repugnance to see the sacred ashes of genius raked up for the gratification of the partial and prejudiced among mankind; and reckon the attempt as unpoetical as it is unjust. With the Reviewer's opinions, however, of Mr. Moore, as expressed in this article, we altogether concur, (except that we attribute his faults to himself, and not to his art,) and we sincerely hope he will go on to pass judgment on the other bards of the age, persuaded as we are that such a strain of criticism is the only one which will keep poets within the circle of their art.

It is not our intention to go through this Review article by article, though, if we did, it would be with almost unqualified praise; but we must at present confine ourselves to a very comprehensive notice of it. The whole tone of the publication is manly and vigorous; suited, indeed, to that portion of the public to which it is chiefly addressed. There is no cautious management of unpalatable truths, no shrinking delicacy, shaking hands with prejudice before commencing its feeble attack. The thoughts are free, and freely expressed. If it continue to speak thus, (and there seems no reason to doubt it,) it will prove the very Review which the people of England wanted; a Review, mingling honest politics with literature, and equally capable of appreciating both. It is well known that the politics of the Edinburgh Review are generally too dreary to be read; article after article is written, but not a step is thereby gained: the mind remains where it was, or becomes confused, or fairly gives up the subject. One has no time to go through a whole Encyclopædia of politics; the thing should be compressed—there are dykes necessary; or, like the Nile, it will overflow and drown the understanding.

The Westminster Review seems also to view periodical literature in its true light—as a powerful promoter of genuine literature, and not as a thing calculated to usurp the place of it. Those who contribute to the periodical press would do well to

keep this natural wall of partition in mind ; it may, with advantage to mankind, be every thing but a substitute for complete books. The point of contact between the closet and the public it has certainly become ; and if ever the world be emancipated from the tyranny of prejudice, error, and superstition, it will owe much to the influence of the periodical press. The benefits which, by means of it, are diffused among the people, are not at all confined to the actual ideas which are to be found within itself ; for it certainly sends numbers to the examination of other books, either by awakening a thirst for literary eminence, or by diffusing a propensity to criticise and pass judgment upon authors. In either case knowledge is increased, and it is difficult to say why men should not derive benefit from the possession of knowledge, however, or for whatever reason, it may have been sought ; though some motives for, and modes of, acquiring it, are essentially more dignified and commendable than others.

We think the present Review likely to promote the true interests of literature, which are never inconsonant with those of mankind in general. It is, in fact, a publication which we may be proud of, as being the only one of the kind which has fairly advocated the interests of the people, and given an earnest of the power to do it effectually. In the article on Vocal Music, there bursts forth, through bars and staves, a fine gleam of enthusiasm for freedom, which, however, is chastened by respect to practicability, and by the conviction that that freedom should rather be the effect of growing knowledge, than of excited passions.—But the most striking feature in the Number is the article on the Periodical Press. It subjects that species of literature to a political analysis, showing the bearing and influence of the party publications of the day, in a free and masterly manner. This portion of literature will bear to be viewed in many various lights, and an examination of it, in as far as it is political, is not the least interesting ; in fact, this is the strongest link which unites it to the interests of humanity ; and it will deserve cultivation or neglect, as it shall be proved to advance or retard the progress of mankind towards freedom. When men have important rights to preserve or recover, it betrays a degree of baseness to neglect them for the sake of amusement. But the Periodical Press is a sufficiently extensive channel to contain the united stream of politics and mere literature ; and were it not, the latter should give place to the former. For what the present Review predicates unjustly of the poet, may be applied, without any qualification, to the professor of mere letters—he has no consistency or coherence with any just series of principles, he has no sober or intelligible aim, he separates taste from reason, and has not much of either. This race of writers was utterly unknown to the Greeks ; and ought ever to be so in every free country. But the mere politician was also unknown ;

for their great writers, possessing the most exalted opinion of real learning, and experiencing that vigorous elasticity of mind, which is inspired by freedom, were as familiarly conversant with Poetry and Rhetoric, and all the more elegant portions of knowledge, as with political principles, and the abstruser mysteries and secrets of government. It is the noble tendency of the Westminster Review to give weight and popularity to this description of writers, who have seldom been either numerous or much encouraged under any modern government. The reason is easy to be discovered. Literary topics are a kind of diversion from the consideration of what belongs to the actual government of men, and not unfrequently impede the progress of high improvement. Among the causes of despotism in Persia, Chardin enumerates their passion for literature. This is no paradox, but a fact, which serves to mark the features that distinguish knowledge from wisdom.

The author, who has raised his speculations to the science of government, diffuses through his writings on every subject a vein of sagacity, of quickness to apprehend consequences, and penetrate to the core of things, which can never spring from the culture of a barren logic; he looks upon man's opinions, prejudices, antipathies, and happiness or misery, as radii proceeding from one common centre, which is government. He stands upon this centre, and from thence contemplates every thing around him. In such a writer's hands literature becomes a powerful instrument of good, and loses altogether that frivolous and feminine aspect which denoted the weakness of its nature. The common Reviews have never possessed the power or the will to give the right tone to literature; for, as their views have always been suspected, people seldom attached much importance to the letter of their decisions, conceiving that they were to be interpreted with allowance for party spirit, and a certain hankering after the reputation of being quite oracular in their judgments. The principles of the Westminster Review, however, being such as will bear to be understood, have no need of involution and mystery. The writers are free to address themselves to the minds of the people, since the cause of the people is in reality their own cause; and as they, themselves, do not write nonsense, it is for their interest that sound reasoning and manly taste should prevail. This is the best guarantee imaginable. To be convinced in the most ample manner of the truth of what we say, let the reader peruse with care the whole article on "Periodical Literature;" it will make no demand upon his patience, for the reasoning is so strong and unencumbered, that we should really pity the mind that could fail to be interested in it. It discloses a most iniquitous system of criticism, conducted with unrelenting vigour for about a quarter of a century: and shows, what numbers had always known to be true, that politics of the worst kind have long been mingling themselves

even with our very amusements. Since the commencement of reviewing, indeed, that which is commonly supposed to be the voice of the public, in regard to books, has been little better than the *dictum* of a party, uttered by the Periodical Press ; and if proof of the truth of this be wanting, let the reader reflect upon the odium which by that means has been endeavoured to be thrown upon philosophy, and philosophical writers. The antiquated and barbarous prejudices against the French, which flourished among us in our "days of ignorance," have been revived with a malicious and perverse industry, and directed against the great or respectable writers of that country. This practice, begun "by authority," has often been carried on through real ignorance and narrowness of mind, and has been made "to tell" so effectually, that we are at present disposed to deny them the possession of even common qualities and excellencies. This vulgar warfare has been carried on conjointly by the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews ; and is not a trifling symptom of the concealed "oneness" of their designs. It is certain that foreign literature is not of equal importance to a nation with that of native growth ; but it does not seem by any means desirable that one nation should be taught to consider all others as inferiors, tainted with false taste, and given up solely to vicious reasoning. Here, also, we have another cause for thinking that a *new* Review was wanted. The public ought to be set right in this particular ; and we think the Westminster Review both "able and willing" to do so. We are chiefly led to make this conclusion by the liberal manner in which it has spoken of the Americans, for we may reasonably hope that they who are so fully disposed to do justice to *one* foreign people, will, when occasion offers, exercise their vigorous minds in defence of others. Our prudence in thus lauding a contemporary publication may be impeached ; but we feel that *we also* have the same views, the same anxious desire to co-operate with circumstances for the benefit of our species ; and no feeling of jealousy ever can arise in minds having "the same desires and the same aversions."

SETTLERS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, February 15, 1824.

I HAVE a threefold motive for sending you some extracts from a letter which I have just received from the Cape of Good Hope. It may be interesting to some of your readers to know how their countrymen are going on at that distant settlement, and it affords me the opportunity of making some remarks upon their unfortunate condition, and may be the means of attracting the attention of others who have greater ability to suggest, or power to afford some alleviation.

It appears indisputable, that the benevolent intentions of government

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at home, in sending out the settlers, have, up to this time, been entirely frustrated. To enter into the causes of this would be useless, and I would rather suggest one remedy, than discover fifty errors.

I do not hesitate to confess that I was one of the most sanguine in the success of the measure, and perhaps, from an unconquerable aversion to give up a favourite hobby, I do not yet despair of its ultimately being an advantageous change of condition for the settlers, and a future benefit to the mother country.

My young friend's letter commences with a gloomy picture of the then forthcoming harvest, which will be most lamentable in its consequences, and one of the most formidable evils with which the settlers have to contend. In this respect no blame is attributable to government, for it is a singular fact, that the rust had not been experienced in the colony for many years previous to the settlers' arrival, and never but at long intervals.

It may be deserving of inquiry, whether the evil has not been perpetuated by the settlers having used the seed of former crops infected with the rust; and this is in some measure corroborated by the Bengal wheat, which was sown, not having been attacked; and the farms in the vicinity of Cape Town escaping it, I presume from the greater facility of obtaining good seed. If I am correct in this idea, the recurrence may be obviated by government sending out good seed, and not a moment should be lost in doing so, that it may arrive in time for sowing.

The succeeding portions of my friend's letter will, I think, surprise every one. That the new colony should be restricted from all trade, deprived of every opportunity of alleviating their distress by traffic with the surrounding natives, and be penned in the barren waste by a colonial preventive service, or local alien office, is to me, who never enjoyed the blessings of a colonial government, one of the most unaccountable enigmas. Some cogent reasons, doubtless, can be given for this measure, and plenty of witnesses be found to swear that it is all right.

I have puzzled myself greatly to find some out, and in charity attribute it to the paternal care which watches over the lives of British subjects, who might be barbarously treated if they overstepped the boundaries—here, as elsewhere, a convenient but imaginary line, which the natives, from their ignorance of the use of the globe, never could discover—or perhaps to a regard for the interest of the natives, whose ignorance might expose them to imposition, than which it would be better that their productions should rest upon their hands.

These and a hundred other reasons, equally good, may be produced, but, for the life of me, although I cannot shut my eyes to their cogency, yet I come at last to the extraordinary conclusion, that frequency of intercourse and interchange of mutual benefits, make people more peaceable, happy, and industrious.

Not to mention the extension of our commerce, surely good policy would dictate to supply the wants even of savages, if they must be called so, for commodities of which they have a superabundance, and the settlers great need. The colonial government thought so once, and about two years ago, invited by proclamation the surrounding tribes to assemble at a given time and place. Numbers came in consequence, but, from some new light, or *change of governors*, an edict was issued, requesting they would return by the way that they had come, as no traffic would be allowed.

Exceedingly pleasant all this, no doubt, to those who were quietly and comfortably initiated in our palace at Cape Town; but I only wish the promulgator of this edict had trotted 200 or 300 miles with a horse to sell, and had to turn back again with him on his hands; he would have been as loud in his complaints as any of the poor savages, and not been more particular in cribbing a little hay for his jaded nag, than they were to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

The settlers, also, as might be expected, were not a little disappointed; many had scraped together a few articles to buy cattle, ivory, &c. from the Caffres, and, I have no doubt, duly calculated the expected profit, which was thus by a stroke of the pen thoughtlessly wrested from them.

The account given of the approach of the strange tribe, which was ushered in with such a sound of trumpets, turns out to be a very simple business, but serves to show the principle upon which the colonial government is acting. The object appears to be to excite in the minds of the settlers the utmost dread of the natives; and the most absurd reports are believed and circulated by those who only see with the eyes of others, and have either no inclination, or not the power to judge for themselves. The consequences are apparent—the people are first nearly frightened to death; and cowards being always cruel, feel justified in inflicting upon others in reality, what they only suffer in apprehension.

I am sorry that the missionaries appear to have made so little impression upon their converts, the Griquas and Bichuanas, that they should be guilty of such abominable cruelties, and I hope those worthy, well-intentioned persons will open their eyes to the fact, that it is useless to attempt the introduction of Christianity on their present plan; civilization and the social duties must precede, or at least go hand in hand with the Bible. The Moravian brethren have by these means succeeded the best, and must continue to do so; and I hope so good an example will not be thrown away.

I will trouble you on this occasion with but one more remark. In going from Bathurst to Algoa Bay, my young friend was obliged to swim over rivers: now, allow me to ask any reasonable man, if it is possible that the settlers can prosper unless some measures be adopted beyond their being thrown upon a waste, and left to forage for themselves, as geese do upon a common? Surely the communication with the coast should be made easy for the conveyance of their produce and the necessary supplies. If it be objected that bridges are expensive, I reply, that government should not have placed the settlers where bridges are necessary, if they could not afford to erect them.

The extracts of the letter adverted to, are as follow:—

Cape of Good Hope, Bathurst, Oct. 5, 1823.

The rust is again in the corn, to what extent I cannot yet determine, as most of it has not yet arrived at that forward state when it is attacked with destruction. I fear it will be very bad, and will put this part of the country into bad spirits again; and it will be a long period before the settlers can do much with such repeated drawbacks to their exertions.

Government sets its face so much against all traffic with the tribes of the interior, that it is with the greatest difficulty any trade can be carried on—in fact it is all by smuggling.

Three settlers were, only four days since, taken to prison, and all the cattle taken from them by Government, as well as some they were driving from Caffreland (I suppose,)—but of course they deny it, and say they are cattle

re-captured from the Caffres; however, our worthy Landrost still retains possession of the cattle.

Government must be much misled, not to see the benefit that would accrue from allowing every one to trade with the tribes of the interior; instead of which no person whatever is permitted, by law, to exceed the boundaries of the Colony. If it was permitted, we should not be in the distressed state for the want of labourers as at present. There are many persons who would gladly risk going amongst them, and by that means they would become accustomed to Europeans, place confidence in us, and a great many of them would become cattle-herds and other useful servants. The Boors' families formerly had Caffres in their employ, and found them far preferable to the Hottentots, particularly the women, (do not laugh at this remark,) for they are really excellent house servants. I am informed by persons, who do smuggle, that they could carry on a very considerable traffic.

The Commissioners are very busy in Cape Town, and it is expected they will be here very soon. Report says, they are likely to make great alterations by and bye;—they seem to look into every department; are very punctual in answering letters from the settlers with grievances, and assure them every thing shall be done that they can in reason expect.

They expect much will be done for them, I assure you; but, I fear, much more than can be realized.

Cape Town, and the vicinity, have of late been in a great state of alarm, on account of a very powerful tribe, far from the interior, called Mantatees, being on their march in this direction. They were reported to be cannibals, and had come as far as Old Lattakoo, when they were met by a party of Griquas and some Bichuanas, who it appears murdered indiscriminately men, women and children, to the amount of 400; even the poor women and children left on the field were murdered by the barbarous wretches. It also appears that these poor people were actually starving, and having heard of some good white people being in this direction, were making their way to us, and conquered many tribes who had opposed them; and it is a fact, they they were so hard driven by hunger that they did eat human flesh occasionally. Instead of killing them, we should have gone and met them with a drove of oxen to have satisfied their hunger, and have induced them to settle as servants and labourers.

One of the Boors was asked, in Graham's Town, if he had seen the cannibals; his answer was, "Yes, and they put me in mind of an ant-heap, there are such millions of them." The fellow had not been within 500 miles of them.

Algoa Bay, Oct. 23, 1823.—After a miserable journey, swimming all the river between this and Bathurst, I have only time to add to my letter, that it will not be prudent to send out the goods I ordered.

Thus far the letter of my friend. I shall offer no further comment on the points therein touched on, for the present, at least, though I may, perhaps, at some future period, furnish other facts, and accompany them with the offer of my opinions. In the meantime, through the medium of your valuable publication, the public will soon be much better acquainted with our widely extended possessions, of which the major part has been to the many as if they were not; and at the same time that this knowledge will afford them a fund of amusement at home, it will prove of inestimable benefit to those whose fate has fixed them in a distant clime; banished from their earliest and dearest recollections, they will derive some satisfaction in having a channel through which they may appeal for sympathy when oppressed, without fear of the consequences which would attend complaint in too many of our colonies. I am, Sir, &c.

A FRIEND TO THE COLONISTS.

FAME.

THE life of those who up the steep of fame
 Urge their rough course, uncertain and abrupt,
 And as the troubled stream impervious,
 Since first man's dark imagination framed
 The dreary fiend, has been. Their searing steps
 Threading the interminable maze of life,
 And withering what upsprang beneath their feet,
 Have not been like those threads of gossamer
 That tremble through the brilliant atmosphere
 At sultry mid-day, glittering as they float ;
 But o'er the weak subjected world, their tracks,
 Fertile in vice and misery, have wound
 Like crimson streamlets o'er a field of snow,
 While men stood wondering at each villain-pace.

Who ever traced the deep perturbing thoughts
 That through one bosom forced their fiery way ;
 Who ever marked the lava-springs of pride
 Bubbling amidst the Eden of the soul,
 In their first murmuring rise, and shooting thence,
 Swelling as rivers swell, as farther on
 They roll their widening waters, and has not
 Seen scenes inimical to human bliss ?
 Man is a peaceful being while beyond
 The circle of his soul his thoughts stray not
 To seek for approbation ; while he looks
 With unsoliciting eye on those around,
 And cares not what they think ; but if, perchance,
 Fame with her golden wings come flitting by,
 And touch his spirit with her mystic wand,
 His soul becomes a demon ; 'tis not then
 Enough if God and conscience do approve
 The unpremeditated holy act
 Of love or charity—the many-mouthed
 Headlong impetuous monster, called the *world*,
 Forsooth, must howl applause, or darkling haug
 His joyless eyelids. Home, and homefelt bliss
 Fade, like the mirage, from his frozen eye.
 He enthronizes Self—and glory's wing
 Hallows the gloomy and unnatural fiend
 That pants beneath it. 'Tis not greatness, thus
 To court the dreary apotheosis
 Which rises from the breath that knows us not,
 Which never lives in any heart, but runs
 Glibly from tongue to tongue—a pestilent gust !
 The great is *he* who in the searching eyes
 Of family and friends erects the shrine
 Of grandeur undestroyed by intimate looks,
 By long, unprejudiced, undazzled hours
 Of social converse. If the soul from thence

Shoot out its rays, and brighten at its source,
 And charm the narrow circle into awe
 We call domestic—it is great:—the world
 Will, must admire. Its rein of adamant
 Curbs not the breathings of impetuous thought.

Men sanctify the genius they approve,
 And yet would be familiar with their idol :
 But genius is a solitary thing,
 And courts not vulgar converse ; harbours not
 The dim illusions that do sweeten life ;
 Lives in the smile of no one ; even in crowds
 Feels something incommunicable swell
 Its bosom and surround its struggling heart,
 As if it swam in fire. Prometheus !
 Thy vulture was the prototype of him
 Who, life's swift-fitting images among,
 Protrudes his turbulent glance beyond the grave,
 And o'er the dread inviolable gloom
 That wraps the workings of the Infinite Mind
 Hovers ; and feels prerogatives of life
 Which others dream not of. This is not bliss,
 But 'tis a something higher, purer ; and
 He who has felt it, even amid the pangs
 It spreads throughout his being, would not take
 Myriads of common years in recompense.
 To think without a fetter, to expound
 The laws unchanging, incorruptible,
 The interminable universe that sway,
 As easily as man's predestined will
 His muscular frame ; to see the awful Spirit
 Presiding over all, apportioning
 To every atom its eternal round,
 Changes, migrations, metamorphoses,
 Motion and rest alternate ; and to feel
 Some hidden link 'twixt all this mighty frame
 And that inexplicable sentient thing
 That lives within us, is an ecstasy,
 A bold compression of unending time
 Into one instant ; an unspeakable
 Imperishable attribute of soul,
 A quintessence of life, that in compare
 The glory of the world must vanish. All
 Shall perish, as the forms of earth that rise
 On wings ephemeral to meet the sun
 That witnesses their birth and sepulture ;
 But thought, and that which nourishes and gives
 Forms to its creatures, with eternity,
 Wandering or fixed, coeval must remain.
 Should we then covet fame, which follows not
 The best part of our being, but on earth
 Lives in a breath, or fades from memory ?

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Cheltenham, Feb. 12, 1824.

I am sure that I need not make any apology for requesting you, through the medium of your excellent Journal, to allow me to offer to the public, and those more immediately concerned, a few observations on the present scheme of re-organizing the East India Company's Army of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

When I consider the vast importance, in a commercial point of view, of Hindoostan to England,—of that empire, whose magnificence excited the ambition of an Alexander, and whose riches almost satiated the avarice of a Nadir Shah,—of that country whose territory is so extensive, and whose resources so inexhaustible, and which now, by a wonderful course of events, has been annexed to the dominions of Great Britain, I tremble under the apprehension that some error of policy, some mistaken conduct, some blind perseverance in destructive measures, on the part of the Government, either Military or Civil, should wrest the sceptre from our hands, and undo the work of ages.

No matter whether I have, or have not, an immediate interest in the re-organizing of the Army in the Presidencies above alluded to. I am a well-wisher to my country, and, as a citizen of the British empire, I shall feel myself justified in passing my observations, and possibly my censures, upon this intended system. At a future period I may feel myself obliged to call the attention of the public, to a survey of every branch of the East India Company's Service and Establishments, at home and abroad; but at present my observations shall be confined to the organization of the three Engineer corps in particular.

It may possibly be unknown to many of your readers, that, about thirty years back, violent discussions occurred between the Court of Directors and the Company's Army, on the subject of their rank and promotion. Both parties for some time obstinately, and therefore ineffectually, contended at a distance, till at length the Army, finding that a contest carried on between parties separated by such a wide extent of ocean, availed them nothing, however just their cause, determined to come to closer quarters, and deputed an officer from each of the three Presidencies to form a committee in London.

On the arrival of the delegated officers at the India House, the Court refused to acknowledge them. Thwarted for a time, but not confounded, their next application was to the British Government; where, having made known the object of their mission, they obtained both a hearing and justice. Mr. Dundas, the leading Minister of the day, warmly interfered in their favour, and, through his exertions, the Army obtained an acknowledgment of the justice of their claims, by all their wishes being conceded to.

A complete change was now effected in every branch of the Company's Service, but in none more so than in the Ordnance department. The cadets for the Artillery and Engineers, previously selected by the local governments in India from the general list of Infantry cadets, were thenceforth to be trained and educated in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and the corps of Engineers of the three Presidencies

were each to consist of *precisely* the same number of officers of every rank, for the avowed purpose of securing, as far as lies within the compass of human means, equal promotion to the whole.

These memorable changes were effected in 1796. Since that period, you well know, Sir, the Company's territories have been greatly extended. Their Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Medical Establishments, their Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, *ought* to have been ALL augmented in the same proportion. Some of these, it is true, have been doubled, and others trebled; but, strange to relate, one of the most important corps in the Army, the Engineer, has been overlooked, although its duties have, without doubt, increased in an equal ratio to the duties of the rest of the Service. Instead of augmenting the Engineer corps in proportion to these increased duties, officers from other branches of the army, in numbers equal to the effective strength of the whole three Engineer corps, have been called from their respective regiments, to perform duties for which they were not intended, and which should have fallen exclusively to the Engineers. In consequence, these officers have reaped all the advantages of the more rapid promotion of their own corps, and the advantage of the Engineer appointments likewise.

This is not in unison with the regulations of 1796,—it is not in unison with the *intention* of those regulations—

— Nil fuit unquam
Sic dispar sibi —.

It is indeed a manifest absurdity, and a gross injustice;—because, if education and training be *requisite* to form engineer officers, their numbers ought in common sense to have been increased in proportion to their duties, and in proportion to the augmentation of the other military corps; but if education and training be *not requisite*, it is absurd to go to the expense of forming an engineer corps at all. Why not take all the officers from other branches of the service, to perform the *whole* of the engineer duties, as well as a part? Why select the engineer officers from those cadets who have passed the best public examination at the Academy, as a reward of merit, blazoned forth by the Court of Directors at the public examinations in the Academy, and in the public orders to the Army in India? It is a gross injustice; for, by the repeated augmentations of the cavalry, infantry and artillery, and by other causes, the engineer corps have been greatly superseded in every rank, and all participation in the general augmentation of the service, the consequent retiring pension for life, and the stipends from the military fund to their widows and children, all of which depend entirely upon rank and promotion, and not on length of service, have been withheld from them.

There have been, and are now, captains of engineers of the same standing in the service as the lieutenant-colonels of the other branches of the Army, and majors of the same standing as colonels of regiments or brigades. There have been majors of engineers, who have retired in despair after forty and forty-two years service, on the pittance of 270*l.* per annum, whilst officers of other branches of the Army have retired after a *less* length of service with the rank, pay, and off-reckonings of a colonel, amounting to about 1300*l.* per annum.

Repeated representations of these facts have been made to the Court, and the local governments have as often solicited in vain an augmentation

of the Engineer corps; till at length Lord Hastings added two majors, two captains, and two subalterns to the Bengal corps; but even that small increase has not been sanctioned by the Court. In this state of things the Engineer officers anxiously looked forward to the long talked of plan for re-organizing the whole Indian Army. They congratulated themselves on the supposed moral certainty, that the regulations of 1796, so just and equitable in themselves, obtained by such extraordinary efforts, and under the patronage of the highest executive power in the kingdom, were now about, in letter and in spirit, to be acted upon; but alas! it seems their expectations are to be woefully disappointed; the last bud of hope is to be blighted; and they are to find themselves actually in a worse situation than before.

By the new plan, only a few officers of the inferior ranks are added in unequal portions to each Engineer corps; one of the field officers added by Lord Hastings to the Bengal corps is cancelled by the Court, and not one field officer has been added to the Madras corps, nor to that of Bombay! So that the old plan, established in 1796, of equalizing the three Engineer corps, for the avowed purpose of securing equal promotion to each, is altogether abandoned by the new scheme of 1824; and we have yet to learn, how, if in 1796 *equal* corps gave *equal* promotions, in 1824 *equal* promotion is to result from *unequal* corps. To me it appears at present a most marvellous inconsistency. Yet this is not all, Sir. Previously to the new scheme, the ratio of the field officers of the Infantry to the officers of the inferior ranks, was as 1 to 8; in the Engineers as 1 to 5; and yet the promotion of the Engineer corps has been always the slowest. By the new scheme, the Infantry and Engineers are to be alike, one field officer to seven officers of the inferior ranks:—thus the prospect of promotion will be considerably *increased* in the Infantry, whilst the prospect of promotion in the Engineers will be materially *retarded*, and consequently the Engineer officer be superseded more than ever.

Let it not for a moment be supposed, that the promotion of the Infantry, or of any other branch of the service, is too rapid. I know from experience in my own family that it is not. It is merely contended that whatever be the promotion of one branch of the service, the like promotion should be secured to the other branches, by every practicable means. Neither let it be supposed that a shadow of blame is meant to be cast on the Court of Directors; they are, individually, most worthy and honourable men; but it cannot be contended that they are judges of military matters. The pursuits, the habits of life, the modes of education of most of them, totally disqualify them for such an office. Some few, indeed, have been bred up in the service in India, and it is believed one or two have been officers in the Company's Army, but the constitution of the India House does not allow even those two to transact the military business before the Court. That is managed by the Military Secretary, who is alone acquainted with the details.

I should be sorry to accuse any individual, or any number of individuals, belonging to this department, of designed misconduct; a misconception of subjects will lead men into strange fantasies, and prejudice will warp the strongest mind, and influence men of the purest intentions to commit actions of the most flagrant inconsistency; in such causes as these I should wish to seek for the motive of the conduct of those individuals, who have framed the scheme for the new organization of the Engineer corps of the

Indian Army. - - But, Sir, my remarks have already occupied too much space, and, begging therefore to postpone the further consideration of this subject to a future Number, I remain your obedient servant, CATO.

MEASURES FOR RETARDING THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE.

SIR,

Pontak, February 14, 1824.

IN days of yore, when a young man, (for I have passed my grand climacteric,) I took some interest in the questions, then warmly agitated, respecting the administration of the British Government in the East Indies, and its probable influence on the condition of the Orientals. I had, however, for many years, ceased to indulge my curiosity in that direction, from a not unreasonable despair of making any discoveries gratifying to humanity, among the records of Oriental superstition and European avarice.

You have lately recalled my attention to a long-neglected subject. No sooner was I attracted to the *ORIENTAL HERALD*, than I observed its introductory sentence adopted from the *Areopagitica* of Milton, that charming treatise, which instructed my youth, and is no infrequent companion of my age. There must, I concluded, be among the dwellers in British India, not merely those whom the "*auri sacra fames*" has sent thither, the ravenous birds of passage, and their helpless prey; there must be really a *people*, to whom a *Herald* can be sent, under such an authority.

Proceeding through a few pages, I discovered, by language stronger than words, the speech of actions, that "Mr. John Adam, the late temporary Governor General of India," was of the same opinion; though, according to the very plain remark, that "one man's meat is another man's poison," our feelings, on making the discovery, appear to have differed materially. The conduct of Mr. John Adam, lately "*drest in not a little brief authority*," indeed forcibly brought to my recollection what is written concerning another "temporary Governor General," to whom he will allow himself to be inferior, yet who must vacate his government as surely as Mr. John Adam has left Calcutta, whenever, *universally*, "*Truth shall be in the field*." The other Governor General to whom I refer, is no less a personage than "*the Devil*" of "*the Revelation*," whom the author of that sublime book describes (chap. xii. 12,) as "*having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time*."

I must, however, here quit this exalted personage, willing to "*renounce the devil and all his works*," and confine myself to the mighty works of a "temporary Governor General," possessing only the attributes of humanity. What he has accomplished in "*a short time*," Mr. Fergusson has described (p. 134,) with most accurate conciseness. Nor can I mention that learned gentleman, without acknowledging the peculiar gratification afforded me by his argument and his eloquence, from a recollection of our associations in England, as political reformers, in far earlier days. One passage, indeed, of, or rather following, Mr. Fergusson's speech, I must be allowed to regret, as quite unworthy of him. I

refer to p. 136, where he condescends to the poor *professional* policy of attempting to conciliate a judge, by asserting "that no friend to the liberty of the press" would have indulged in a natural and just, though probably a loud expression of applause, on hearing it well defended.

Mr. Fergusson has justly attributed to the "temporary Governor General," a son of the intimate friend and fond admirer of Fox, the accomplishment of a project, which, if Lord Hastings entertained, he had not the rigorous perseverance to execute. It was left to constitute the glory of Mr. John Adam's brief supremacy, to set up as paramount throughout British India, not the "law of England," nor "even of France," where the Bourbons yet sigh in vain for the *good times* of *Louis le Grand*, but the law of Constantinople or St. Petersburg; or, according to the late Lord Stanhope, a "Russian liberty of the press,"—the liberty of flattering governors, and panegyricizing all the acts of government.

Yet, possibly, Mr. John Adam might have designed to compliment the royal House of Brunswick, by taking a hint from the *paternal* government of *electoral* Hanover, now exalted into a kingdom. Among some political curiosities of 1794, I find the following article, translated from the *Jena Journal*:—

Hanover, January 18, 1794.—The "destructive poison of impious infidelity, irreligion, and all licentiousness," to use the well known expressions of the Augsburg *Confession*, has been of late powerfully spread through our country, probably by means of circulating libraries, book-clubs, (*bucherverleihungsanstalten*), reading societies, and clubs for periodical publications. To remedy this evil, several proposals have been made to the government, by patriotic men, of which the three principal are, 1. Book-sellers shall be obliged to give a complete account of every book before they expose it to sale; or, 2. The managers of reading societies shall be made answerable for all books and periodical papers they permit to be circulated; or, 3. At least a catalogue of the books belonging to reading societies shall be sent in from time to time. The last was immediately resolved, and hereupon the following royal *Ordinance respecting reading societies and circulating libraries, as they are called*, was dispersed throughout the whole electorate.

"George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Arch-treasurer and Elector of the holy Roman Empire, &c.

"The continual increase of reading societies and circulating libraries, as they are called, renders it necessary that such establishments should be subject to a stricter police.

"We find ourselves, on this account, moved to establish and ordain as follows

"1. All antiquarians (*antiquarii*), and others who keep libraries for reading, or letting out books for hire, shall, immediately after publication of this ordinance, deliver to the police-office of the place where they reside, a complete catalogue of all and every of the books and pamphlets in their libraries; and shall, in future, on every occasion, deliver in a similar catalogue of all such books and pamphlets as they at any time purchase, before they lend them. Whoever refuses this, or lends a book or pamphlet not mentioned in the catalogue, shall pay, for the first offence, a fine of ten rix-dollars; and for the second, a double fine, and be prohibited from lending books any more; half the fine to go to the informer.

"2. All managers of reading societies shall likewise be obliged to deliver to the police-office of the place where they reside, without exception, and without plea of a privileged court, immediately after publication of this ordinance, a complete catalogue of the books and pamphlets at present circulating, or which may hereafter circulate, in their societies; and they who are guilty of refusal or neglect, shall pay, without exception of persons, a fine of twenty rix-dollars, half to go to the informer.

"We accordingly command all our police officers strictly to execute the above ordinance, to send a copy of the catalogues, from time to time delivered to them, to our Regency; also immediately to seize such writings mentioned in the cata-

logues as are known to be dangerous, or are prohibited; but, in doubtful cases, to apply to our Regency for farther instructions.

‘ Hanover, the 19th of December, 1793.

(L. S.)

‘ By special command of the King and Elector, v. Kielmansegge, v. Benhwitz, v. Arnswaldt, v. Steinberg.

‘ C. L. HOFMEIER.

It appears, by a note of the translator, that “the patriotic men” mentioned above, were “a military association against those who attempt to enlighten and seduce the people in Germany.” A King of Great Britain certainly seems out of place, while thus denouncing the progress of information, like a *Grand Seigneur*, or a *Czar*. As to Mr. John Adam, he has happily descended from his short-lived elevation; and the time, I trust, is not far distant, when his acts will, throughout British India, be properly appreciated.

AREOPAGITICUS.

ARMIES OF THE THREE PRESIDENCIES.

SIR,

January, 1824.

I beg to offer, through your Journal, a few remarks on the relative rewards of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Armies, for their respective services during the last Mahratta war. It appears, by Colonel Blacker's excellent work, that the loss of officers and men of the Madras Army, were, in the proportion to those in the Bengal Army, about 15 to 1. At the termination of the war, the Madras Government found themselves in possession of about one fourth more territory than they had at the commencement, and a corresponding number of troops would necessarily be required to garrison those new provinces. Accordingly six extra battalions were raised to do the duties in this territory, so that the regular battalions might be sent to the newly-conquered provinces. At the termination of the war, it was believed, that those six extra battalions would have been officered from the line, and the Deccan Army allowed to keep possession of the new territory, which they had been the principal agents in acquiring; when, suddenly, the six extra battalions were dismissed, and that fine division of the Madras Army, at Nagpore, were sent away to make room for the Bengal Army, which had been viewing, from a distance, the different scenes during the war; and only acted as an Army of Observation. Since these measures have been adopted, they now find, in Bengal, that they have not enough of troops to do the duties: and have raised four additional regiments to supply the place of the force sent to Nagpore.—If there had been a necessity for more troops, the Madras Government ought to have kept the Nagpore, and those six extra battalions, which were dismissed, (after having been embodied several years) to have been made regular regiments, in the room of those additional ones raised in Bengal; I have not the least doubt but they would have answered the purpose, just as well as any troops they could have raised in Bengal, to keep possession of the newly-conquered provinces. By this mode the active Army would have been liberally rewarded for their arduous services: instead of which the Bengal Army derives all the advantages. At all events the Coast Army ought to have had equal advantages with the Army of Bengal.

The Hon. East India Company are incapable of unjust partiality to any one of their different Presidencies; I am, therefore, convinced that this matter has never been maturely considered by them. J. J.—

VARIETIES IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Sources of the Setledj and the Ganges.—Our continental neighbours are frequently accused of arrogating to themselves the merit of new discoveries in circumstances long well known to us; nor are they, on the other hand, wanting in attributing to us the same error, as will be evident from the following extract of a Report made to the Asiatic Society of Paris, by M.M. Saint Martin and Klapproth. "The manuscript charts presented to the society by M. Landresse, which we have examined, are derived from Père Tiefenthaler, who resided for a considerable time in India. Nearly the whole of them have been inserted in the description of Hindoostan, published by Anquetil Duperron. As this is a fact which may be easily ascertained by all, your committee will not dwell long upon it: but it conceives that it will not be improper to remark that the true source of the Setledj, which issues from Lake Mansaroor, is clearly pointed out in one of these maps; and that the late M. Anquetil has figured it in his general map of the course of the Ganges and the Gogra, in which he has retained the Persian legends of the original "*Deria Setledj therependjâb refi*," which signifies—River Setledj, which runs towards the Pendjâb. From this it may be seen that this river was known in 1784, twenty-eight years before it was visited by Mr. Moorcroft. The honour of rendering it known in Europe belongs, therefore, to the Germans and the French, and not to the English, who, at present, attribute to themselves the merit of this discovery. The same remark applies also to the sources of the Ganges. In the map of Père Tiefenthaler this river issues from Gangotri, while all the English Geographers continued to adopt, till 1812, the erroneous opinion of D'Anville, who, following the Chinese Jesuits, made the Ganges to issue from the Lake Lanka, which is situated in Western Thibet.—According to the great geography of the dynasty Thai-Tsing, which now reigns in China, the lake named by the Hindoos, Manas-Sarovar or Mansaroor, is called, in the Thibet language, Mapimou, and not Mapama, as it is termed in the charts of the Jesuits. From this lake issues the River Langtchou, or Setledj, which runs westwards to pass through Lake Langa, termed Ravanbrad by the Hindoos. The junction be-

tween the two lakes, which was gratuitously denied by Mr. Moorcroft, does, therefore, actually exist; and the primary source of the Setledj is found in Lake Mansaroor, and not in Lake Ravanbrad. Your committee has regarded it as just to the learned travellers of France and Germany, to vindicate their claims to the merit of these geographical discoveries."

Newfoundland Fishery.—An apparently trivial circumstance is productive of the most serious inconvenience and loss of time to the persons employed in the Newfoundland Fishery, and of consequent expense to their employers. The continually wet and cold state of their hands, and the injuries to which they are exposed from the spines and fins of the fish, render the fishers extremely liable to whitlows; and, as the low profit of the fishery induces the owners to employ only the smallest possible number of individuals, it is important to point out the most effectual means of keeping these men continually in a fit state for work. M. Bergeron, an intelligent French surgeon, who has paid much attention to the diseases of sailors at Newfoundland, was induced to apply leeches to the affected part on the first appearance of the disease, which he repeated twice, or oftener if necessary, by which means, and the application of goulard water, he almost universally prevented their suppurating, and enabled the men to return immediately to their work. Nature seems, indeed, to have placed the remedy by the side of the disease, as the pools near the principal fisheries abound in leeches, of a species different from that employed in Europe, by the absence of the yellow dorsal lines. M. Bergeron proposes, as a preventive of this troublesome affection, that, instead of the woollen gloves with leather palms now worn by the sailors, they should employ gloves of leather altogether; or at least that the extremities of their fingers should be completely cased in leather, sufficiently supple to allow of free motion, but which would guard them from injury by foreign substances.

Nubia.—Two German Naturalists, Drs. Ehrenberg and Hemprich, have succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Africa, as far as Dongola, the capital of Nubia, from which place they have transmitted to Berlin much interesting information, relative to the productions of the country and its inhabitants,

and also a large collection of objects of Natural History, &c. They are amply supplied by the Prussian government with the necessary means for facilitating their inquiries.

Statistics of Guadeloupe.—The following is an abstract of the tables published on this subject by M. Boyer de Peyreleau. Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Les Saintes, La Desirade, and a part of the Island of St. Martin are united under the same government, and contain a population of 109,404; of these, 12,602 are whites, 8,604 free men of colour, and 87,958 slaves.—The number of horses is 2,350, of mules 4,796, of oxen and cows 21,623, and of sheep and goats 12,921. The surface of these islands is estimated at 112,015 *carrés*, 39,469 of which are cultivated as follows: in sugar canes 22,623, in coffee trees 5,530, in cotton trees 2,747, in cocoa trees 108, and in manihot, &c. 9,261. Of the remainder, which is uncultivated, 27,991 *carrés* are waste, 24,025 in savannas, and 20,512 in standing wood.—It is estimated that, cultivated in sugar cane, the *caré* ought to produce from four to five thousand weight of sugar; that it ought to support from 2,000 to 2,500 coffee trees, the average produce of which is one pound of berries to each; and that planted with cotton or cocoa trees, it should produce from three to four quintals of cotton, or from ten to fifteen quintals of cocoa.—The 22,623 *carrés*, however, which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar, produce only 60,060 hogsheads, of the weight of from 1,000 to 1,200 pounds each; they are divided into 509 plantations, and employ from 35,000 to 36,000 slaves; 142 water-mills, 222 wind-mills, and 197 machine-mills.—The coffee plantations produce only 3,000,000 pounds weight of coffee; they are in number 1,244, and employ 16,000 slaves. 711 cotton plantations furnish 600,000 pounds; and 23 cocoa plantations about 100,000 pounds. The number of the remaining plantations is 263.—The exports of 1820 were, 5,104,678 pounds of clayed sugar, 37,791,360 pounds of raw sugar, 2,075,695 pounds of cocoa, 132,066 pounds of cotton, 102,252 gallons of rum, and 568 pounds of cloves, valued altogether at 16,969,608 *francs*. The number of vessels employed was 123, the tonnage 25,477, and the crews 1,803. The imports in the same year amounted to 12,030,270 *francs*. In 1821 the exports had increased to 19,376,688 *francs*, and the imports were only 9,330,669 *francs*.

The number of vessels received into the port was 110, of which 42 were from Bordeaux, 23 from Havre, 19 from Nantes, and 13 from Marseilles; the number of those which cleared out from it was 145. Besides this, they annually exchange about 1,200,000 gallons of syrup for dried cod and other provisions. The taxes, both direct and indirect, are regulated, as at Martinique, by the Governors, and are levied on the same objects. They produce 1,769,492 *francs*, which with 1,300,000 *francs* furnished by the metropolis, makes the total revenue 3,069,492 *francs*. The general and local expenditure is estimated at 2,976,737 *francs*; consequently there remains an excess of revenue amounting to 110,755 *francs*.

Scott's Captivity in the Great Desert of Africa.—Alexander Scott was one of the crew of the *Montezuma*, which was lost in 1816 on the coast of Africa, between Cape Non and Cape Bojador. He fell into the hands of the tribe of Tolorlet, by whom he was sold to an old man, who was preparing to set out on a distant pilgrimage. Attending on his master, he crossed arid plains, and countries irrigated by streams, and after a journey of seventeen days, arrived in the district of El Ghililah, which is bordered on the west by the sea. He supposes that at this time he was 200 miles from the place from whence he set out, and about 20 miles from the ocean; the tempests of which were heard when the wind was in that direction. At the end of several months he resumed his route, again crossing sands and forests, in which he underwent all the fatigues and privations of the desert. In this manner he travelled for nearly three months in the same direction, passing by mines of sulphur and of salt, and meeting with numerous animals which appear not to differ from those of Egypt; and at length arrived at El Sharag, where the tribe Or Ghebets was encamped. After some stay here, they proceeded to an immense lake, called Bahar Tieb; the borders of which are inhabited by the Zachah, who do not believe in Mohammed. They speak Arabic like all the other people which he met with in the Desert, and also make use of an idiom, called Schlech. He was informed by his companions that there existed, to the south, an extensive salt sea, and a port of considerable traffic, to which they gave the name of Baranbry. When the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were completed, he retraced his steps, and succeeded, after six years' captivity, in

reaching Mogadore, from whence the English Consul provided him with a passage to England.

Society of Travellers.—A new society has been established at Liverpool under the above title, the members of which are to be chosen only from such persons as have visited distant countries for the purposes of information, as well on science in general as in Natural History. It is to be expected that this society will introduce to the world much valuable information, which, otherwise, would have been lost for want of a proper vehicle for publication.

Eucæ's Comet.—A most singularly correct calculation of the wanderings of one of these eccentric bodies has lately occurred. The period of the revolution of the comet of Eucæ has been calculated at 1204 days, and M. Runkler, computing from a comparison of its several appearances, announced that he had little hopes of its being seen in Europe in 1822, as before June it would be extremely faint, and near the horizon; but that in S. lat. 34° , in the beginning of that month, it would be 24° above the horizon, at sunset, and would then be as bright as a star of the fourth magnitude. So accurate was this calculation, that on his voyage to New South Wales he discovered the comet on the 2d of June, at Paramatta, in $33^{\circ} 48' 45''$ South lat. For this accurate calculation of one of the most difficult points of astronomy, M. Runkler was honoured with the astronomical medal of De la Lande, which was presented to him by the French Institute, having been made double this year for the express purpose of rewarding his merit.

Periodical Rise and Fall of the Barometer.—Col. Wright, Member of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, is said to have discovered that within the tropics the mercury rises and falls twice within 24 hours, with such regularity, as to afford almost an opportunity of measuring the lapse of time by this instrument.

Ornithology of Nepal.—General Hardwicke has recently presented to the Linnean Society, of London, eighty-five skins of birds from Nepal, many of which are of extreme rarity. Several of them exhibit forms entirely new to the Zoologist, and are highly interesting, as presenting links which have hitherto been wanting between several of the established groups in this department of Natural History. It is to be hoped that some Naturalist,

of competent abilities, will undertake the task of describing them, and thus repay to the East the debt we owe for the treasures in this and other branches of Natural History, which are continually pouring in upon us from that fertile portion of the Empire.

Insects of Madras.—The collection of insects which was imported into England from Madras in the summer of last year, deservedly ranks among the most splendid cabinets which have ever been submitted for sale in this country. The insect, throughout, were extremely beautiful, and the Lepidoptera had been invariably bred from the Chrysalis by the collector, who well merited the liberal prices which the perfection of the specimens commanded. Several of them were also new. Among these was a new genus of *Carabide*, approaching to *Sphodrus*; a new genus (specimen unique) of *Silphiade*, (a family of great rarity in tropical climates) intermediate between *Necrodes* and *Oicopoma*, having the antennæ of the one with the abbreviated clytra of the other; a fine species of *Hydrous*; and a most splendid species of *Acheta*. Several specimens of the very rare genus *Horia* were also in the collection, which was altogether calculated to stimulate to exertion the Entomologists of the East. It is, however, to be regretted that the Lepidoptera were not accompanied by drawings at least, if not preserved specimens, of their larvæ, which, in the present state of our knowledge, are of such high importance in the formation of generic groups. This would have been rendering an essential service to the science at large, and would have been easy of execution when the larvæ were in the possession of the collector. We trust that, though this opportunity has been lost, others will be found, and will not be neglected.

Oenothorynchus.—The spurs, with which the males of these animals are armed, have generally been considered as conveying into the wounds, made by them, a poisonous liquor, the effects of which were extremely deleterious. This, however, has been proved to be erroneous by M. Van der Hoeven (Nov. Act. Acad. Cæsar. Leop.—carol. &c. vol. xi.) In the spur of the *O. rufus* there exists neither canal, nor vesicle, nor orifice; in the *O. paradoxus*, on the contrary, it is pierced, but it has no internal canal. The spurs, he conceives, may probably be worn against the ground, and thus wound with inflammation, a common consequence of

all unclean instruments. If these animals are, indeed, furnished with venomous organs, they must be sought for in the gland which is situated on the thigh, and is as large as the sub-maxillary gland in man.

White Ipecacuanha.—The roots of several species of *Cynanchum* are used, under this name, as emetics in Asia. Among these, M. Lemaire Lisancourt enumerates the *C. vomitorium* of Lamarck, (*C. Ipecacuanha* of Vahl) employed at Coromandel; the *C. tomentosum* (Vahl) at Ceylon; and the *C. mauritanium* of Commerson, at the Isles of France and Bourbon. The White Ipecacuanha, which is in most esteem at Calcutta, is referred to the *C. latigatum* of Vahl; and the whole plant is stated to be strongly emetic.

Immense Lump of Ambergris.—We extract the following story from the *Bibliothèque Universel* of February.—“In the course of the last year, a sailor, who was fatigued, sat himself down on the coast, and fell asleep. He was much surprised, on awaking, to find his clothes glued to the seat which he had chosen; but he disengaged himself without paying much attention to the circumstance. The smell, however, which adhered to him, was remarked by his companions, who prevailed upon him to return to the place, and bring away the block on which he had resigned himself to sleep. He followed this advice, and the piece of ambergris, after passing from hand to hand, has at length been sold for £2,300.”

Bis, a remedy of the Bengal Physicians. An article in the *Calcutta Journal*, by a non-medical correspondent, informs us that this remedy is the poison of the Gokura Snake, commonly known by the name of Cobra de Capello, or Hooded Snake. It is stated to have been employed with success in bad cases of fever, in Cholera Morbus, and in other desperate cases; and the following instance is cited among others in which this medicine was employed. “The extinction of the vital functions, and the coldness of the limbs, announced the approaching dissolution of an individual, to whom a Bengalese physician was called. By his direction this medicine was administered. It was observed soon after, that the heat of the body was considerably increased, and a general perspiration manifested itself. It excited a considerable thirst, which required the employment of drinks made with cooling seeds, among others with that called *samph*; ventila-

tion was also employed, as it is usually performed in that country. The nourishment of the patient was a substance, called *duhee*, a kind of coagulated milk. At the end of several days he was enabled to repair to his work.”

Hot Springs at the Source of the Jumna. Captain Hodgson, in the interesting Account of his Journey to the Source of the Jumna, mentions a very remarkable fact; the appearance of hot springs on the mountains of the Himalaya, constantly covered with snow. At Junnotri, where the Jumna originates, the snow, which covers the stream, is about sixty yards wide, and about forty feet thick. It is very solid, and hard frozen, but in various parts there are holes, occasioned by the steam arising from hot springs, situated at the border of the river. Captain Hodgson descended to one of these, and was astonished to observe, by means of the glare of some white lights which he kindled, a spacious excavation, resembling vaulted roofs of marble, occasioned by the steam from the hot springs melting the snow, which fell in showers like heavy rain to the stream, that seems to owe its origin, in a great measure, to these supplies. The spring was so hot that the hand could not be held in it above two seconds, the water rising with great ebullition through crevices of granite rock, and depositing a ferruginous sediment. The existence of hot springs amidst the icy covering of the Himalaya, points out a beautiful provision of nature for the supply of water to the rivers in the winter season, when the sun must have little or no power of melting the snow in these deep defiles.

Macquarie Island.—A paper, by Dr. Ramsay, giving some description of this island was read at a late meeting of the Edinburgh Wernerian Society. It is situated in long. 159.28 E.; lat. 50.20 S. and received its name from the late Governor of New South Wales. It is from two to four miles in breadth, and very mountainous; the elevated tracts ranging from 700 to 1000 feet above the level of the sea. From a quarter of a mile to two miles from the coast, the soundings are from nine to twenty-five fathoms; the landing being rendered difficult by an almost constant surf. In the interior are considerable fresh-water lakes, supposed to be supplied from springs within their own bosoms, as streams perpetually flow from them; they are clear, and by no means so abundantly productive of aquatic vegetation as most lakes. No provisions are to be obtained on the

island. No quadrupeds have yet been observed; there are, however, abundance of birds of various kinds, from the parrot to the gull. Only a very few insects have been discovered. The island is valuable, in a commercial point of view, for the oil obtained from the sea-cow. The whales are not abundant, and the seals, which formerly inhabited the coast, are now become rare. There are neither trees nor shrubs, and but few novelties among the herbaceous plants of the island.

Egyptian Collection.—A curious collection of the antiquities of Egypt have recently been transported to Paris by M. Frederick Caillaud. It consists of about four hundred articles, in excellent preservation; comprising a variety of articles in wood, as carvings, boxes, cases for pencils and colours, in which the ancient colours are still enclosed; articles formed of leaves, rushes, &c. as brooms, baskets, and stools; earthen-ware of various forms, many resembling those of modern Egypt; linen, articles of dress, rings, &c. particularly a gold ring found on the finger of a mummy, ornamented with false stones; numerous articles of glass, many of which are very curious; slippers and sandals of palm leaf, of papyrus, and of leather, and buskins of green and red morocco; a series of paper articles, richly painted and gilt; several wigs, with the hair trizzed or braided, coarsely woven on a net; and a beautiful series of manuscripts on papyrus, some in hieroglyphics, and others in the characters called hieratic. The mummies are particularly interesting; comprising, in addition to those usually met with, that of an unknown quadruped, a strongly characterised head of a negro, and a Greek mummy, which is unique. A number of articles used by the inhabitants of Senaar and of the higher countries, and by the black idolaters, who live among the mountains, accompany this collection; which is rendered still more complete by the addition of an assemblage of the zoology, the botany, and the mineralogy of the countries extending from Alexandria to the 10th degree of north latitude.

Travels in the Interior of Africa.—A considerable sensation has been excited by the arrival of a Tartar, named Warjee, of the advanced age of seventy, at Cape Coast Castle, after traversing the interior of Africa. The route he pursued, after quitting Tripoli, in Syria, was first to Alexandria; he then crossed the Desert, through Angela, Zalu, Mourzook, Orient. Herald, V. l. 1.

Bornou, and Lushna; passed the Niger at Gana, and continued his journey to Nike, Zappoo, and Moossedos; again crossed the Niger at Jenua, from whence he arrived at Tombuctoo. He then crossed the Hong Mountains to Diambella, in the Mundin country, near Sierra Leone. He afterwards visited the capital of Ashantee, whence he arrived at Cape Coast Castle. He states that he remained five weeks at Tombuctoo; and that at six hours' journey from this city runs the principal branch of the Niger, which is there called Bar Nil; that the direction of the river is from west to east, and that it proceeds to join the Egyptian Nile. It is much to be regretted, that a considerable portion of the information he could impart is likely to be lost to us, as the only means of communication with him has been through a boy, who speaks the language of Housaa, of which Warjee learned a little in his journey, but which he understands very imperfectly. The following is the route which he points out from Cape Coast Castle to Tombuctoo:—to Cormasie 9 days, Salagha 14, Degwombali 5, Sansanimango 5, Koumfiela 15, Fournah 7, Mani 3, Imboulee 10, and Tombuctoo 5; in all 73 days.

Account of Regent's Town.—Dr. Ayres states that this town, which is one of the Settlements for freed Negroes, situated at the foot of a mountain, about eight miles from Free Town, and the building of which was commenced nearly seven years ago, now contains from twelve to fourteen hundred inhabitants, all captured Africans taken since that time from the holds of Slave vessels. When he visited the town, about the beginning of 1822, he was agreeably surprised at the order and improvement which was manifested: he arrived in the evening, and on the next morning, being Sunday, not a person was to be seen in the streets; a calmness reigned, he says, as solemn and profound as had done six years before, when nothing was to be heard in the wilderness but the softly-creeping tread of the leopard, when preparing to spring upon his prey. A few minutes before eight in the morning the children of the school were arranged in a line, classed according to their mechanical occupation, each class dressed in a uniform proper to itself, with the master workman at its head, who was responsible for the behaviour of his class; and when the time for morning prayer arrived, this interesting group of 200 moved in order to their seats in the

church. About 500 persons attended morning prayer, and after they had retired from the church, in the order in which they had entered, no more was seen of them until the bell again rang for the evening service. At once, as if the whole village had been moved by a magic spring, a very large proportion of the population appeared in the street, cleanly and decently clad, with Bibles under their arms, moving towards the church; and besides these, Dr. Ayres observed about a dozen young men with Bibles coming down from the mountain near the town. On inquiry who they were, he was informed that they had been selected from the school on account of their piety and superior attainments, and were preparing to return to their native land as missionaries, to declare the joyful tidings of their emancipation to their benighted countrymen, having already made considerable progress in the study of the native languages of Africa.

Height of the principal Mountain of Madeira.—That zealous and enterprising philosopher, Captain Sabine, has ascertained, in a visit to Madeira in the earlier part of the present year, that the height of the Pico-Ruivo, the most elevated mountain of the island, is 5438.1 feet above the level of the ocean. He regrets that steps have not been taken to ascertain the height of the volcanic cone of the Island del Fuego, one of the Cape Verd groupe; which he conceives to be more elevated than the Isle of San Antonio, which, nevertheless, according to the very probable calculation of Captain Horsburg, is 7400 feet high. Captain Sabine informs us, in a note, that the latitude of Funchal, the capital of Madeira, taken in the garden of the English Consul, has been ascertained by the comparison of sixteen chronometers, sent for this purpose by the Board of Longitude, to be $16^{\circ} 54' 52'' 5'''$ W. of Greenwich.

Intelligence from the Interior of Africa.—Dr. Oudney, Lieut. Clapperton, and Major Denham, seem at length to have reached the centre of Africa; and from the substance of several letters, addressed by them to their friends from Bornou, in March or April last, which has just been published in the Quarterly Review, we learn that they were then in that part of the continent in which the Niger was supposed to terminate. In November, 1822, departing from Mourzook, and travelling almost directly south, through a country nearly desert, they passed Bilma, a great mart of salt, and Agades, and on the 4th of

February reached Lari, the frontier town of Bornou. At this town, $14^{\circ} 40'$ N. lat. they came in sight of the Issad, or great Lake of Bornou, which they traced for 200 miles without reaching its extremity. About 60 miles farther south they passed a stream not above 100 feet broad, flowing into the lake from the west, which, though called Yaon by the natives, could be no other than the Niger, if that river exist at all under the meridian of 14° deg. east. Major Denham, leaving his fellow travellers at Rouka, 130 miles S. of Lari, penetrated 230 miles further S. in the company of a marauding party. Being then at $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of N. lat. within 400 or 500 miles of the east angle of the Coast of Guinea, he had advanced 300 or 400 miles beyond the parallel in which the Niger is laid down in our maps, without meeting any river but the Yaon. This river is presumed, therefore, to be the Niger, and the Lake of Bornou is supposed to be the same with the Swamps of Wangura laid down in our maps. Major Denham's expedition seems to have put to flight the Jebel Rumna, or Mountains of the Moon; in the latitude in which they are laid down by geographers he found a quite level country.

Dr. Oudney and Lieut. Clapperton, in a journey of about 90 miles to the S. E. of Kouka, discovered a river Shary, flowing direct N. This river, which flowed into the Great Lake, the natives informed them, was separated into two branches, one flowing into the lake, and another into the Nile; but this is considered highly improbable. For the lake is not above 900 or 950 feet above the level of the sea, and it is clear, from facts ascertained by Browne, that if the waters of this lake join the Nile at all, it must be by a channel about the tenth or eleventh parallel. They must consequently reach the sea by a course of nearly 3000 miles in length, in which the cataracts of Syene and Nubia, and probably others, occur. Now, the Amazon falls 1200 feet in its course of 3000 miles from Jaen to the sea, though it has not one single cataract; how then can we believe that a fall of 900 feet suffices to carry the waters of the Issad over several cataracts, and by as long a course, to the Mediterranean? It is tolerably certain, that the Bahl el Abiad, or Western Nile, traverses a mountainous country from its sources to the eleventh or twelfth parallel; and it can scarcely be doubted that its bed is from 2000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea, at the point

where it is supposed to receive the waters of the Niger. The natives understand nothing of these matters, and represent every thing in a fanciful and careless manner; but there is no necessity for supposing any outlet for the waters of the Niger shrunk to the petty Yaou in its course through an arid country. Evaporation is sufficient to carry off the surplus of water, which has so embarrassed the negroes.

These travellers give a very interesting account of the Empire of Bornou. Through the influence chiefly of the Sheik *Shameen el Kalmi*, it has reached a respectable degree of strength and civilization. This personage is described

as a soldier of fortune, who, from the humble occupation of school-master, has risen to all the *trality* of dominion, though he appears to shun the appearance. *Mau's* story is in fact the same all over the world. Vicissitude in his element. This African Chief nourishes a passion for war, and seems to understand the art of forming troops about as well as our ancestors of the eleventh or twelfth century. He afforded our countrymen every facility for exploring the country, and the regions immediately bordering it; and we may rationally hope to obtain through their exertions very considerable light concerning those regions of the world.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Southern Africa: Hottentot Council.—The account of this "Pietsiou," or General Assembly, held at New Lattakoo, June 14, 1823, on account of the approach of the Mantatees, a savage and powerful race, whose irruption was strictly noticed in a preceding Number, has been transmitted by Mr. Moffat, a missionary. The Bichuanas, inhabitants of New Lattakoo, in this assembly declared war against the invaders, and thanked Mr. Moffat for procuring the aid of the Griquas. The morning of the day was ushered in by the war-whoop of thousands of warriors, joined by the cries of the women and children. At ten o'clock the whole population advanced to the centre of the town, to a kraal used for the purpose, accompanying their movements with the war-song and dance. The warriors, on this occasion, were armed with hassagais, a shield, a quiver full of poisoned arrows, and a battle-axe; from the shoulder hung the tails of tigers, and a plume of feathers waved on their heads. Mateebe (the king) opened the discussion by commanding silence, and denouncing curses against the invaders. He then proceeded to describe them to his countrymen, to whom he declared that they were a terrible nation, and not to be withstood by their own single force; that, through Moffat, he had requested assistance of the Griquas, who were coming to succour them. After this, he invited every one present to declare his opinion.

When he had sat down, Mochame, a bold orator, arose. He also described the invaders as a fierce people, who were not to be escaped from by flight, nor opposed successfully in battle. He

abused his countrymen for their cowardice, but concluded by pressing an alliance with the Griquas. Numerous speakers follow, some advising one course, some another; and they ultimately determine to resist the foe.

The invasion is described in a letter from Mr. Moffat to his parents. Before the battle, which took place on the 26th of June, he took a journey into the interior, and arrived in time to be present at the terrible scene. On the evening of the 20th, the news reached New Lattakoo, that the enemy had entered Old Lattakoo; and, on the 22d, their anxiety was somewhat relieved by the arrival of about 100 Griqua horsemen. It was reported that there were white people among the invaders; and the Bichuanas were of opinion, that Mr. Moffat might be able to negotiate a treaty with the Mantatees by their means. In order to see what could be done, the missionary set out on his perilous journey on the 24th, and, on the 25th, came in sight of the enemy, who were lying in a declivity, north of where the old town stood. Mr. Moffat and the Griqua chief who accompanied him, rode up to a young woman whom they saw in one of the ravines: they put several questions to her, but she could only inform them, that they had come from a very distant country. Advancing a little, they found an old man and his son, the latter nearly dead, and the former scarcely able to say that they were perishing through hunger. He begged meat, and a piece was given. The appearance of Mr. Moffat and his companion appears to have excited great apprehensions in the Mantatees, for they immediately ended—

voured to conceal their cattle, and a few armed men rushed towards them, apparently in order to induce them to depart. The missionary, however, was not to be intimidated; he advanced nearer their body, and attempted to parley with them: but to no purpose, for a number of armed men rushing upon them, they were compelled to retire.

On the 26th, in spite of every attempt to come to an understanding, the battle took place, and the fortune of the day was decidedly against the Mantatees. This unfortunate people seem, however, to have possessed the most undaunted bravery, and in fact to have been equal to meet any thing but horses and firearms. The Griquas and Bichuanas committed the most detestable crimes after the fight, cutting to pieces both women and children, without the least mercy. The scene must have been truly horrible, and Mr. Moffat has described it forcibly:—"It was truly affecting," says he, "to behold mothers and infants rolled in blood, and the living infant in the arms of a dead mother. All ages and sexes lay prostrate on the ground. Shortly after they began to retreat, the women, seeing that mercy was shown them, instead of flying, generally sat down, baring their bosoms, exclaiming, 'I am a woman, I am a woman.' It seemed impossible for the men to yield. There were several instances of wounded men being surrounded by fifty Bichuanas, but it was not till life was extinct, that a single warrior was conquered."

After this circumstance, is it credible that not one of the Bichuanas should have fallen in battle, and only *one* by venturing too far in search of plunder, especially when it is stated, that nearly 400 of the Mantatees fell? We fear the honest missionary was not careful to inform himself exactly of the state of the case; nor are we quite sure that he does not somewhat exaggerate the terrible character of the Mantatees. At all events, the thing requires some *éclaircissement*; for, as Mr. Moffat appears to have been sufficiently collected to note whatever was passing around him, these contradictions could not have arisen from distraction. Again, either the Bichuana idiom must be very widely spread in the interior of Africa, or the Mantatees could not have come from any very great distance; for they seem to have been understood very well, even by Mr. Moffat, who cannot be supposed to be a critic in *Bichuana*. Upon the whole, the relation, though highly interesting, seems confused and imperfect;

still it may generally be true. Further knowledge of this Mantatee nation would be a valuable acquisition to our information respecting the tribes of interior Africa.

River Euphrates.—On Wednesday, February 4th, a very interesting communication was read at the Royal Society of Literature; viz. "Observations on the River Euphrates, by Sir Wm. Ouseley." This brief paper must have been the work of much studious labour, as well as active inquiry. To trace the "mighty Euphrates" historically, and geographically from its source in Armenia to its mouth in the Persian Gulf, was a task which few writers were competent to accomplish. We are sorry we can only give a rough outline of Sir William's excellent Memoir, derived, as it appears to have been, from extensive reading, both of European and Asiatic, modern and ancient authorities, and personal observation: connected with the last-mentioned qualification, the details were peculiarly attractive. In journeying from Persia to Constantinople, through Armenia, Sir W. O. stopped on the Euphrates at Satan's Valley (so called from abounding in scorpions and noxious creatures), a spot of verdure and beauty! Here he swam across the river, and found it to be from three to six feet in depth, broad, winding, and rapid, over a stony and rugged bed.* During his travel along its channel, especially during the last twenty, of seventy miles, he remarked that it flowed between steep rocky banks, finely clothed with wood, and displaying such willow trees as are described in that melancholy strain of the Hebrew captivity, where they paint their griefs in suspending their harps, and weeping while they thought on Jerusalem. In its course the river utters a loud and hollow noise; the effect of which is increased by the silence prevailing around.

The Euphrates was styled "great" by ancient authors, and also emphatically, "The River" (Hebrew Book of Joshua—Greek Apocalypse of St. John—Lucan, &c.); and several of its appellations serve to mark it as consisting of several streams, and to have been cut into artificial canals. The etymology of the word Euphrates is unknown—especially of the prefix *Eu*. Probably the root is the Hebrew *Frat* or *Perath*,† by

* Lower down towards Babylon and the Plain of Shinar it deposits a deep alluvial soil, and its bottom is mud and slime.

† The famous Persian poet, Firdausi, in his *Shahnamé*, where he relates the history of

some derived from Farrah, to be, or to render fruitful. This, however, seems fanciful.

Sir W. Ouseley took admirable means to elucidate his subject: he directed his inquiry towards the source of the river in Armenia, and endeavoured to ascertain what name it had borne and continued to bear in that region. The highest period at which he could arrive was the fifth century, when Moses of Chorene, in his history of Armenia, calls it Ephrat or Efrat; very slightly differing from the Greek. At the present day, many Armenians and Turks upon its banks, pronounce it as written in Arabic, Frât or Forât, sometimes softened into Forâd, and sometimes with the first letter changed into a mingled sound of M and V. To this corrupt and curious pronunciation may, perhaps, be ascribed the name of Morâd, bestowed by some modern geographers on a second branch, though Ptolemy has not distinguished one branch from the other by any particular name.

The concluding portion of the Essay excited much attention, and charmed both by its erudition and condensed information on a subject of universal interest—the site of the terrestrial paradise, of which the four rivers were, the Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Phrath, of Moses. There are a multitude of hypotheses on this point, of which we instance a few:—

1 The Garden of Eden existed between that place where the Euphrates and Tigris unite their streams, and the spot where now stands the city of Basrah.—[Huet, Bishop of Avranches; Dr. Wells, &c. &c.]

2. In Armenia, among the fountains of the four rivers, Phasis, Araxes, Tigris, and Euphrates.—[Reland's Dissert. de Parad. Terrest. &c.]

3 Near a town called Edneissar, (in lat. 41, and between 72 and 73 long.) at the foot of the mountain on which has been erected the city of Mardin.—[Father Angelo, who travelled in Asia between the years 1664 and 1678, and describes this situation, as being called in Turkish, "the thousand fountains;" whence, says he, issue the four rivers, Tigris, Euphrates, Kouksou or Blue-water, and Nahar-gilics or Sword-river; which

two latter, equivalent to the Gihon and Pison fall respectively into the two former.]

4. In the territory of Canaan, Palestine, or the Holy Land.

5. Near Damascus in Syria.

6. On the tract now covered by the Caspian Sea.

7. In Egypt.

8. In the Island of Ceylon, or Seranah.

Besides these various conjectures, each of which has had its advocates, it has been maintained by others, that the terrestrial paradise was on the banks of the Ganges—under the Equator in Africa—in Europe—and even in America. And even beyond this, Huet tells us, "There have been some who would place Paradise in the third or fourth heaven; in the heaven of the moon; in the moon itself; in a mountain adjoining the lunar heaven; in the middle region of the air," &c. &c. The Mohammedans confound it with their Bowers of Bliss; and the Jewish Rabbis have held that it reached to the seventh heaven, where the four rivers were of Milk, Wine, Balsam, and Honey. Sir W. Ouseley, with all his intelligence, does not presume to determine which is right.—*Lit. Gaz.*

Death of M. Langlec.—Literature and science have sustained a severe and unexpected loss by the death of M. Langlec, the celebrated Orientalist. He was one of the oldest Members of the Institut; Professeur à l'école spéciale des Langues Orientales; Conservateur Administrateur de Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Royale; Member of various foreign Societies; Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur, and of the Order de St. Vladimir, &c. &c. He was a native of Picardy, devoted from his youth to Oriental studies, was in full activity, and presided at a meeting of the New Geographical Society only a few days before his death. His sprightliness and energy indicated a fund of health; and his friends calculated on his society, and the Savans on his aid, for years to come, for he died in his 60th year. He will not easily be replaced. As a linguist, professors may be found to equal or surpass him in particular languages, but as a general Oriental scholar he was almost unrivalled. His knowledge of Eastern history, antiquities, authors, curiosities, customs, &c. was the result of enthusiastic and persevering research. He spared neither trouble nor expense; he grouped round himself the best productions of the writers of all countries, the most intelligent travellers, and the most industrious students. His collection of books, manuscripts, and engrav-

Queen Humai, calls it "ab i Forât;" this was nearly 800 years ago. By-the-by, this history strongly resembles that of Moses. Queen Humai, the mother of Darab, and grandmother of Darius vanquished by Alexander, to avoid a prophecy, that her son would deprive her of the crown, caused the child to be put into a wooden box, or ark, with fine linen, gold and jewels, and, while he slept, her servants (Firdausi relates) "took away the ark at midnight, not one of them opening his lips to the other,—they took it hastily from the presence of Humai, and cast it into the river Euphrates—at i Forât."

ings, is magnificent; and his salons were the resort of all the most interesting and most valuable professors or lovers of the sciences that resided in or visited the French metropolis. His death has produced an usual sensation, for it has come home to every one's habits and enjoyments. Twice every month, on the first and third Tuesday evenings, his salons were opened; his tables were spread with the newest and richest productions of the literature of all countries. Forty, fifty, sixty, and more persons of learning and distinction were collected from the most distant parts of the world; the colours and costumes of various climates and countries gave a sort of general character to the meeting; the business of literature was despatched, and the pleasures of literature enjoyed at the same time. A sort of *bourse* or exchange was established, at the expense of an individual, who was as hospitable in the administration of his refreshments to the bodies of his guests as he was liberal in the communication of all that was demanded from his stores of learning and information. It is to be regretted, and is no doubt deeply regretted by the surviving parties, that a misunderstanding should have existed between him and M. Silvestre de Sacy, Abel Rénoussat, and other distinguished Professors, which took a more serious character after the establishment of the Asiatic Society. M. Langles would not become a member, and even expressed himself, on some occasions, in terms of disapprobation of the proceedings and productions of that body. Had he lived, it is to be hoped that some accommodation would have taken place; and his death should teach us all to be slow to permit alienation to take place, but never to defer the moment of intended reconciliation. In some of his public employments, it is probable, he may be succeeded by M. Chézy.

Hindoo Festival.—One of the greatest Hindoo festivals in the Carnatic is held annually at Conjeveram. It is called the *Garudastavam*, and celebrates the descent of the god Vishnu upon earth. For ten successive days a small, holy, and ancient image of the god is either borne in triumphal procession among his delighted followers, or exposed to their adoring gaze in the courts of his temple. For ten days the streets are thronged with Brahmins and fakirs, pilgrims from afar, and peasants from the neighbourhood. Nothing is heard but the frenzied shout of the exulting fanatic, or the song of the merry idler,

whom the season of holiday sets loose from his wonted toil.

I chanced to be stationed within a few miles of Conjeveram at the period of this festival, in June 1822, and I went over to enjoy the scene. It was at the second hour after midnight that I mounted my horse, and rode forth alone. There had been rain in the night; the moon was still up; and all around, and on my path, whether tree or shrub, grass, or gravel-sand, or pool of water, was glistening and silvery.

My heart beat happily as I looked about me, and though alone, I felt not lonely; no, not even when the moon set, and left me in darkness. The whole world was present to my imagination; I was on my way to gaze on a scene familiar to those nations whose history and fate are recorded in the sacred pages of the Old Testament,—a scene only to be now viewed among the idolaters of India.

As I approached the town, I entered upon the more public road, and found numbers of native peasants in groups of families, some with burthens on their heads; others with children in their arms, or on their hips; * or leading those who could run alone; some aged, and bending to their tall staves; all pressing on with a noiseless foot-fall, and that silent heart-throbbing eagerness with which, in all countries, we hasten to a high place of public and solemn assembly.

My guide led me to the choultry whither the procession was to come, instead of to the gate of the pagoda, whence first it issues; so that I lost the moment when, with the break of day, the doors of the temple are thrown open, and the breathless multitude behold, and bow before their god; light the incense on their small censers; and break and pour out the milk of their cocoa nuts; and send up those maddening cries with which they hail the revered image glorified, as they believe it to be, by present deity.

Directed by the sound of the *tumuk*, and the hurried movement of the crowds, I soon discovered the procession. It was led by one of their wandering saints, a hale old man, with a flowing white beard, robes of deep salmon colour, and a turban of the same, but high and mythic in form. He brandished in his right hand a staff with an iron head, in shape like the sceptre of Vishnu; and

* The Indian mother often, indeed generally, carries her child astride on her hip, which she protrudes for that purpose.

he sang aloud, and danced with a wild rotatory motion.

Some twenty men followed, mounted on Brahminy bullocks, and beating *tumtoma*. Next four elephants with banners, and the *nagara* or large royal drum. Long files of dancing girls, with joys and flowers in their shining hair, came after, linked hand in hand, and moving in measured steps to the music of the temple. Then the image of the god,* borne on the bowed neck of *Ganida*,† with attendant Brahmins, and the umbrella‡ and chowrie‡ of sovereignty. All these were carried on a vast platform raised far above the heads of the crowd. A throng of officiating Brahmins, with their peculiar complexion and shaven crowns, closed the procession; and their chant, now loud and nasal, now deep and musically so, reminded me strongly of the convents and cloisters of the far West.

But why does such a thought intrude? Look around on the dark multitude—mark their dress and ornaments—look at those “round tires like the moon” on the heads of the women—observe those fakirs, the one with the iron rods forced through his skin all festered and bloody, the other suspended from the branch of that tree, his head downwards, and a fire under it,—and a third near them, his head buried under a heap of earth, and his naked and disgusting body protruded on your path. Come here to the idol-maker’s stall: what will you carry back, poor travel-worn pilgrim, to your distant cottage? Here are all your gods—all their symbols—all the little vessels for sacrifice. Nay, I smile not on you in scorn, but in pity.

“Great God! I’d rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on some pleasant lee,
Have glimpses which might make me less forlorn.”

than walk this world in name a Christian, but in heart a sceptic.

We dined, a large party of us, with Mr. C. the acting collector and magistrate, on the evening of this day, at his temporary bungalow in the town, and were summoned from table soon after nine to meet the night-procession. The order of it was like that of the morning, but now Vishnu rode upon a gilt and glittering figure of Hanuman, the monkey-god; the platform was

lighted up, hundreds of the attendants were bearing torches, and about fifty men carried large *tresuls*, whose trident heads were all flame; they were firing off rockets on all sides, and just after we came out, the procession halted. A large space was cleared; there was a good show of fire-works; and two immense colossal figures of pasteboard, well dressed, and admirably managed, danced to the loudly laughing crowds; and here in the midst of this multitude were a dozen of us pale Europeans, a rajah and two of his sons, and a wealthy native merchant, seated on English arm chairs. I shall never forget the scene; I had feared that the moon would spoil the effect of the lights and fire-works, but no; there was much sulphureous blue in the fire-works, and the flaring blaze of the torches gave to the leaves of the tall cocoa-trees, which line the streets, a metallic brilliancy: on many of them were clusters of Indian boys, every house-top, every broken wall, was covered with groups, thronging as bees swarm, and a dense moving mass filled the streets. I was much delighted with the picture, yet I did, at times, look up to the blue cloudless vault of heaven, and to the golden stars, and, as I gazed upon the moon shining in calm majesty, the tumult of my spirits was repressed and repressed.

We accompanied the procession to the *Muntipum*,* and saw the nautch girls dance before the god. They were none of them remarkable for beauty; but the dress, and the measured step, and movement of the arms, cannot be viewed with indifference by any one for whom historical or poetical associations have charms.

The next morning I saw the image of Vishnu borne on a huge coiled serpent of gilt metal, with a spreading hood, and seven heads of silver, over-arching and canopied the god, and it trembled as it moved.

I afterwards rode home, but returned to witness the *Rutt Jatra*. The night before, a curious ceremony takes place: the Vishnavites carry their god on a huge gilt elephant to insult the temple and the followers of Siva. This has been customary for centuries, and was once a constant cause of tumult and bloodshed. Now there is a particular pillar to which they may go: a servant of the Company is always present, and it ends, if not in good humour, at least harmlessly. I saw this folly: their expression of contempt is not different

* The image of Vishnu was very small, adorned most richly with jewels, and clothed with brocade.

† The *Ganida* is represented by the figure of a man larger than life, with the head of an eagle; the whole of gilt copper.

‡ The well-known emblems of Indian royalty.

* Small Temple of Rest.

from that adopted by common consent into all pantomimes, whether Dutch, Italian, or English. The god and the elephant turn their rumps towards the front of Siva's temple, and are thrice propelled to the permitted point with the shout and the gesture of insult; some of the Vishnuvites appeared quite mad, they leaped on each other's shoulders, shook their large torches, and sang defiance.

It was at daybreak on the following morning that I saw the Rutt in motion, and certainly it is a sight for the traveller: the platform of this car or temple is five and thirty feet from the ground, and the tapestried canopy and its supporters and decorations five and thirty feet higher; it is capable of containing twenty or thirty Brahmins; the whole is solid, strong, curiously carved, and heavy; the wheels are ten feet in diameter, solid, and of enormous thickness. Four cables, one hundred yards in length, are attached to it, and with shoulders under, or hands on these cables, there are certainly not less than two thousand labourers engaged in drawing it along. On it moves, high above the uplifted faces of the crowded worshippers,* these press to come near, throw up (with money) an offering of cocoa-nuts; the attendant Brahmins break and present them to the god, and cast them down again, *thus consecrated*, to the wretched, yet glad devotee, who shares them with the family he brought up to the feast, and with which he has to retrace the long and weary way to his native village.

This Rutt is dragged through the principal streets, and on its return, when it arrives within about a hundred yards of the spot where it is to be drawn up, there is a shout and a yell, the movement is more rapid, and fearfully it towers and totters along till its ponderous wheels are again bedded in their resting place.

During the whole of this scene, numbers of young Brahmins, armed with thongs of the deer,† are leaping about in the crowd, striking now those who drag the car, now those who press upon their path, and you may observe wealthy and well-dressed men come and just put their hand over to touch the rope, and claim the merit of having dragged the car. The women hold up their little children above their heads, and every sight and sound speak tumultuous joy. But

let us pause, the crowds are dispersing:—Who are those twenty or thirty poor men covered with sweat and dust, looking toil-worn and hungry, and now salaaming with fear to that stern Brahmin? They are village coolies, who were pressed and driven in to drag the car of Vishnu, the lowest of whose followers would spurn them from his path.

And here, come into this tope; and down to the edge of this tank; look at these groupes of poor families with their small and insufficient portions of cold rice. They are not acknowledged, even by the Soodras, but they wear the mark of Vishnu; class themselves among his humble followers; have come up to the feast, to worship, and make the offering of their little all; and will now go home, and practise the most painful economy for a year to come. Now enter the courts of temple; here all is feasting and smiles; these groupes of sleek fat men are officiating Brahmins, who are partaking of an entertainment provided for them by that black Hindoo merchant, of the Blyse cast, with diamonds in his ears, and cunning in his eyes, who has come up from Madras for the occasion.

Such is an Indian festival pictorially sketched: it were a long, long comedy if I attempted to carry my reader behind the scenes, among Shemitadars, Moon-shees, Peons, and the whole herd of petty oppressors; a comedy, I say, but I mean it not unfeelingly: the word tragedy I reserve for higher and more serious considerations, for can there be a deeper or more awful one, or one more afflicting to the heart of a believing Christian, than to look upon these millions, feeding on ashes, their deceived hearts turning them aside, holding fast a lie in their right hands, and seeing not the cup of astonishment and desolation prepared for them?—*Sketches in India.* By an Officer. 2d Edit.

Maritime Enterprises of the Russians.—It appears from the last Number of the *Annales des Voyages*, that M. Simonof, Professor at the University of Kasan, has given a sketch of the Voyages of the Russians to the South Pole, which is full of interest. In Europe it is not generally known that the circumnavigators, sent by the powerful Emperor of the North, have made, between the parallels of 60 and 70°, a voyage round the Pole, much more complete and instructive than that made by the celebrated Capt. Cook. The island situated farthest south, at present known, bears the name of Alexander I.—*Journal des Debats.*

* Here the devotees do not throw themselves under the car, as at Jaggernaut.

† The skin of the deer is not considered as polluting.

SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN AND COLONIAL JOURNALS.

SUPREME COURT, CALCUTTA,

June 28, 1823.

The KING on the prosecution of GOPAL DOSS, *versus* KALEEPSAUD THAKOOR, RADAMOHUN CHOWDREE, MOHUN DOSS, RAMANUND DOSS, and MIRJE RAM.

[This case occupied the Court for two days; but as, if reported at full length, it would take up a much larger portion of our space than we can at present spare to such a subject, the proceedings of the Court having lately engrossed so much of our pages, we have merely given an abridgment of the more detailed account that appeared in the *Hurkaru*.—*Ed. Cal. Journ.*]

MR. TURTON stated that the indictment charged the defendants with a riot and robbery, in a Hindu temple. The first count was for a riot and disturbance, the second count for the riot only, the third for taking away goods from the temple, the fourth for breaking into a dwelling house, the fifth for an assault, the sixth for a forcible entry into the temple, and the seventh for a forcible entry into the dwelling house.

MR. MONLY described the prosecutors in this case as Hindu priests, worshipping an idol in a temple near the Burra Bazar. Of the defendants, Kaleepsaud Thakoor, he said, was a member of the famous Thakoor family, and he had every reason to believe that what had been done was at his instigation; but be that as it may, the perpetrators of it must bear the consequences of their crime. How it came into the heads of the defendants to do as they had done, he was at a loss to conceive, but he left it to the Jury to determine after they had heard the evidence. About fifty years ago, the ancestors of Kaleepsaud Thakoor gave the land on which the temple is built to Ram Gossain, who, after having retained possession of it for twenty or twenty-five years, died, and left it to Hurree Doss. This individual maintained public worship in it up to 1820, and in that year he died. The property then succeeded to Goverkund Doss, his adopted son, and he understood that the pretence for now turning the plaintiff out was, that as the first possessor under the original gift had died without a will, the land ought to revert to the Thakoor family; but if the learned Counsel could prove possession

to the jury for the time he had stated, that would be quite sufficient to entitle him to their verdict. But the whole of the land had not been presented by the Thakoor family, and consequently could not revert to them, for part of it had been given by the Rajah of Moorsheda-bad.

The facts of the case were thus described by the learned counsel. On the 27th of December, 1822, the defendants came with an European Bailiff to the temple, and ordered him to seal some of the doors. While he was there, no harm had been done, but as soon as he had gone away, the defendants went to the acting priest, asked for the key of the door, where the god and god's property were; and on his refusal to give it up, beat him and others violently and threw them down stairs. They then went down stairs themselves, and made a forcible entry into the priest's house.—The defendant Thakoor was not satisfied with all this, but at the time of the evening puja, he thought he had a right to be priest, and accordingly performed it to the other prisoners. The riot continued for some time, and until some man more sensible than the others waited upon Mr. Stacey, and brought him there to induce them to leave off. The learned counsel said that he should prove the riot, the assault, and the forcible entry, and if he did so he should have a right to the verdict of the jury on all the counts.

Hurree Doss, (Pujari)—stated that the doors sealed were those of the Bramin's houses. When the sergeant went away, the defendants went up to the place where the idols were, and called to the pujari to give them the keys of the place, which he could not do without permission of the proprietor. On his refusal Kaleepsaud Thakoor seized him by the neck, struck him, and told the burjabassies to beat him also. They did beat him, upon which Loll Doss and Tholl Doss asked them why they did so. Radamohun Chowdree then told the burjabassies to beat them; and Kaleepsaud desired three of the defendants to break the lock of the place where the idol was. Kaleepsaud told them to beat witness well, and if it cost a thousand or two he would pay it. After they had thus been beaten they were thrust down stairs, and Tholl Doss got his head cut against the wall, and it bled.

Orient, Herald, Vol. 1.

3 T

In all thirty or forty people were present, and they made a great noise. After they were thrust down, some men came with a basket containing some vessels and cups. Witness detailed who were the bearers of the articles taken from the temple. Witness called "dewal," upon which Radamohun made as though he would beat him again, and told him to be quiet. As witness had been beaten once, he did not wish to risk another beating, and for that reason allowed them to pass. Sometime after, some of the defendants came back again and performed the ceremony of worship, beating the gongs, &c. People were waiting there to prevent witness from performing the ceremony, and he did not attempt to do so. Hurree Doss first appointed witness to perform the worship, and he was continued in his place by Gopal Doss. The defendants remained until Mr. Stacey came, about 10 or 11 o'clock, and sent them away. When they were gone he examined the goods of the idol, and found that the gburra, the pitara, the lotas, and other vessels were missing. He saw the contents of the box about four months before this time at the feast of the Dole Jattrra, when it contained several ornaments of gold and precious stones belonging to the idol, which Hurree Doss got made for it. Formerly Hurree Doss was proprietor of them, but Gopal Doss now was. When defendants broke into the temple, they made a great noise and beat the tom toms.

Cross-examined by Mr. FERGUSON.—He had on his usual clothes on this occasion; the defendants beat his body, seized him by the hair and throat, and beat him with their fists. He did not go to complain at the Thannah, because he was senseless, and was lying in that state from candlelight until 10 or 11 o'clock. The moment he was thrust down he became senseless. The river where he was lying is very close to the temple. He fell down stairs, went to the river, drank some water, and returned to the choubutra, where he fell down senseless. He did so because he was so much vexed. He is quite certain he was not asleep; he did not dream; his sides were broken with being shoved all the way down stairs; and he sat at the bottom of the stairs until they had taken away the things, when he tried to go up again.

In answer to Prisoners.—Radamohun Doss is dead—he is gone to heaven.

Loll Doss offers fruits, flowers, and tulsi leaf at the thakorebarri of Ram Sita in the Burra Bazar. He confirmed

what had been deposed by the former witnesses relative to the beating and forcible expulsion by the defendants and their burjabassies.

Second Day, — July 1, 1823.

The Jury having assembled, Mr. Money proceeded to call his remaining witnesses. These were five in number, who had seen the different stages of the disturbance, and deposed to nearly the same facts as those examined on the former day. One or two of them denied having seen Kaleepersaud Thakoor at the place, and another to the articles taken away having been conveyed to a neighbouring temple by the defendants, where they were refused admission.

Mr. FERGUSON then addressed the Jury for the defendant. He was very sorry he said, that so trumpery a case should for two days have detained the Jury from their business. They had brought evidence to prove that the goods had been taken away, as if they wanted damages—and then on the other hand they had brought an action of replevin. If the Jury disbelieved the evidence for the riot and assault, they must acquit the defendants altogether; for the taking away the goods, even to the amount of 500,000 pounds, he could tell them, was a civil, and not a criminal action.

Mr. FERGUSON then called *William Brown*; who deposed that he made the distress about 4 o'clock; that he first went to Kaleepersaud's house, who sent the chowdree along with him, but remained at home himself; and that witness, after having sealed the doors, went home.

Cross-examined by Mr. MONEY.—He staid at Kaleepersaud's house about a quarter of an hour, and saw a number of natives there armed with sticks to the amount of twenty, eight or nine of whom went along with him. Kaleepersaud told him that the two people who were along with him were not enough, and that he would send his people to guard the premises after they were left by him. Some of the people who went with him went up stairs, but came down again immediately. He is quite positive he did not see Kaleepersaud—did not know where the people went, who came with him from the house—he left the chowdree there. He heard a noise down stairs, and saw one blow struck.

Mr. FERGUSON called several other witnesses, who all deposed to the fact of Kaleepersaud being absent at the time the outrage was stated to have

been committed. One of them deposed to the title of the Thakoor family to the premises in question, and another to the manner in which Kalepersaud spent the whole of the evening. More than one of them said that some disturbance had occurred at the temple, but they all denied that Kalepersaud had any share in it. The difference in their evidence was so very immaterial, that it appears to us to be quite unnecessary to point it out in this place by going through the whole of it.

Mr. MONEY then addressed the jury in reply.

Sir A. BULLER summed up, after which the jury retired for some time, and returned with a verdict against all the defendants on the 5th count—that of an assault, and acquitted them on the others.

The Court then directed that Kalepersaud and Thakoor should pay a fine to the king of 200 rupees, and the other defendants of 20 rupees each, which they immediately did, and were discharged.

PROPOSED CANALS FOR IMPROVING THE NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE GANGES AND THE HOOGLY.

Extract from a Plan lately submitted to Government for the formation of an easy and permanent communication by water, between the Upper and Eastern Provinces of India and Calcutta, during the dry season.

The want of a free navigation between the Eastern and Upper Provinces, and Calcutta, during the months of January, February, March, April, and May, when most of the rivers which branch off from the Ganges become too shallow for large boats, has long been felt, and considerable expense has been incurred to remedy the evil, but hitherto without effect, every succeeding year bringing with it additional complaints of the obstructed state of the rivers, and the increased delay in the navigation. Various plans have been contemplated, and resorted to, but they all appear to have been founded on one and the same erroneous theory; and have, in consequence, produced similar unsuccessful results.

In Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, Canal navigation, of late, has been brought rapidly to a degree of perfection, which, a century back, could scarcely have been anticipated by even the most sanguine. Much has consequently been written and said on the subject, and certain rules and axioms derived from extensive experi-

ence, established; but however suitable they may be to the countries in which they were formed, they must fail in others where they cannot be applied under similar circumstances.

In Europe, the greatest difficulty opposed to the establishment of Canals, lies in carrying a sufficient body of water over great inequalities of ground, by means of locks; but when once formed, they will remain unaltered for ages. In the plains of Bengal, on the contrary, the very reverse takes place. There is no difficulty or obstacle in forming a canal, the country being an uniform flat, and the soil easy of excavation. The grand point required, therefore, is to preserve the canal in a navigable state, after it is once formed. Before proceeding to the plan proposed, it will be shown, that the difficulty of keeping a canal open in the higher parts of Bengal, is so great, as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to success; the beds of the Ganges and its dependent streams, having, in that part of the country, a natural tendency to be constantly changing or filling up.

Both Major Rennel and Colonel Colebrooke, who, of all others, have paid the most attention to the subject, are decidedly of this opinion. The former observes, "I can easily suppose, that if the Ganges was turned into a straight canal, cut through the ground it now traverses in the most winding parts of its course, its straightness would be of short duration. Some yielding part of the bank, or that which happened to be the most strongly acted on, would first be corroded or dissolved: thus a bay or cavity would be formed on the side of the bank. This begets an inflexion of the current, which, falling obliquely on the side of the bay, corrodes it incessantly. When the current has passed the innermost part of the bay, it receives a new direction, and is thrown obliquely towards the opposite side of the canal, depositing in its way, the matter excavated from the bay, and which begins to form a shallow or bank contiguous to the border of the canal. Here then, is the origin of such windings as owe their existence to the nature of the soil. The bay, so corroded, in time becomes large enough to give a new direction to the body of the canal; and the matter excavated from the bay is so disposed as to assist in throwing the current against the opposite bank; where a process, similar to that I have been describing, will be begun. The action of the current on the bank will also have the effect of deepening the border of the

channel near it; and this again increases the velocity of the current in that part. Thus would the canal gradually take a new form, till it became what the river now is. Even when the windings have lessened the descent one half, we still find the current too powerful for the banks to withstand it." *

In another place, speaking of the changes which happen in the beds of the Ganges, he says, "The experience of these changes should operate against attempting canals of any length in the higher parts of the country; and I much doubt, if any in the lower parts would long continue navigable." †

Colonel Colebrooke also observes on the cuts made in the Baugretty to straighten its course. — "There is, however, no other advantage in making such cuts, than rendering the passage somewhat shorter by water; and it is a question worth considering, whether by shortening the course of any river, we may not render it less navigable; for the more a river winds, the slower will be its current, and, consequently, its waters will not be drained off so soon. Another effect of the shortening its course might be, that, owing to the greater rapidity of the current acting against the sides in a loose soil, it might too much enlarge the capacity of its bed, the effect of which would be to produce a proportional degree of shallowness in the middle of the stream." ‡

The fact of the Baugretty, the Jellughie, and the Matabanga rivers having been unnavigable for many late seasons, notwithstanding the expense and labour which have, at different times, been bestowed to keep their channels open, is, of itself, a most convincing proof of the inutility of attempting to form any permanent communication between the Ganges and the Baugretty or Hoogly, by their means; and the fate of all cuts of communication between their occasionally-obstructed heads and the great river, may be conjectured, from that which was made near the Sooty, to join the Ganges and Baugretty. When first opened it was only a few yards wide, but the stream was no sooner admitted, than it quickly expanded to as many hundred,

and two years after its completion, not a trace of its existence remained; the middle of one of the principal streams of the Ganges is now pointed out as the spot, where the excavation had been made.

It often happens, that in pursuit of a favourite object, circumstances of great importance are overlooked, because their effects are too slow and remote to enter into immediate calculation; but though slow in their progress, they may nevertheless be so sure in their effects, as to bring with them consequences of a very momentous and even fatal nature. Thus in all the projects to keep open the communication between the Upper Provinces and Calcutta, by means of the rivers flowing from the great Ganges into the Hoogly, it seems altogether to have escaped observation, that by straightening their courses, and employing machinery to free their beds from the accumulated sand, that very sand is hastened down to a part of the river where it is of the greatest consequence to have a free passage, viz. between the metropolis and the sea, where on being stopped by the tide, its disposition must materially tend to increase the height of the sand banks, and obstruct the outward passage. Surely this is a subject worthy of the most serious consideration. Slow has hitherto been the process, but that it is sure, appears undoubted, from the well known increase to the sands of the river of late years. Were it possible so much to retard the progress of the sand down the Hoogly (by encouraging the windings of the river, and the formation of sand banks at its efflux from the Ganges), so that it might be deposited before it reaches Calcutta, the river, in that case, would become similar to the Issamutty, Cobbaduck, and others of the Sunderbunds, which, at the same distance from the sea as Calcutta, are free from sand, and having become little else than tide-ways, the sand banks at their mouths have remained stationary, and without further increase; nor have the beds of these rivers at all filled up in the course of many years, the soundings taken in 1817 agreeing with those made by Rennell, at least 40 years ago.

Although the country towards the head of the Delta is unfit for Canal Navigation, from the causes above mentioned, the same objections do not apply to that portion of Bengal, which is situated within the influence of the tide; and which, on the contrary, appears to be peculiarly adapted for such

* Vide Rennell's Memoir, p. 214.

† Major Rennell, in this place, alludes particularly to the tract of country at the head of the Jellughie and Matabanga rivers on the right bank of the Ganges; and generally to such parts of Bengal where similar changes to what he describes are observed in the beds of the river.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, p. 20.

an undertaking. The surface of the ground is nearly on a level with the water at high tide, consequently the expense of excavation will be trifling, and no locks will be required, as the numerous inlets from the sea will always afford a sufficient supply of water, and when once the Canal is made, it will be liable to suffer no alteration; the alternate flux and reflux of the tide, far from affecting the banks, operating against their sides in such a manner as to preserve their original form undisturbed. At least during the late survey of the Sunderbunds, the different small nullahs situated near the line of the proposed Canals were found to be nearly in the same state as when surveyed by Major Rennell. The reason appears obvious: the water holds little or no sand in suspension, and the deposition of mud is trifling, of which one instance may be noticed; Goodlad's Creek, which was excavated in 1795-6, but has not yet become at all obstructed, nor do I think it has since experienced any change. The cut made by Lieutenant Morrison, of Engineers, having retained its original form, may be mentioned as another instance of the durability of such works in this part of the country.

That this navigation should have been so long disregarded, may perhaps be attributed to the accidental circumstance of the Matabanga and Baugretty having continued open for several years, and to the subsequent partial, though inefficient endeavours, at removing the obstruction by drags, cuts, &c. The total failure, however, of these attempts, in every instance in which they have been resorted to, affords an unequivocal proof of their insufficiency.

The Chundna river has never yet been so much obstructed as to impede the progress of the largest boats; and the Gurroy, a branch of the same river, although not navigable throughout the year when Major Rennell wrote, now assumes an appearance equally favourable to permanent navigation (an explanation of the cause of which will be attempted in another place). These are consequently resorted to by the Up-country and Eastern trade boats, when all the other passages to Calcutta are unavailable. These rivers strike off from the Gauges, the former at Koostee, and the latter at Moddapoor, and they ultimately unite at Mus-undurpoor, in the Jessore district, flowing into the Sunderbunds passage at the village of Allipoor on the Boirub near Koolna; hence the route lies through the Sunderbunds and Tolly's Nullah to Calcutta.

The navigation as far as the Sunderbunds is perfectly safe: it then becomes dangerous to boats heavily laden with merchandise, from the great breadth and depth of some of the rivers which form a part of the passage, particularly the point at the head of the spacious inlet called the Roymungal, and the crossing of another termed the Seep-sah, improperly the Murjattah in the maps. Independent of which, the natives are strongly averse to this route, from the dread of tigers, the danger of cooking ashore, the want of fresh water, and the delay attending the passage through Tolly's Nullah.

When Tolly's Nullah was first excavated and brought into use, it was perhaps sufficiently large for the trade which had then to avail itself of the benefit it offered; but that it is quite inadequate to the present navigation, is evident from the fact, that at certain seasons of the year, when a free passage is most required, it is choked up with boats all the way from its junction with the Hoogly to a distance of three or four miles on the other side of Gurriahant. Indeed, many of these boats, finding a further progress hopeless, are compelled to deposit their burdens on the bank of the Nullah to be afterwards transported to Calcutta, either in smaller boats or by a land carriage of seven or eight miles. The increased population of the town demanding a larger supply of fuel, the wood-boats, which are the principal cause of this obstruction in the Nullah, have increased in proportion; and being now necessitated to load at a greater distance, and in larger rivers than formerly, the size of the boats has also become greater. When two of this description of craft happen to be brought to an opposite bank, it is with difficulty an ordinary budgerow or grain-boat can pass between them, even at the height of the tide, and as the tide falls, and the surface of the water decreases, the boats in the Nullah jam together, causing much damage, and totally shutting the passages.

What is proposed, therefore, is to make one grand line of water communication, between the Upper Provinces and the Eastern side of Bengal and Calcutta, open and secure for every description of boats, by forming a junction between the Gurroy and Hoogly rivers, by means of canals at the head of the Sunderbunds, lessening the expense by taking advantage of such Nullahs as lie in a suitable direction, thus avoiding the large rivers and the inconveniences of the present route. Luckily,

the facilities for the accomplishment of this object are greater than might be expected, on considering that the line extends in a direction which might be supposed to cut perpendicularly the general course of the rivers.

FEATS IN TIGER SHOOTING.

To the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.

SIR,—HAVING of late seen several descriptions of tiger shooting in the *Journal*, perhaps the following extract from a letter from Jaulna may be thought worth inserting. A degree of boldness has certainly been evinced by the parties,—as great perhaps as has ever been known; but however successful they may have been in the three hazardous affairs mentioned, I would caution them not to venture their *good fortune* too far. Skill and science will sometimes fail, and there is but little honour or glory to be attached to the memory of any one who has *wantonly* placed himself in the hazard of being torn to pieces by a wild beast; and as sorry is the consolation to one's friends, as is the remark, that that "death proceeded from a struggle with *Royalty*."

"Capts. S. of the Commissariat, and W. of the Horse Artillery, went out about fourteen months ago in search of a royal tiger, said to be in the neighbourhood, and discovering him, gave him several balls from the elephant on which they were; but on the beast taking post amongst some rocks, where they judged the elephant could not have fair play, they dismounted, and walking up side by side, discharged effectually the contents of their double-barrelled guns into his head the moment he gave his roar, and was in the act of springing on them at the distance only of three or four yards. About three months after this affair, the same two officers, in company with Lieut. T. (also of the Horse Artillery) went in quest of another beast of the same description, and approaching the spot where he was said to be, (on foot,) discovered him, and instantly fired into him. Their fire, however, was without the intended effect, though it threw the beast off the party. Roaring and bounding he went off about a couple of hundred yards, when the party again were up to him, and just within springing distance, sent the whole contents of their guns into him, placing him *hors de combat*.

"S. and T. again went out a few days ago after three royal tigers near the same place, and trusting entirely to

their skill and nerve, *sought them in their haunt on foot with their guns only*; and without the slightest accident, in the course of a quarter of an hour, killed two out of the three. The one was shot at the distance of about twenty yards, when rushing from the bushes towards them, and immediately fell. The other at somewhat a longer distance, whilst facing his adversaries in a crouched attitude in the moment of making a rush. One out of the four shot, measured upwards of ten feet in length and four in height, two were nine and a half in length and somewhat under four feet high (tigrasses), and the fourth a young tigress was near eight feet long."—Yours, &c. T. R.

Hyderabad, June 30, 1823.

LATE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Madras Government Gazette, Thursday, July 3, 1823.—At a Meeting of the Madras District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, held in St. George's Church, Choultry Plain, on Saturday the 28th of June 1823, to consider of the best means of co-operating with the Society in the measures resolved upon by them, on the occasion of the lamented death of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Vaughan, President, in the Chair; the Hon. H. S. Græme; the Hon. Sir C. Grey, Kt.; H. Byrne, Esq.; J. L. Grant, Esq.; J. Gwatkin, Esq.; J. Goldingham, *sen.* Esq.; Major Cadell; J. M. Strachan, Esq.; W. Huddleston, Esq.; Capt. Mountford; J. F. Thomas, Esq.; S. Nicholls, Esq.; Rev. W. Thomas; Rev. M. Thomson; and Richard Clarke, Esq.

The Venerable the Chairman having opened the purpose of the Meeting, the Secretary read a letter from the Rev. W. Parker, Assistant Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the printed Resolutions transmitted therein. After which the Hon. Sir Charles Grey addressed the Meeting.

Gentlemen—The honour has been offered to me of proposing the Resolutions which, presently, will be read; and I cannot decline it; but it would have fallen, perhaps, more appropriately upon some other. For this is a fit opportunity to bring into recollection, not merely those characteristics of the late Bishop of Calcutta, of which the world is already informed, but, those less prominent yet more interesting ones, which a friend only can know or relate: and I have wished that, of those who were

acquainted with him, some one might have stood forward, and, as far as the power of words could effect it, might have made him, for a few moments, present to our minds, before the record of his virtues is narrowed to the limits of his monument.—For myself I can speak but of that which has long been known to all: but it is more than sufficient to justify the purpose for which we are assembled; and I will not be entirely silent, lest it should seem that, by this Meeting the invitation from home, or by myself the proposal to move these resolutions, has been met with reluctance or indifference.

Ten years ago, Dr. Middleton was in the quiet enjoyment of all, if not of more than all, that to ordinary minds appears desirable. Placed in the Metropolis of England, he had fortune which surpassed any wishes that he entertained for himself; he had employment suited to his inclinations; he had the reputation of talents, of learning, and of piety. But, a field was opened to him in which, at the risk of every thing but that which was inherent in his mind, it was possible to apply to ampler uses the faculties with which he had been sent into the world. He did not long hesitate: and it is with great joy that I see in his choice, and in the motives which prompted him to make it, one of innumerable instances, that the genius and energies of the British people are not on the decline. In the early part of the last century, Berkeley formed that benevolent plan which involved the devotion of his own life, his labours, and his pure intellect, to the task of enlightening the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. It failed: because it was deemed by others romantic and impracticable: yet in the present day, plans similar in their objects and means, but of wider scope are on foot, and in a course of success. If there are any who doubt of the propriety or importance of such plans, I would suggest for their consideration the consequences which, probably would have ensued if Berkeley had been assisted with hearty good will by the people and government of England. If our arts, our language, our knowledge, our religion and institutions had been freely, but gradually imparted; if a fabric of native society had been so built up as to ensure, to those included in it, any good which they possessed, and an equal share of future benefits, we should not have, now, to bear the shame and the regret of having obtained an extension of the sphere of civilization at the deplorable price of the extirpation of

the North American race; the monstrous system of Negro slavery might have perished in its infancy with the necessities which gave it birth: Great Britain and America might still have been one people; or if we had parted, it would have been on better terms: and the hatred of England, which is entertained by the descendants of England, would not have existed in that intensity and singleness which threatens future calamities.

England, perhaps, has not yet paid the full penalty of having permitted the destruction of one of the tribes of Man. But I had not intended to say more of the plans of Berkeley than that I will not estimate at any lower rate the similar motives of the first bishop of Calcutta; all circumstances considered, I doubt whether the sacrifice contemplated by the one, was greater than that which was made by the other: who, at a greater distance from his country, and in the burning climate of Bengal, persevered so long in the dedication of his fortune, his time, and his whole powers to the ungrateful task which he had set before him: and, seeking no common reward, has at last died poor.

We are invited to assist in building up his monument, and we shall all, I believe, join cheerfully in this last office, not from any indistinct and foolish notion that the tomb is to be raised as a reward to him whose name will be written on it, but regarding it as a natural result of his meritorious life; and an obvious mode of giving expression to the feelings which have arisen at his death. If we must look for some utility in the measure, let it be found in its excitement of others; even of those who are engaged in the service of the Church. For, if I rightly apprehend the spirit of the Church of England, it does not require that its ministers should be dead to the better feelings of our nature: it makes no provision for those who are anchorites and ascetics in outward form: neither does it require that any should make a hermitage of the heart, and isolate themselves in a spiritual desert. An instructor must have some sympathies with those whom he instructs: and if there is any man to whom it is a matter of no regard whether he is remembered or forgotten when he is dead, let him not boast of an indifference which he has in common with natures inferior to his own. I indulge in the belief, that to the public expression of grief and admiration, which the death of the late Bishop called forth in England, it may in some degree, be

owing, that we are to have a successor who is not inferior to him in any great or good qualities. I must speak cautiously of the feelings of one who is entering upon solemn and arduous duties; but thus much I will venture to say of the excellent person to whom I allude, that whatever higher and more holy motives may have supervened, twenty years cannot have so deadened his warm feelings and obliterated his early character, that, he will hear with insensibility of the honours paid to his predecessor. I think with satisfaction that a part of the support, of which he will feel the want, may be derived from the hope now held out to him that, in after times, his name also may be read upon the national sepulchres of his own country.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That this Meeting have learned with the most lively satisfaction, from the resolutions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which have now been read, that a Monument is to be erected to the memory of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.

That this Meeting are grateful for the opportunity now offered them of adding their names to those of the Society in England in record of their veneration for the memory of their first Bishop, the founder of Diocesan and District Committees in India, to whose valuable counsel, and generous assistance, this Committee are indebted for the most important effects of their institution.

That, in conformity with the resolution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which limits the contributions towards the Monument "to the amount of each Member's annual subscription to the society," the contributions of the Members of the Madras District Committee, be limited to the sum which, at the exchange of the day, will give one Guinea in England, that sum being about equivalent to the proportion to the local subscription which is appropriated as a donation by the society.

That Subscriptions be received by the Treasurer, Messrs. Arbutnot and Co. and by the Secretary, and that the amount, when collected, be transmitted, with a copy of these resolutions, to the Board in London.

That these resolutions be communicated to the Members of the Committee resident in the Provinces, and to those at the Presidency, who have not attended this Meeting.

At the motion of the hon. H. S. Græme,

Agreed unanimously, that the thanks

of the Meeting be given to Sir Charles Grey, for the excellent Address delivered by him.

Agreed unanimously, that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Venerable the Archdeacon, for having convened the Meeting, and for his obliging conduct in the chair.

Edward Vaughan, Chairman.

BISHOPS BERKELEY AND MIDDLETON.

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir,—Sir Charles Grey in a late elegant address to the gentlemen composing the Madras District Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, has suggested a comparison between the great bishop of Cloyne, and the late bishop of Calcutta, and almost given the preference to the latter. The passage is as follows:—

"But I had not intended to say more of the plans of Berkeley than that I will not estimate at any lower rate the singular motives of the first bishop of Calcutta; all circumstances considered, I doubt whether the sacrifice contemplated by the one, was greater than that which was made by the other; who, at a greater distance from his country, and in the burning climate of Bengal, persevered so long in the dedication of his fortune, his time, and his whole powers to the ungrateful task which he had set before him; and seeking no common reward, has at last died poor."

A comparison is thus forced upon the reader, the result of which must show that the two bishops were neither *pares* nor *similes*. In the first place, Dr. Middleton's acceptance of the office of bishop of Calcutta, was a translation from an inferior to a higher station in the Church, and involved no pecuniary sacrifice. On the other hand, Berkeley offered to resign his deanery of Down with 1100*l.* per annum, and to accept the office of president of St. Paul's College in Bermuda on an income of 100*l.* per annum; and in the prosecution of this design, (which failed through Sir R. Walpole's breach of an engagement to advance 10,000*l.* of the public money,) did expend a great part of his private fortune. *Secondly*, Berkeley offered to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of youth in America; and when he was appointed to the bishopric of Cloyne, he said to his intimates, "I will never accept a translation." We have no reason to suppose that bishop Middleton would have refused a translation. *Thirdly*, Berkeley originated a plan for converting the aboriginal inhabitants of North America to Christianity, and persevered in its prosecution for seven years, including a voyage to Rhode Island, at a time when such schemes were deemed romantic and impracticable." Bishop Middleton originated nothing, but entered on his office at a time when "plans similar in their objects and means, but of wider scope, are on foot, and in a course of success." In the former we recognise a degree of apostolical devotion, and energy of purpose, of which history affords few examples. The sacrifices made, the zeal displayed, and the difficulties encountered by the latter, were no greater than many men in every age may be esteemed equal to. I forbear to pursue the comparison into the variety and extent of their knowledge, and other points. It was to Berkeley that Pope ascribed "every virtue under heaven;" and Atterbury said of him:—"So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman."

EPISCOPOMETER.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

ON Wednesday, February 11th, 1824, a Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

The Minutes of the last Court having been read and agreed to,

The CHAIRMAN (Wm. Wigram, Esq. M.P.) stated, that the Court had been made special in pursuance of the following Requisition, which was read by one of the Clerks of the Court :—

"To the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Directors of the East India Company.

"London, January 16, 1824.

"Gentlemen—We, the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, request you will summon a Court of Proprietors for the purpose of submitting to them the following Resolution, namely—

"That application be made to Parliament in the ensuing Session for the Repeal of the 46th clause of the Act of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, by which the Court of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the capacity of a writer, any person who shall not have resided during four terms at the Haileybury College, and for introducing into the said Act, a clause appointing a public examination, at such times and under such regulations as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Control, may direct; to which examination all persons shall submit their acquirements and qualifications for approval, previous to their being permitted to proceed in the capacity of writers to any of the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay.

Douglas Kinnaid.	Joseph Hume.
Wm. Morgan.	John Morgan.
Chas. Wright.	Rich. Williams.
Randle Jackson.	John Addinell.
R. F. Beauchamp.	Saml. Dixon."

CHARGE AGAINST THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

Sir JOHN DOYLE hoped that before the special business of the day should commence, he might be permitted to solicit the attention of the hon. Chairman and the Court to—

The CHAIRMAN rose to set the hon. Proprietor right with regard to the order of proceeding. The Court had been specially assembled in consequence of a requisition, which had been signed by

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more than nine Proprietors. That requisition had been read, and therefore he considered that the business of the day had commenced, and that the gentleman whose name was first on the list of requisitionists was in possession of the Court. It was irregular to bring any other question before the Court. He hoped therefore that the hon. Baronet would allow the gentleman who was entitled to address the Court, to proceed with the regular business of the day.

Hon. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD rose to speak on the point of order. He suggested that this would be the first time that in an assembly of men met together for business, an individual of that body had been denied the privilege of going so far as to propose a question to the Chairman of the meeting. The question might, for aught the Chairman knew, be very material to the proceedings which were to come before the Court. Unless it should appear, which there was at present no reason to suspect, that the question to be asked had no reference to the interests of the gentlemen assembled in that Court, ought the Chairman to take upon himself to decide that it should not be put? Ought not the Proprietors themselves to be the judges to determine whether or not they would hear the question? There was no law which would prevent the Court, although met for a specific purpose, from deferring their intention of entering upon it, if they thought proper so to do. He believed that it would be in perfect unison with the practice of other assemblies to hear the question. It remained for the Court to decide whether they would not allow the hon. Baronet an opportunity of explaining rather than proceed at once to the business of the day. (*Hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN observed that the hon. Proprietor who had last spoken had addressed himself to the course of proceeding. He (the Chairman) had already felt it his duty to declare what the order for proceeding was. The Court had been made special to consider the subject of requisition which had been read. After the requisition had been read, the hon. Baronet addressed the Court, and made use of the words "before the business of the day commenced." He was of opinion that the business of the day had commenced the moment the requisition was read. He

would not take upon himself to order that the hon. Baronet should not be heard, but he was sure that the hon. Baronet was not regular in attempting to speak.

Mr. LOWNDES here rose and said a few words, which were rendered inaudible by cries of "*Order*," "*Chair*," &c.

Mr. HUME believed that what the hon. Chairman had stated with respect to the order of proceeding was strictly correct; but it was well known that as a matter of courtesy the practice of proposing questions and of giving answers to them had been allowed at almost every meeting of that Court; he had indeed occasionally known questions to be asked and no answers returned. (*Laugh*.) He was sure that that Court, which had uniformly paid the greatest respect and attention to all persons in any way connected with them, but particularly to their servants, would, if it were shown that it was in their power to clear the character of one of their most distinguished servants from a most malicious, and he was certain, unfounded calumny, gladly seize the opportunity of doing so. Suppose it should have been publicly stated, that the Marquess of Hastings, whilst filling the high office of Governor General in India, had embezzled a sum to the amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds, and that in consequence of the discovery of his peculation, the Court of Directors had resolved to impeach him—suppose such a statement to have been made, and that the means of exposing its falsehood and of clearing the character of the noble Marquess from the foul calumny depended upon an answer being given to a simple question, could it be possible that that question would not be allowed to be propounded? He held in his hand the very paragraph in which the threatened impeachment, arising from the discovery of an act of embezzlement, was mentioned. He appealed to the hon. gentleman in the Chair, not as Chairman but as a man of honour (*hear!*); he appealed to all who heard him as men of honour, whether an opportunity ought not to be afforded the noble Marquess of clearing his character by a public explanation in that Court, that being the only means which he possessed of doing so? (*Hear! hear!*) He had on former occasions taken a hostile part against the noble Marquess, but he had stated his reasons for it publicly, and he was now anxious to step forward to vindicate the character of the noble Lord when it was

unjustly maligned. He should lament that he had ever entered that Court, if they should resolve on the present occasion to adhere to their rules and orders rather than exercise that sound discretion which the circumstances of the case called for. He hoped that the Court would permit the question to be proposed, and on the answer which would be given to that question would depend the belief as to whether the reported impeachment was to take place. He was of opinion that the friends of the Marquess of Hastings had a right to say to the hon. Chairman, "Is the statement contained in the paragraph true or not? We want a denial or an admission." (*Hear!*) If the statement should prove to be true, he (Mr. Hume) would feel it his duty to propose that a special Court should be summoned to take the subject into consideration. If it were false, the denial ought to go forth to the world. The poison ought not to be allowed to circulate when it was in the power of the Court to check it at once. He hoped that every gentleman present would see the propriety of deviating, on the present occasion, from the strict rule of proceeding. He would tell the hon. Chairman that the Court were the masters of their own proceedings; and if he would not permit the question to be proposed, they could postpone the business for which the Court had been made special. If the question should not be allowed to be propounded on the ground of irregularity, it would be an act of the greatest cruelty to the high and distinguished individual whose character had been impeached, and he would designate it as the only illiberal proceeding which had come to his knowledge on the part of the Court of Proprietors, who had always, hitherto, been distinguished by a desire to maintain the honour of their servants:—if that were impeached, they owed it to themselves, they owed it to justice to endeavour to clear it. (*Applause*.)

Mr. DIXON was satisfied that, the Court having been summoned for a special purpose, no other matters should be allowed to take precedence of the regular business of the day. But he thought that if the hon. Baronet wished to call the attention of the Court to a particular subject, he should be allowed an opportunity of doing so before the Court broke up.

Sir JOHN DOYLE said, that if the hon. Chairman had permitted him (Sir J. D.) the honour of addressing him, and had

heard the little which he had to say, he was confident, from his knowledge of the hon. gentleman's character for honour and integrity, that the appeal which he had intended to make to his honour and justice would not have been made in vain. Had the circumstances which he wished to bring under the notice of the Court been of ordinary importance, he would not, labouring as he was, under the effects of a long and severe illness, have trespassed for one moment on their patience. Had the statement to which allusion had been made, been merely the suggestion of an anonymous writer, stating his own opinions, he would have treated it with the contempt which it justly merited. But the statement bore a different character. It purported to be an account of what had actually passed in the Court of Directors, and of what was further contemplated by that respectable body. He therefore begged leave to say, that he was justified in calling for an explanation on the subject of the paragraph which had been described by his hon. friend, from the hon. Chairman, who was the best authority that could possibly be referred to on the occasion, because nothing could have occurred in the Court of Directors with which he was not acquainted. The paragraph resolved itself in substance into this—“that an embezzlement to the amount of 300,000*l.* had been discovered by the Court of Directors against the late Governor-General of India.” He therefore felt justified in calling upon the hon. Chairman to answer publicly—1st. Whether any embezzlement or deficit by the Marquess of Hastings of 300,000*l.* or any other sum, had been discovered by the Court of Directors? 2d. Whether the Court of Directors, in consequence of such discovery, had already negatived a grant to him of 5,000*l.* per annum? 3d. Whether the Court of Directors, in consequence of such discovery, had any purpose of procuring the impeachment of the Marquess of Hastings?—“I now,” continued Sir J. Doyle, “call upon the Chairman, in the presence of this honourable Court, and in the face of our common country, for plain and direct answers to these simple questions.—I am convinced that in appealing to his honour and sense of justice, I have not made a fruitless application.” (*Cheers.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—“With every disposition to answer any question that may be propounded by any Member of the Court, I must declare, that I feel it impossible to make any reply to those

which have been proposed by the hon. Baronet. I have received no instructions on the subject from the Court of Directors, whose organ I am.”

Sir J. DOYLE begged to explain. If he had called on the hon. Chairman to speak the sentiments of the Court of Directors, and to give either his own opinion or theirs upon a point of policy, the hon. Chairman would have done right in refusing him an answer to his questions. But the questions which he had proposed did not refer to opinions, but to matters of fact.—(*Hear, hear.*) Either it was true that the alleged discoveries and their consequences had taken place, or it was not true. If it were not true, it became the Chairman, as a man of honour, as a gentleman and a person wishing to act impartially in the high station which he occupied, to say “No.”—(*Applause.*) If, on the contrary, any such discoveries had occurred, let the subject be brought forward in a bold, manly and open manner. Let not the friends of the Marquess of Hastings have to grapple with the *male Candours* of the present day, who, while they whispered away an honest reputation, pretended to deplore the mischief which arose from their own base conduct.—(*Cheers.*) He did not mean to apply these observations to the Chairman or any of his colleagues. He had too high an opinion of their honour. But what corollary would be drawn from the refusal of the hon. Chairman to answer the questions which had been proposed, by any person who was ignorant of that gentleman's honourable character? Why, that having refused to give a direct answer to a matter of fact within his own knowledge, he must be either the libeller himself, or must give his aid and countenance to the libeller. He had guarded himself from casting any imputation of that kind on the hon. Chairman or any of his colleagues; because he knew their characters; but such was the corollary which a common mind would deduce from the refusal of the hon. Chairman to reply to the questions which had been propounded.—(*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. LOWNDES said he had seen the statement in the newspaper of a deficiency of 300,000*l.* having been discovered, but no name was mentioned, and therefore he thought there could be no calumny in the matter. The hon. Proprietor was proceeding amidst many interruptions, when

The CHAIRMAN informed him that there was no question before the Court.

Mr. LOWNDES repeated, that no name

was mentioned in the newspaper.—
(*Order.*)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, that he had come into that Court fully prepared to enter upon a most important discussion, but he must confess, that what had taken place had excited his feelings to such a degree, that he felt quite incompetent to go on with the business of the day, (*hear.*) Before he sat down, he hoped to be able to convince the Court, that it would be the uttermost disgrace to them to permit a discussion of that nature to take place without making the base calumny which had been published against the noble and high minded Marquess of Hastings the subject of further consideration. He could not believe, he could not suppose for a moment, that the honourable Chairman had given his deliberate opinion on the subject which had been brought before him. He trusted that he would yet give the satisfaction required. He would appeal to him from himself, in what was perhaps a moment of passion, to himself in a state of calmness. He hoped that the honourable Chairman would not allow so base a calumny as he had heard stated, so malicious and unfounded a libel against their late Governor General, whom they (the Company) had so ill requited for his splendid services, to whom they owed a deep debt of gratitude, which the voice of the country would still compel them to discharge—he hoped that the Chairman would not permit such a calumny against such a man to remain any longer before the public eye, without that contradiction which it was capable of receiving. To permit a whisper injurious to the noble Marquess, much more a formal statement of the proceedings of the Court of Directors against him, to go forth to the world; and when asked to say whether it were true or not, to refuse to give any answer, was an act of the greatest possible cruelty and injustice to the noble individual whose character was called in question. (*Hear.*) He most solemnly believed, that it would not be credited, when the report of that day's proceedings should appear in the newspapers, that a set of Englishmen could proceed to discuss a question connected with the interests of India, when they had shown themselves prepared to sacrifice not only those interests, but their own character, by suffering a charge of such a nature against their late Governor General to remain unanswered. (*Hear, hear.*) He would consider it his duty, if silence were preserved, to move the adjournment of the question which the Court

had been called together to consider. (*hear.*) The honourable Chairman ought to learn, that there were no tricks by which public discussion could be stifled in a public assembly. (*Hear.*) He spoke to Englishmen, who knew the value of character to public men. Would any gentleman present, if he were placed in the Marquess of Hastings' situation, if he were accused of a betrayal of trust, having committed an act which would hereafter cover his name with infamy, endure, that when he asked the person who must be possessed of the best knowledge on the subject, whether the accusation were true or not, that person would not condescend to give an answer? Could this be endured? (*Cheers.*) In domestic life, if a servant, not an old and tried one as the Marquess of Hastings was, but one of only six months' standing, were stated to have defrauded his master, would the latter dare to hold his tongue, when called upon to declare whether the charge were true? (*hear, hear.*) He would not;—if he did, he would be liable to an action for being a party to the defamation. And now he challenged the honourable Chairman to say, that the charge which had been made against the Marquess of Hastings was true. He (the Chairman) knew that he dared not say, "yes," in reply to the questions which had been put to him. (*Cheers.*) He (the Chairman) knew that no proceedings had been instituted against the noble Marquess. Nay, more, he (Mr. Kinnaird) would undertake to act the prophet as well as the historian, and say, that the honourable Chairman never would have cause to charge the noble Lord in the face of his country with being guilty of a dishonourable act. (*hear, hear, hear.*) A fortnight their Governor-generalship in future, if the Chairman were to persist in the line of conduct which he had adopted. Was not the character of the Marquess of Hastings the property of the Proprietors? What Governor General could henceforth be expected to serve them faithfully, when it was seen that they would not take the trouble to defend his character from base and cowardly attacks? That Court were the legitimate protectors of the character of the Marquess of Hastings; and it was an insult to them to observe silence with regard to the subject which had been brought before them. What! when a question, allowed by all to be reasonable, and called for by the exigencies even of the individual to whom it referred, a question respecting a matter of fact only, and not stated to be attended by any

danger, was asked by an honourable Proprietor, was a contemptuous silence to be the only answer it would receive? (*Hear.*) He did not mean to charge any individual behind the bar—

Mr. Director ELPHINSTONE here rose and said, that as he did not feel himself restrained by the same sense of duty which prevailed with the hon. Chairman, he would undertake to answer the questions which had been proposed by the hon. Baronet at the commencement of the discussion distinctly, and he would stake his honour and reputation upon the truth of what he should say. It had been asked, whether it had been discovered that the Marquess of Hastings had embezzled 300,000*l.* and whether in consequence of such discovery the Court of Directors intended to impeach him. His answer was, "Certainly not."— (*Hear! hear! hear!*) The noble Marquess had never been suspected of embezzling a single shilling, much less 300,000*l.*; and, as to the pretended impeachment, he asked any gentleman around him, whether such a thing had ever been thought of? There was not a word of truth in the statement from beginning to end. It was an unfounded and villainous attack upon the noble Marquess. (*Loud cries of hear.*)

Sir J. DOYLE said, that having put some plain questions to the hon. Chairman, without being able to obtain answers to them, he now, on the part of the Marquess of Hastings begged to express himself perfectly satisfied with what the respectable and gallant Director had come forward and stated. (*Heat!*) That the organ of the Court had not thought proper to state the same facts himself, was a circumstance which he deeply regretted on his (the Chairman's) own account. If he had asked an abstruse question upon some controverted point, silence might have been bearable. But when his (Sir J. D.'s) object was to rescue the character of an individual, most respectable, not only from his connexion with the Company, but from his rank in society at large, and to effect that object he had found it necessary to break through the ordinary mode of proceeding, he was extremely sorry to find that the hon. Chairman should refuse to do justice to the noble Marquess, barring himself out from giving explanation on the paltry, shabby pretence, of adhering to points of form and mere technicalities. (*Hear! hear!*) He had from his infancy been taught to believe that the character of a British Merchant was one of the highest that a man could possess; but if scenes similar

to that which had taken place that day were to be repeated, he should incline to Buonaparte's opinion, who said, that the high-minded English merchants had degenerated into a set of grovelling shopkeepers.

The CHAIRMAN said, that having been personally alluded to by the last Speaker and another hon. Proprietor, he felt it necessary to state that he conceived himself to be sitting there not as an individual but as Chairman of the Court of Directors. He understood that the questions were put to him in that character, and he stated plainly, that not having received instructions from the Court of Directors, he could not undertake to answer them. It was not, as he understood, his individual opinion which was wanted, but the collective opinion of the Court of Directors. He might be allowed to add, that he considered the questions which the hon. Director had answered not exactly the same questions which were propounded to him (the Chairman.)

Sir J. DOYLE said, that if the Chairman had misunderstood him, it must be admitted that he was at liberty to set him right. So far from having proposed the questions to him as Chairman, he remembered that he had purposely avoided using the phrase *ex officio* which had occurred to him whilst speaking, lest it might be supposed that he called upon him to answer the queries in his official capacity. He had put the questions to the hon. gentleman in his individual capacity, and not as Chairman, and the reason why he had selected him was, that from his situation he must of necessity be acquainted with every circumstance that occurred in the Court of Directors. The subject to which the questions referred might have been discussed, supposing it had ever occurred at all, in the absence of other Directors, but the Chairman must have cognizance of all matters which took place in the Court over which he presided. The hon. Chairman had said, that he (Sir J. Doyle) called on him for the collective opinion of the whole Court of Directors. He would not be so unreasonable as to ask the Chairman to state the opinion of his colleagues. He merely called upon him to give an answer to a question respecting a plain matter of fact. The question was as simple as if he had asked "Were you in Hyde Park yesterday?" There was no declaration of opinion called for in the answer to such a question as that. He thought that he had acted rightly in putting the questions, but he hoped that he had not forgotten the respect which

was due to the Chair, or to the individual who filled it.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply to what had fallen from the hon. Baronet, said that he had no more right to select him (the Chairman) individually than any other member of the Court of Directors. He sat there not as an individual, but as Chairman, and whatever he stated was in the character of Chairman.

Mr. LOWNDEN wished to know whether any fraud had been committed. He was a great Proprietor of India Stock, and the report affected the character of the Court of Proprietors. (*Cries of Question, and Order.*) He asked again, whether any fraud had been committed; if not it was high time that the report should be contradicted. (*Here the confusion became so great as to prevent the hon. Proprietor from proceeding.*)

Mr. Director PATTISON observed, that in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. Baronet on the other side of the bar, it might be supposed that the whole Court of Directors was implicated in the conduct of the Chairman. He therefore begged to state that he was no party to the silence which the hon. Chairman had observed upon that occasion. (*Loud cries of hear!*)

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (Mr. ASTELL, M.P.) wished to say a few words on the occasion. He trusted that the experience of that day would make the Court sensible of the practical inconvenience of the course of proceeding which the hon. Baronet had adopted. The hon. Chairman had been censured for adhering to a point of form. But what had been the consequence of disregarding that form? Not only had questions been proposed, but a continued debate had ensued upon them; parties had been calling each other to order, and he was afraid that nothing but disorder would now prevail during the rest of the day. The hon. Director who had last spoken had said that he was no party to the silence of the Chairman. That hon. Director might have his own view of the subject, but in his (Mr. Astell's) opinion his hon. friend could not have acted otherwise than he had done, called on as he was to give his opinion as the organ of the Court of Directors. (*Cries of No.*) It was said, however, that the hon. Baronet had appealed to him as an individual; but he must beg to say, with all respect, that he knew not what right the hon. Baronet had to call upon the Chairman in any way. It was said, that the questions were questions of fact only, but he thought that they were questions of opinion. It was certainly open to

the Chairman to answer the questions; but, in his opinion, his hon. friend had adopted the most convenient course in observing silence. The Court of Directors had not authorized the Chairman to give any answer, and therefore he had acted wisely in abstaining from giving any. In his opinion, the hon. Director on his right (Mr. Elphinstone) had not answered one of the questions which had been put to the Chairman, because it was not in his power to do so. The object of the question to which he alluded, was to ascertain what were the intentions of the Court of Directors. How was it possible that any man could undertake to say what the intentions of the Court of Directors might be? In conclusion, he again expressed a hope that what had occurred would convince the Court of the propriety of abstaining in future from entering upon any business but that which they were summoned to consider. It was too much to expect that the Chairman would undertake to state what the Court of Directors intended to do upon a subject which was for the first time brought under his notice.

Mr. Director PATTISON felt himself called upon as an honest, straight-forward man, to declare that he considered the questions which the hon. Baronet had put to the Chairman to have been as much matter of fact questions as these—"Does the sun shine?—Is that a man?—this a stool?—this a desk?" They were positive questions, and capable of being answered "Yes" or "No." The opinion of the Chairman had not been asked at all. The hon. Deputy Chairman had endeavoured to invalidate the answers which had been given by his brother Director (Mr. Elphinstone), by saying that they were not answers to the questions. He would examine into the truth of that statement. The questions, if he understood rightly, were three in number. The first was, "Had any embezzlement or deficit by the Marquess of Hastings of 300,000*l.*, or any other sum, been discovered by the Court of Directors?" He begged leave to make a comment upon that. The Court would observe the strength of the word embezzlement. Embezzlement was the taking of the public money and putting it into the pocket of a private individual. But then if there was not an embezzlement, was there a deficit to the amount of 300,000*l.* or any other sum down even to a single rupee? That was a very plain question. And here he took the liberty of saying, upon his own responsibility, that, if he were the hon. Baronet, he

would not be satisfied with the answers which had been given by an individual Director. He would have the answer of the whole Court collectively; and if the hon. Baronet did not get that, he would not gain his point. (*Hear! hear! hear!*) But to return to the first question. The answer which it would receive from him was distinctly "No," as far as he knew. Would to God the hon. Chairman had been able to overcome his sense of the importance of forns, and said as distinctly "No." The question was not whether the Marquess of Hastings had committed any mistakes, or whether he had displayed equal zeal and talent with his predecessors in the government of their vast empire in the East, but it was simply whether he was a thief or a pick-pocket. (*A laugh, and Hear!*) Ought they to forget the great and splendid achievements of the Marquess of Hastings, and allow any Proprietor to leave that room in doubt upon that point? He would proceed to the second question. It was, "Whether the Court of Directors, in consequence of such discovery, had already negatived a grant to the Marquess, of 5,000*l.* a year." If the words "in consequence of such discovery" were left out, "Yes" would be the true answer to the question, for it was a fact that the Court of Directors had negatived the grant of 5,000*l.* to the Marquess. (*Hear!*) But if the words "in consequence," &c. were included in the question, it then stood as an inquiry whether the Court of Directors had refused the grant because the noble Marquess had largely robbed the Company; and to that he would reply in the same tone as to the former question, "No, the Directors have not." Then another question remained, "Whether in consequence of such discovery,"—those words, it would be seen, were the gist and important point of the question, the burden of the song, the "fal, la, la," of the verse: (*A laugh.*)—"have the Court of Directors any purpose of procuring the impeachment of the Marquess of Hastings." If he had had the honour of sitting in the chair, and that question had been put to him, referring to a subject which had never been mentioned in the Court of Directors, he would have felt no difficulty in replying to it. The impeachment of the Marquess of Hastings! Why it was just as much in the contemplation of the Court of Directors, as that the comet, which was wandering about in the heavens, was about to pay them a visit, and scorch them in their councils. The subject had never once been hinted at, glanced at, intimated at,

if he might be allowed to make a new verb for the occasion; he thought it was appropriate, and might in future be allowed a place among the list of verbs. (*Laughter.*) To the third question, therefore, he could only give the same answer as before, "No." He had felt it his duty, as an honest man, to make those three answers, and now he begged leave to say, that no man could entertain a more sincere conviction than he did, of the honourable disposition, integrity, and right intention of the honourable gentleman in the chair; he believed him to have acted from a mistaken sense of duty. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. TRANT hoped that a gentleman on his side of the house might be allowed to deliver his opinions on the subject. (*hear.*) He thought, then, that under all the circumstances of the case, the Chairman could not have answered the questions which had been put to him by the honourable Baronet. He would state his reasons for that opinion in a few words. The honourable Baronet contended, that he had addressed the Chair as an individual, but he (Mr. Trant) thought, that the Chairman could only speak as Chairman. It might be said, that it was the practice in the House of Commons to put questions to the Secretary of State, which that minister generally answered. But there was no parallel between the case of a Secretary of State and that of the Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Secretary of State was the master of his own business; he acted from himself, and therefore to most of the questions which were proposed to him in the House of Commons, he could return answers without any consultation with his colleagues. But with the Chairman the case was very different; if he were to be compelled to answer all the questions which were proposed to him on a sudden, without consulting his colleagues, great inconvenience would arise from the practice. He felt as strong a desire as the honourable Baronet, or any other member of the Court could possibly entertain, to defend the honour of those who had served them, and particularly that of the Marquess of Hastings; but having paid particular attention to the questions which had been propounded, he was bound to declare, that if he had been in the Chairman's situation, he would have taken time to consider before he returned an answer to them. (*hear.*) It certainly was desirable that such an unfounded statement as that which had been brought under the notice of the Court, should

meet with as speedy a denial as possible, and it might have been inconvenient to allow it to remain unanswered until the next General Court; but a Special Court might have been summoned in the interim, for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD rose to congratulate the hon. Proprietor who had just sat down, on the candid and manly opinion which he had delivered. He trusted that the hon. gentleman would not desist from the active canvass in which he had been long engaged, and which would ultimately place him in that situation in the Directorship which he was destined to occupy, so much to the honour and advantage of the Company. (*A laugh.*) How the hon. gentleman must have conciliated his countrymen by the noble and generous sentiments he had expressed! (*Laughter.*) How he must delight them by declaring, that when hereafter a Governor General should be publicly accused of having robbed his employers, and a question should be asked to ascertain whether the Court of Directors were parties to that accusation, he as their future Chairman would wrap himself up in all the dignity of consistency and form, and refuse his important testimony to the innocence of the calumniated individual! (*Hear hear.*) The conduct of the hon. gentleman would be duly appreciated in the proper quarter. He (Mr. K.) could anticipate the cordial squeezes of the hand which he would receive from those who approved of his gallant behaviour. (*A laugh.*) After such an exhibition there could be no doubt that the hon. gentleman would be returned the successful and triumphant candidate to that Court in which he had proved himself so well qualified to sit; by his pure and honourable feelings, and by the sympathy which he had displayed for frauded worth. (*Hear, and laughter.*) But he would turn from the contemplation of such a speech, which he deeply lamented to have heard in that Court, to a more important subject. He had intended at an earlier period to have asked a question which was now rendered unnecessary by the emphatic monosyllable "no" thrice repeated by an hon. Director. But the hon. Deputy Chairman had said that the hon. Director on his right, (Mr. Elphinstone) had not answered the questions which had been asked by his hon. friend; he wished to know (as we understood) whether the hon. Deputy coincided in the answers given by the hon. Director (Mr. Pattison)?

Mr. TRANT rose to order—

Mr. LOWNDES rose at the same time, and proceeded to address the Court amidst great uproar. The following is all that we could collect of what fell from the hon. Proprietor:—He hoped that he might be permitted to speak. (*Order.*) For aught he knew he himself might be the person that was to be impeached—why then was he not allowed to speak? Was he accused of defrauding them? He was accused now and then for wandering from the question (*laughter*); but he would stick to the question at present. It was necessary that the dark cloud which hung over the Company should be dissipated. The question was, who was the defaulter, seeing that the Marquess of Hastings was innocent, which he firmly believed, for he always considered him to be a high-minded character, totally incapable of committing a public fraud. It was proper to name the defaulter if there were one. But perhaps it would turn out to be a matter similar to Lord Melville's business. A fraud or mistake might have been committed by a clerk, without the Marquess of Hastings knowing any thing about it. There was no man in the kingdom less likely than the noble Marquess to commit such an act of dishonour as had been laid to his charge. The noble Lord came from a country where a man would meet his friend with a brace of pistols, (*a laugh*), but would not take an unfair advantage of his enemy. (*Hear.*) The noble Lord's countrymen were distinguished by the openness of truth, and detested a mean and grovelling spirit, which did not dare to look a man in the face. (*Question.*) He was happy to see that the attempt to darken the fame of the Marquess of Hastings had passed off like a light cloud on a summer day, never to return. (*Question.*) The Court of Proprietors however ought to have an answer to the question as to whether there had been any, he would not say fraud, but error. In a mercantile account "errors excepted" was always placed at the bottom, (*laughter*), and the subject they were talking about might be an error.

Mr. TRANT begged to throw himself on the indulgence of the Court—

Mr. LOWNDES again rose amidst general cries of "order." He said the hon. Proprietor had risen three times to address the Court.—It was the "third time of asking." He had no more right to get up three times than he (Mr. L.) had. (*Great laughter, and cries of Order.*)

Mr. TRANT thought that any gentleman in his peculiar circumstances ought

to be allowed to address the Court, although he could not claim to do so as a right. The hon. Proprietor opposite had chosen to allude to him personally in a manner which no man had ever before witnessed in that Court. (*Hear.*) The hon. Proprietor had done all but hold out a personal threat towards him. When he (Mr. Trant) looked round him he felt convinced that there was no gentleman, not even the hon. Proprietor himself, who would feel disposed to blame him for having delivered his honest and conscientious opinion. (*Hear, and Question.*) When he first became a candidate for a seat in the Direction, he took for his motto "honesty is the best policy." (*Question.*) By that rule his conduct always had been and always would be guided. (*Hear.*)

Mr. LOWNDES again started up and exclaimed—What have we to do with all this?

"Strange that such difference should be
Twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee."

(*Much laughter.*)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said that the hon. gentleman had helped him to a phrase by which he could convey his opinion of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Trant's) attempted explanation. The difference between the original speech and the explanation was no greater than that betwixt *tweedle-dum* and *tweedle-dee*. (*A laugh.*) But to take the distich in the sense in which the hon. gentleman meant it, he had no objection to be considered the *dee* if he (Mr. Lowndes) himself would only be *dumb* for a few minutes. (*A laugh, and hear.*) Considering how completely the questions proposed by his hon. friend had been answered in the negative, he did not now think it necessary to call upon the Chairman to explain what he meant when he said that they had not been answered by the hon. gentleman within the bar (Mr. Elphinstone). But there was one part of the hon. Deputy Chairman's speech, which called for further observation. That hon. gentleman had said, it was very hard that the Chairman should be called upon to answer questions which had been brought before him that day for the first time. He was extremely surprised to hear the hon. Deputy make use of that language, because he could prove by undeniable documents that questions in substance the same as those proposed that day by his hon. friend, had been laid before the Directors, and that they had communicated on the subject with the framer of them through the medium of their Secretary. (*Hear.*) He would read a letter in which those ques-

tions were contained, and he defied any person to prove by any arts of sophism or quibbling that they were not questions of precisely the same nature as those which had been asked in open court that day. The letter he was about to read was written by the dearest friend of the Marquess of Hastings, with whom His Majesty had even communicated personally on the subject of the noble Marquess, and who was therefore known to be the Marquess' other self. He then read the following letter:—

Montague-square, Jan. 30th.

SIR,—I beg leave to call your attention to a paragraph which appeared in the *Sunday Times* of the 25th Inst., a copy of which I enclose. You will perceive that it contains, in substance, a direct charge against Lord Hastings, of having embezzled 300,000*l* of the monies of the Honourable Company, or of having been party to an embezzlement by which a deficit to that amount has been incurred. It further states that, in consequence of such malversation, which had been recently discovered, the Court of Directors had negatived a proposed grant to him of a pension of 5,000*l*. per annum; and, finally, that it is in the contemplation of that body to effect his impeachment.

The general slanders of an anonymous libeller it may be well to treat with contempt; but a particular charge, deeply affecting the public character of an individual, however distinguished, must be spectrally repelled. Under this impression, I have the honour of addressing myself to you, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, in the full confidence that you will enable me at once to give that distinct and authoritative contradiction to these falsehoods, which the form they have assumed demands, and which it is so important to the honour of the Noble Lord, should no longer be delayed. With this view, as every question that arises in the Court of Directors must be officially known to you in your capacity as Chairman, I have to request that you would be good enough to give me answers to the following queries.

1st. Whether the Court of Directors have made any discovery, or have received any information, or have reason to suspect, that the Marquess of Hastings has embezzled, or been party or privy to the embezzlement, of any monies, or to the creation of any deficit, to the amount of 300,000*l*, or of any other sum?

2d. Whether the Court of Directors have threatened, or intend to impeach, the Marquess of Hastings, for embezzlement, or for any supposed deficit of money or otherwise?

3d. Whether the Court of Directors have, in consequence of any such supposed embezzlement or deficit, already negatived a motion to grant a pension of 5,000*l*. per annum to the Marquess of Hastings?

I am persuaded that your own high sense of what is due to the honour and character of a public man, will sufficiently account to you for

the anxiety of the Noble Lord's friends to lose no time in vindicating him from these foul charges, which have already obtained extraordinary circulation, and be my apology, at the same time, for pressing the subject upon you, as a matter of immediate importance; and as it is by you alone, from your official situation, that, without injurious delay, the means of effective contradiction can be furnished. In preferring, therefore, the above request, I feel assured that I shall be only meeting your desire of doing the earliest justice to the character of the Marquess of Hastings, which, in the paragraph in question, has been so wantonly assailed; and that I shall be favoured with an answer to the queries at your earliest convenience.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE

William Wigram, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

A more respectful letter, a more quiet and compressed expression of the feelings—the agonizing feelings which must have agitated the writer, it was impossible to pen. After a delay of four days an answer was returned to the letter. And such an answer! He would read it to the Court, and beg that they would mark how cautiously it was worded; how admirably it denoted the man of business. The hon. Proprietor then read the following letter:—

East India house, Feb 5, 1821.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acquaint you, that the Chairman has laid before them your letter of the 30th of January, addressed to him upon the subject of a paragraph of which you enclosed a copy, which is stated to have appeared on the 25th of that month, in a newspaper called the *Sunday Times*, assailing the character of the Marquess of Hastings, and with reference to which you have framed certain interrogations which you request the Chairman, as the organ of the Court of Directors, to answer.

The Court deeply regret the attack which has been thus made upon the character of that distinguished nobleman—they cannot, however, but feel that it would be highly inexpedient for them to engage in any correspondence arising out of the vague charges of anonymous writers; and they are persuaded that you will yourself perceive, on a review of your letter, the inconvenience of putting to a collective body, and the impossibility of their answering, questions of the nature proposed by you.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J DART, Secretary

Colonel Francis Hastings Doyle, &c

The public would not believe that such an answer had been given to the letter of the Marquess of Hastings' friend. "Joseph Dart, Secretary," was the sig-

nature it bore. He really pitied the gentleman who was compelled, by his official situation, to affix his name to such a writing. But after reading that letter he was utterly astonished, and he had no doubt that the Court generally would participate in his astonishment, that the hon. Deputy Chairman could have said that the questions asked by his hon. friend had come unawares, and for the first time before the Chairman. (*hear, hear.*) There was, however, a difference between the questions proposed by Colonel Doyle and those proposed in that Court; at least so far as regarded the duty of the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors might, perhaps, without a dereliction of public duty, refuse to give to Colonel Doyle, as a private individual, the justice which he demanded on the part of his noble friend. But when the questions were propounded in open court, he called upon the Court of Directors, as a Proprietor, to do justice to one of the Company's servants. (*Hear, hear.*) They (the Court of Directors) were the instruments of the Proprietors, and ought to carry their wishes into effect, instead of taking a passive part in calumniating an honourable and a long-tried servant. The man who would hear his servant calumniated, and withhold his testimony in his favour—who knew him to be innocent, and yet would not say so—was a great a calumniator as if he had positively stated the falsehood himself. (*hear, hear.*) Falshood might be conveyed by silence as well as by open declaration. This negative and acquiescing mode of calumniating, which the French called *reticence*, only differed from open lying by being more villainous and cowardly; effecting its object by silence instead of assertion. (*Hear, hear.*) Englishmen, when they read the newspapers, would not believe that the Court of Directors could have behaved to the Marquess of Hastings as they had done. That noble Lord had a claim on the gratitude of the Company to a great amount, which history would record to have been overlooked. But if the case had been that of the humblest individual in their service, and the question had been asked—"Has it been discovered that this man has defrauded you, and do you intend to take such and such measures in consequence?"—the Chairman was bound, as a man of honour, to return an answer. He had yet to learn what inconvenience would have resulted from the Chairman's giving that evidence, in favour of the Marquess, which had been offered by two Directors. H:

would leave it to be determined between the gentlemen who were silent and the public, what inference was to be drawn from the withholding of their testimony on a point about which they could not be ignorant. In his opinion, the Court of Proprietors were bound to take the cause of the Marquess of Hastings into their own hands immediately. (*Hear, hear.*) They ought not any longer to trust it in the hands of the Court of Directors.—They should not wait till those hon. gentlemen proposed motions among themselves, and voted upon them, and then whispered among the Proprietors that certain propositions had been negatived on account of misconduct. (*Loud cries of hear.*) The Marquess of Hastings challenged them to investigate his character. Let it not be said that the noble Marquess was at once the most successful and worst rewarded, and the most calumniated of their Governors General.—“After the exhibition of this day, (*continued the hon. Proprietor.*) I do not value the opinion of the Court of Directors one fig’s-end. They have disqualified themselves to act as jurors, and I challenge their competency to decide on the merits of the Marquess of Hastings. They ought rather to be brought to trial themselves. They stand in the situation of accused calumniators. It is their character, and not that of the Marquess of Hastings, that will be tried by the country. These are my feelings, and I am proud in the conviction that they will be those of my countrymen in every part of the empire, when they shall read the history of this day’s proceedings. It rests between the public and the Chairman to determine why it was, that he did not give the explanation which was demanded of him. There is one gentleman on this side of the bar, and on the other side of the Court, (*Mr. Trant*) who is perhaps the person most capable of expounding the reasons for the silence which the Chairman observed, when the character of a gallant officer was calumniated. I regret that circumstances have compelled me to express myself thus warmly on this occasion. I have always felt very great respect for the individual who is placed in the high situation of Chairman. But when the question is, whether I should acquiesce in the arbitrary dictum of authority, or place myself in the breach to oppose it, and lay aside those feelings of kindness and courtesy, which I always wish to preserve, I must choose the latter course. I have no private feelings on this subject. I have never been but twice in the company of the Marquess of Hastings

since his return to this country, and only once before he proceeded to India; and so help me God, if it could be proved that the Marquess had acted dishonourably, I would be among the first to call for his punishment.” (*Cheers*)

Mr. LOWNDERS again rose, but the noise, which his appearance excited, was so deafening, that he was unable to make himself heard.

The CHAIRMAN hoped the hon. Proprietor, as he had spoken several times, would be content with what he had already said, and allow the Court to proceed to the order of the day.

Mr. HUME appealed to the Chairman, whether, after what had passed, and the feelings which had been excited, the Court was in condition to proceed to the business of the day? It was the most anxious wish of himself and his friends that the Court should come to the discussion respecting Haileybury College, which had year after year occupied their attention, divested of all party feeling, either with reference to the Professors, the Directors, or any other individuals; but after what had taken place, was it possible that they could command their feelings? He, for one, did not feel himself capable of entering upon the discussion. At a proper time he would apply the best arguments which occurred to him to that most important subject, in which was materially involved the welfare of their servants in India, and the prosperity of the Company itself. Under present circumstances, he thought that the debate respecting the College should be postponed to a future day. The Court of Directors had probably made their arrangements, in the expectation that the discussion would come on that day; but he hoped that circumstances would not induce them to oppose his wish. He therefore moved, that the debate respecting Haileybury College be postponed to that day fourteen days.

A PROPRIETOR seconded the motion.

A PROPRIETOR, whose name we could not learn, thought that there was no sufficient reason for postponing the debate.

Another PROPRIETOR supported the motion for adjournment.

General THORNTON rose with great pleasure to support the motion for adjournment, because after what had occurred he felt himself unable to bring his mind calmly to consider the subject which they had assembled to discuss. He would also take that opportunity of entering his protest against the conduct of the Chairman, without meaning the slightest disrespect to that gentleman.

Having had the honour of sitting in the House of Commons with the hon. Deputy Chairman, he felt extremely astonished at the argument which he had used respecting the interruption which had been given to the appointed business of the day. Why had the interruption continued so long? If the Chairman had answered the questions which were put to him, as it was his duty to have done, there would have been no interruption. In the House of Commons when a person refused to answer a question, which other Members thought he ought to answer, an interruption of business took place.

Mr. CARRUTHERS rose to order. The subject to which the hon. Member was applying his observations had already been disposed of. The question before the Court was respecting the adjournment of the debate.

General THORNTON said that he was about to state the reasons why he thought the debate ought to be adjourned. He thought that, in consequence of the conduct of the Chairman, the Court were not in a proper temper to proceed to any business. It appeared to him, that it was the duty of the Chairman and the Directors generally, to answer any proper questions that might be propounded, particularly when the character of so eminent an individual as the Marquess of Hastings was at stake. He felt astonished that the Chairman should have made any difficulty about being addressed as Chairman, and not individually, instead of at once answering the questions; but his astonishment abated when he

heard the imperfect reply which had been given to Colonel Doyle's letter. He hoped that in future the Chairman and Deputy Chairman would see the necessity of answering every question put to them by a Proprietor, in a proper manner, and not endeavour to evade answering under the pretence of adhering to forms.

Mr. LOWNDES wished the debate not to be postponed. He could imagine no reason why it should, unless indeed it were to get rid of his speech, because he would be 170 miles from London in fourteen days. (*A laugh.*)

The CHAIRMAN then put the question, on the motion of adjourning the debate, and declared that it was carried in the affirmative by a show of hands.

On the question that the Court do adjourn,

General THORNTON rose to put a question to the Chairman, upon a subject of great importance to the public and East India Proprietors. India Bonds at present paid three and a half per cent., and bore a premium of eighty shillings. He thought it would be advantageous to the interests of Proprietors to lower the interest on India Bonds to three or even two per cent. The hon. Proprietor made some further observations which were inaudible amidst the noise created by Members leaving the Court.

The CHAIRMAN replied, as we understood, that the subject to which the hon. Proprietor alluded, must be left to the judgment of the executive power.

The Court then adjourned at half-past one o'clock.

LITERARY REPORT.

LETTERS from the Caucasus and Georgia; to which are added, the Account of a Journey into Persia in 1812, and an abridged History of Persia since the time of Nadir Shah. Translated from the French, and illustrated with Maps and Engravings. London: 8vo. pp. xiv and 414.

This work is stated to be the joint composition of a lady and gentleman, travelling through and reading in the countries they describe. The original was published anonymously at St. Petersburg, in German; it was translated into French by M. de Struve, the Russian minister at Hamburgh, and from this translation the English version was made. The authors are said to be M. Freygan, the son of a German physician in the service of the Emperor of Rus-

sia, and his lady. This gentleman having been educated for the diplomatic profession, was despatched from Tiflis in 1812, at the period of the invasion of Russia by the French, upon a mission to the Court of Abbas Mirza, the hereditary Prince of Persia, at Tabriz; at which place the British embassy arrived about the same time.

The Letters which form the first division of the volume are the production of the lady. They give an apparently faithful picture of the journey from Moscow to Tiflis, and of the history, character, manners, and customs of the Georgians. The district of the Caucasus is described as being infested by wandering tribes of robbers, who render the roads extremely dangerous for travellers, and a curious reason is given by them for their indulging in plunder. They say that after God had created the world, he sum-

moned all people to take possession of their several portions, in which all mankind had a share, except the inhabitants of Caucasus, who were forgotten; but that on their afterwards putting in their claim, the Deity allowed them to live at the expense of their neighbours. The passage of the Caucasus at Bigara was attended with much difficulty and danger. The fair authoress gives an interesting description of the town of Tiflis, or rather the ruins of that once celebrated place, where she resided for five months; at the end of which time, the governor being recalled to St. Peterburgh, and her husband having received orders to proceed to Tabriz, she accompanied the governor's lady on her return, and once more crossed the Caucasus. She remained at Georgiefsk, awaiting the return of her husband, and afterwards accompanied him to the baths of Constantinogorsk, near which place some Scotch missionaries have established themselves for the propagation of Christianity among the inhabitants, who appear indeed to be as careless about Mohammedanism, which they now profess, as they formerly were about Christianity, from which they were converted by their ancient conquerors. It would seem, however, that the exertions of the missionaries have been hitherto attended with but little success, and that they have been induced to confine themselves in a great measure to the cultivation of their little possessions, which present a very promising aspect.

M. Freygan's account of his journey to Tabriz is chiefly interesting inasmuch as it develops another fold of the insidious and encroaching policy of his court, and exhibits (as indeed do many of the preceding letters) the melancholy state of Georgia under the "paternal solicitude," as M. F. terms it, of the czar. A prey during the whole of the last century to the ravages of the Turks on the one hand, and of the Persians on the other, whose contending claims were constantly devastating their fine country, the wretched Georgians were at length, in the year 1800, induced to throw themselves into the arms of Russia. Since this period their country has been the constant seat of the war which has been almost unremittingly carried on between Russia and Persia, and of numerous revolts which are continually breaking out among the Georgians themselves. The author's account of his reception by Abbas Mirza, and of the character and pursuits of that enterprising prince, is interesting, but scanty. The jealousy which Russia entertains of him, on account of his partiality for the British, is every where evident, and the "divide and conquer" maxim, which has so long been the policy of that court, will clearly be put in practice on the death of the present shah. A powerful party is ready to support Mohammed Ali Mirza in opposition to his brother, whom he looks upon with inexhaustible hatred, and the great object of Russia seems to be to foment the discord which thus unhappily exists.

Abdallah, an Oriental Poem, in Three Cantos. With other Pieces. By Horace Gwynne. 8vo. J. M. Richardson, London: pp. 172.

A Review of this work will be given in our next Number.

The Captivity, Sufferings, and Escape of James Scurry, who was detained a Prisoner during ten years, in the Dominions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib. Written by himself. London: 12mo. pp. 263. With a Portrait.

The atrocious cruelties inflicted by that monster in human form, Tippoo Sahib, on those whom their unfortunate destiny subjected to his power, are too well known to need confirmation. To the details, however, which have already been laid before the public by several of our unfortunate countrymen, whom the chance of war had thrown into his hands, is now added the posthumous narrative of James Scurry. Captured in 1781, at the age of fifteen, by the French ship *Le Heur*, he was, at the end of six months, delivered into the power of Hyder Ali, together with the remainder of the crew of the *Hannibal*, in which vessel he had left England. Handcuffed together in pairs, they were driven from Chillumium to Bangalore, and subsequently to Burrampore, at which place the younger prisoners, among whom was Mr Scurry, were separated from the others, and marched from thence to Seringapatam, where they were compelled to submit to the various operations necessary for their admission as Mohammedan converts, in consequence of which two of them lost their lives. On the accession of Tippoo Sahib, they were incorporated in his four slave battalions, and subjected to a variety of hardships and privations, which the author feelingly describes. At the peace of 1784, they were left unclaimed by the British; and it was not until after the renewal of war, that Scurry, with four others, were at length enabled to make their escape.

During the time that they remained at Seringapatam, the gallant and unfortunate Colonel Briley was imprisoned there, together with Captain Ramsey, and Lieutenants Crazer and Sampson, the three latter of whom had their throats cut afterwards at Mysore; while of the final fate of the former no intelligence could be procured. A curious circumstance relative to the death of General Matthews is mentioned in page 189. Scurry was sent for to the governor, to explain a writing which had been scratched, probably with a nail, on the bottoms of some pewter plates, which imported that the General knew that he was poisoned, and by order of Tippoo; that his time was short; that he must submit to his fate; that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar Christians, for the support of his army since he left Bombay, and requesting that any person, who should read what was written, and be fortunate

enough to reach any of the presidencies, should make it known to the governor and council.

It is unnecessary, as it would be distressing, to follow the author through the details of the various barbarities which he witnessed, as well as of those which he only suspected, during his captivity; neither need we enter into the history of his personal sufferings. For these we may refer to the work itself, which appears to be the production of an individual in the lower rank of life, as Scoury is described to have been. Some traits of the marvellous are, indeed, interspersed, which may induce doubts of the veracity of the historian, but the internal, as well as some external, evidence is certainly in favour of the authenticity of his story.

A History of the Island of Madagascar, comprising a Political account of the Island, the Religion, Manners, and Customs of its Inhabitants, and its natural Productions; with an Appendix, containing a History of the several attempts to introduce Christianity into that Island. London. 8vo. pp. xv. and 369. With a Map.

A successful compilation, principally from the French historians and the missionary papers, of every circumstance relating to this interesting island. The earlier chapters comprise the geography, soil, climate, inhabitants, dress, religion, &c. and contain much valuable information. The accounts of the early settlers from France, of their wars with the natives, of the massacres of which they were alternately the perpetrators and the victims, and of the settlement and proceedings of the celebrated Count Benyowski, form the most prominent feature of the history, previously to the capture of the Mauritius by the British. The embassy of Mr Hastie, who was deputed by Governor Farquhar to treat with Radama, king of Ova, for the abolition of the slave trade, is treated of at some length; and we cannot but admire the wisdom of this king of an uncivilized nation, in stipulating for the instruction of his people in the more useful arts of Europe, as the only equivalent for the concessions made to the English. The natural history, which occupies nearly seventy pages, has little pretensions to science, from the want of which, several curious facts, enumerated in this department, are incapable of being properly appreciated. The Appendix is chiefly devoted to the recent missions which have been established in the island, and which appear to be extremely flourishing, and the whole volume may justly be characterized as highly respectable.

Memorials of Columbus; or a Collection of Authentic Documents of that celebrated Navigator, now first published from the original Manuscripts, by order of the Decurions of Genoa; preceded by a Memoir of his Life and Discoveries. By D. G. B. Spotorno.

Translated from the Spanish and Italian. London: 8vo. pp. 251.

"A conqueror," says Bossi, "may arise to surpass Alexander; a poet to excel Virgil; but no one can ever rival Columbus, because no new hemisphere remains to be discovered." Every particular relating to such a man is invested with a paramount interest; and cordial thanks are therefore due to the Decurions of Genoa for the present publication of a series of authentic documents, sent as a present by Columbus himself to a Genoese friend, to be preserved in his native city. These amount in number to forty-eight, and consist principally of the grants, agreements, &c. in which Columbus was party with Ferdinand and Isabella. The bull of Pope Alexander VI. giving to the kings of Leon and Castile for ever, "all the islands and main lands discovered, and which may hereafter be discovered, towards the west and south, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places," &c. &c. is a curious document, and one on which the priest-ridden Ferdinand of the present day would doubtless rely with confidence, as an authentic proof of his dominion over the republics of South America. The shadow of a conveyance may well suffice for the shadow of a sovereignty.

A favourable idea of the benevolence and sound sense of Columbus is afforded by the sixth article, a letter of very temperate instructions for the government of the newly-discovered world; instructions, which, had they been attended to, would have effectually prevented those horrid and inhuman barbarities which have affixed a lasting stigma on the Spanish name. At these atrocities, however, we cease to wonder, when we see in the twelfth and two succeeding articles, a general pardon to *criminals* who will go and serve in Hispaniola, and warrants for transmitting these valuable colonists, to pursue again, without restraint, their precious avocations. The most interesting paper of the collection is the "Copy of a Letter written by the Admiral, to the Nurse of Prince Don John, (to whom he glory) in the year 1500, on his arrival from the Indies, as a prisoner," in which he details his grievances in so affecting and manly a style, as to excite our just indignation against those who could thus injure an individual so exalted by his talents and his discoveries.

It will be seen from the title that the Documents are preceded by a Biography of Columbus, in which Genoa is established as his birth place. His father was a poor wool-carder, and the era of his birth is fixed 1451-7. He died at Valladolid, on the 20th of May 1506.

De la Fièvre Jaune, observée aux Antilles, &c. On the Yellow Fever, observed in the West Indies, and in the Ships of War; considered principally with respect to its Transmission; by P. F. Keraudren, Principal Physician of the Naval Department, &c. Paris.

After a well-merited testimony to the memory of those medical officers, who have fallen victims to this destructive disease, the author enters into an examination, first, of the causes which favour its development, and more especially on the coasts of the ocean; and, secondly, of its real nature. He then presents some useful views on its treatment; and terminates his preliminary considerations, by declaring his opinion, that the labours of Dr. Chervin, who devoted many years to the study of the Yellow Fever, in the islands of America, the United States, and Spain, would alone suffice to solve the question of Contagion. In the first part of his work, he examines the arguments of those who maintain the doctrine of contagion; and relates facts which occurred at Martinique and Guadeloupe corroboratory of that opinion. He maintains also, on the authority of facts, that the Yellow Fever never develops itself spontaneously on board ship. In the second part, he advances a variety of new observations concerning its transmission, tending to support the opinion of its contagious nature.

Mémoire sur la Non-Contagion de la Fièvre Jaune, &c. Observations on the Non-Contagion of the Yellow Fever; by P. Lefort, Principal Medical Officer of the Navy at Martinique, 8vo. pp. 137. St. Pierre de la Martinique.

M. Lefort, a decided non-contagionist, asserts that the development of the Yellow Fever in the Islands, on board ship, and in the open sea, exactly corresponds with the elevation of the heat and moisture, and with the direction of the south winds, consequently he looks upon these meteorological conditions as the true cause of the epidemic. He cites a great many cases, in which persons labouring under this disease in its severest form, and who afterwards died of it, have been removed from the centre of infection into an uninfected atmosphere, as from one vessel on board of which it was raging with the greatest fury, into another totally free from it, or into the hospital; and he affirms, that in no instance has this removal been followed by a communication of the disease to those by whom they were surrounded, and who were in constant attendance on them. He details the experiments of M. Guyon, who submitted himself during the space of five days to repeated inoculations, left in the same bed with infected persons, and in their linen, and tried every possible means of receiving the contagion, without effect. These courageous experiments were made in the presence of and are certified by the Governor of Martinique, all the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of the hospital, and several naval officers. He also gives the testimony of Dr. Chervin, who has collected the opinions of all the physicians of the West Indies and of the United States, the result of which is, that the number of those who still

persist in maintaining its contagious nature is to that of those who deny it, as 4 to 100.

Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the age of Nineteen; with Anecdotes descriptive of their Manners and Customs, and some Account of the Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions of the Territory westward of the Mississippi. By John D. Hunter. 8vo.

Mr. Hunter, when an infant, was taken prisoner, on the western frontiers of America, by a party of Indians, by one of whom he was adopted, and from whom he received his education and the name of the *Hunter*, which he has since adopted as his patronymic. He thus acquired an intimate acquaintance with several tribes of the aborigines of the northern portion of America, which he has undertaken to impart to the public. Thus he certainly has done, in a very pleasing style; and as we are assured he is a young man of the strictest probity, his work will be perused with considerable interest.

Scenes in the Morea. 8vo. pp. 253.

At the present moment few are so insensible as to be indifferent to what is passing in Greece. Every thing, therefore, connected with that country or people must claim the utmost attention, and the "*Scenes*," will be read, with equal interest and pleasure. The whole narrative bears the appearance of fact.

Preparing for Publication.

A Familiar and Explanatory Address to Young, Uninformed, and Scrupulous Christians, on the Nature and Design of the Lord's Supper; with Directions for profitably reading the Scriptures; a Dissertation on Faith and Works; an Exposition of the Commandments and Lord's Prayer; a Discourse upon Prayer, and an Explanation of Terms used in Doctrinal Writings, &c. &c. In Foolscap 8vo.

The First Number of a new Periodical Publication, entitled *The Cambridge Quarterly Review and Academical Register*, to be continued quarterly, is to appear this month.

A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of the Empire of China and its Dependencies. By Julius Klaproth, Member of the Asiatic Societies of London and Paris. 2 vols. 4to. with a Map.

Milburn's Oriental Commerce, or The Last India Trader's Complete Guide; containing a Geographical and Nautical Description of the Maritime Parts of India, China, and neighbouring Countries, including the Eastern Islands, and an Account of their Trade, Productions, Coins, Weights and Mea-

tures, &c. By Thomas Thornton. A new Edition. 8vo.

The East India Vade Mecum; being a Complete Guide to Gentlemen proceeding to the East Indies in either the Civil, Military or Naval Service, or on other Pursuits. By Dr. J. B. Gilchrist.

Rāmāyana; id est, Carmen Epicum de Rāmā rebus gestis, a Poetā antiquissimo Valmike, Lingua Sanscritā compositum. Textum Codd. MSS. collatis recensuit, adnotationes criticae et interpretationem Latinam adjecit A. G. A. Schlegel. The Text is to be printed in the Devanāgarī Character, of which the Types are cut and cast at Paris, under M. Schlegel's direction, by order of the Prussian Government. The Work will be completed in 7 large octavo volumes, about the year 1825.

A Bengalee Version of Todd's enlarged Edition of Johnson's Dictionary is in a course of Publication in India. The Public is indebted for this laborious and useful Work to the conjoint labours of Bahoo Ram Comul, senior, and Mr. Felix Carey.

A New Edition of the Travels of Marco Polo is said to be contemplated by the Asiatic Society of Paris. It will be printed from a Manuscript in the King's Library, which contains twenty-six Chapters that are not in any other Edition.

Mr. G. W. Freytag has announced the speedy publication of an Arabic Dictionary, which, without being too extensive, may suffice for general use. For this purpose he proposes to suppress what is useless in the Lexicon of Golius, the remainder of which he will arrange more methodically, and correct what is inaccurate. He will endeavour to unite, in the smallest possible compass, all that is necessary for the understanding of the Arabic Authors.

M. Charnoy, Professor of the Persian Language at St. Petersburg, is employed on a History of the Mongols and Tartars, in Persian and French. The sources of information to which he applies are Ruschida Eddin, Mirschoud Chondeuir, and Abd-ur-Rassak.

M. Schmidt is also writing a History of the same People; but he takes Mongol Authorities for the basis of his work.

Memoirs of the Rev. C. Church, late Chaplain on the Hon. East India Company's Bombay Establishment: by the Rev. J. Hough.

"Animalia Annulosa Javanica."—This Work is intended as a Companion

to Dr. Horsfield's Zoological Researches in the Island of Java, and will contain Descriptions of all the new Insects brought from that Island by Dr. H. and which form so splendid an ornament to the Museum of the Hon. East India Company. The Text, it is understood, will be from the pen of Mr. Wm. M'Leay.

Mr. Benecke (of Lloyd's) has in the press a Treatise on the Principles of Indemnity in Marine Insurances, Bottomry, and Respondentia; containing Practical Rules for effecting Insurances, and for the adjustment of all kinds of Losses and Averages; according to the Law and Practice of England, and other maritime countries of Europe.

Acts of Parliament passed during the last Session.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 41. For the registering of Vessels.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 71. For defraying the Charge of Retiring Pay, Pensions, and other Expenses of that nature, of his Majesty's Forces in India; for establishing the Pensions of the Bishops, Archbishops and Judges; and for regulating Ordinations; and for establishing a Court of Judicature at Bombay.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 80. To consolidate and amend the several Laws now in force with respect to Trade from and to Places within the limits of the Charter of the East India Company, and to make further Provisions with respect to such Trade; and to amend an Act of the present Session of Parliament for the registering of Vessels, so far as it relates to Vessels registered in India.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 81. To consolidate and amend the Laws for punishing Mutiny and Desertion of Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the East India Company; and to authorize Soldiers and Sailors in the East Indies to send and receive Letters at a reduced Rate of Postage.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 83. For the better Protection of the Property of Merchants and others, who may hereafter enter into Contracts or Agreements in relation to Goods, Wares, or Merchandises, intrusted to Factors or Agents.

4 Geo. IV. Cap. 96. To provide, until the first day of July 1827, and until the end of the next Session of Parliament, for the better administration of Justice in New South Wales, and Van Dieman's Land, and for the more effectual government thereof: and for other Purposes relating thereto.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES—CHINA—AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—During the whole of the past month we have been without advices from Bengal. No ships have arrived from that part of India of a later date than the early part of September, and these, from detention at the outlet of the river, bring no news of importance later than August. Our Civil and Military Intelligence is therefore necessarily confined to that period; so that we have little to add on these heads beyond what was communicated in our last. Private letters have been our chief sources of information from this quarter; and from these we have collected the following particulars:—

We regret to learn from Calcutta, under date the 21st of August, that Lord Amherst was then so indisposed, that a public dinner, which was to have been given him on that day at the Government House, was obliged to be postponed until the 7th of September.

The accounts received at Calcutta from the interior, continued to speak of the heavy rains, and their destructive effects. Letters from Sumbulpore stated that the Nagpore mails, from the 7th to the 10th of August, both inclusive, had been detained on the western side of the Mahanuddy; and that river is moreover stated to have risen no less than sixteen feet higher than had been known for the preceding forty years. Such was the rapidity of the stream, on the 15th and 16th of August, that a boat, although carried down four coss, in attempting to cross, was not able to get a furlong from the bank.

Accounts from Berhampore, dated the 20th of August, give reason to apprehend that the embankments, immediately adjoining the cantonments there, would give way, these having received much injury in several places. The roads leading from the cantonments to Berhampore and Calcutta were entirely under water, which in some places covered them to the depth of two or three feet, and the distress and inconvenience experienced by the native inhabitants was very considerable.

In Tirhoot, Purneah, and Rajeshaye, and in the northern portion of Cossimbazar, the injury occasioned by the floods has been most serious.

At Nattore the water had risen so high as to leave few of the houses in the *Orient Herald*, Vol. 1.

town tenatable; the prisoners had been removed from the jail into the judge's cutcherry, the floors of the former building being one foot under water. The price of grain, and other articles of consumption, had been considerably enhanced, more, however, it was imagined, from the existing difficulty of communication, than from any failure in the crops.

A letter from Berhampore states that the whole country was one sheet of water, several bounds having given way, and the damage and distress had been very great in consequence.

By accounts from Ghazepore, of the 17th Aug., we learn the arrival of that place, on the 14th, of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget's fleet. The van had arrived abreast of the city by noon, and the appearance of the rear as it approached was most magnificent. The fleet came to, in most admirable order, at the Parade Ghaut, opposite the Mausoleum of the Marquess Cornwallis. The whole reached the anchorage soon after four, p.m. His Excellency was received by His Majesty's 39th Regt. of Foot, with all due honours, and it was to be reviewed the next day.

A suttee took place on the 15th of August at Serampore. The victim was a fine young woman, sixteen years of age, the widow of a man of the Komar or Blacksmith cast. She was the only child of her mother. The Bengal papers state that the immolation was deferred from an early hour in the morning until nine o'clock at night, during which time every exertion was made by the Magistrate and the Rev. J. Marshman, and the rest of the individuals who compose the Serampore mission. Her mother also violently opposed the horrid ceremony. But these humane efforts were in vain: actuated by a false enthusiasm, she put her finger into the candle to show how little the fear of pain could alter her resolution. She was free from intoxication, and the Magistrate took especial care that no violence should be offered to her to induce her to comply. She mounted the pile with cheerfulness, and expired without a sigh or a struggle.—This is the statement published in India; but of its accuracy in many parts we have great doubts.

Bombay.—Accounts had been received at Bombay from Moorabad, which

stated that the station had been very healthy, although the weather during the season had been excessively hot. The deaths had not been to any extent.

We regret to learn that some serious differences existed in the society of Bombay, in consequence of a measure of the Recorder, in removing an officer of the court from his place. It is said that the Governor and Archdeacon of Bombay espoused the cause of the officer in question, and were so much opposed to the Recorder, that all friendly intercourse between these had been suspended, and that their example had been followed throughout the island, which was divided into two parties. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the merits of the case to speak decidedly on this subject; but hope to be able to do so ere long.

Ceylon.—By accounts from Colombo, we learn that the Lieutenant Governor, attended by the Deputy Secretary to Government, and his Aide-de Camp, were still absent from that city on a tour of inspection through the Kaudyan territories. They had visited the city of Kandy early in May.

Batavia.—By letters from Batavia we learn that the coffee market remained in an unsettled state, and that prices were in a great measure nominal. To the eastward there had, however, for two or three weeks previous to the 24th of September, been a considerable decline. At Sourabaya, where the quantity was very considerable, the last quotation was thirty rupees per picul, and a further decline was anticipated. The market, at the date of these advices, was very unfavourable for imports, but it was expected in three or four months on advance would take place on almost every article. The opium farms had been sold in the beginning of September, and had been purchased by several companies, which would most likely produce a competition in the market, and very probably affect the price of that drug; as, prior to this, the farms had been held as a monopoly by one company. The Exchange at Batavia was, on England at 30 days, 44 dollars currency; on Holland at three months, 51 to 52 sk. ditto; on Bengal at 30 days, 187 sicca rupees for 100 dollars; Spanish dollars were 10 to 11 per cent. slow sale; and doubloons 16½ to 164.

A private letter, bearing date the 26th of September, states that the Government had that morning given notice, that their tea and coffee sale would not take place till the 4th of October.—It was stated in letters from Batavia that

the Baron Vander Capellan, Governor General of the Netherlands' India, would leave his government in the course of next June, and that on his arrival in the mother country, he would take the department of foreign affairs.

Tonquin.—According to the accounts of the missionaries, in the Eastern Kingdom of Tonquin, Christianity was making great progress there. The Mandarins of the first and second class favour the labours of the missionaries, and protect them in the exercise of their religion, the disturbers of which are rigorously punished. The learned men in particular are easily instructed, and invariably destroy their idols after a few conferences with the missionaries.

The Archimandrite Hyacinth, who was a director of the Russian Mission to China during a period of thirteen years, has arrived at St. Petersburg from that empire. Among the fruits of his journey is a History of China, in nine volumes, folio, and a Statistical Account of the Chinese Empire, with Maps in five idioms, severally treating upon the Geography of Thibet and Lesser Bucharia. There is also a collection of the Laws given by the different Emperors to the nations of Tartary, and various other important and interesting accounts of this almost unknown country.

New South Wales.—Accounts have reached England, from Van Dieman's Land and New South Wales, to the 5th of September. Those from the former place mention the arrival out of the ship Commodore, Hayes, with 216 male convicts. There had been a general meeting, at Hobart Town, of the merchants, landholders, and respectable inhabitants, when an abstract of a regulation for a Bank was agreed to, and a large portion of the shares subscribed for. The chairman of the meeting, with a deputation of twelve gentlemen, had afterwards an interview with the Lieutenant Governor, for the purpose of requesting him to obtain a charter from the Governor in Chief, which his Honour promised immediately to solicit. The Berwick, a passage vessel for Van Dieman's Land, had brought out a supply of Merino sheep, the greater part of which arrived out safe; but of 24 head of horned cattle on board the same vessel, the whole unfortunately perished. These cattle were of the approved breed, and in consequence of the very great loss sustained, as well to the colony as to individuals, a legal investigation was likely to take place on the subject. We are glad to perceive that proper protection is given to the passengers on their

voyage to this colony, by giving them damages in the law courts in cases of neglect or ill-treatment. Three actions of this sort were brought in the Lieutenant Governor's court, against the captain of the *Berwick*, in all of which verdicts were given for the plaintiffs.

The accounts from Hobart Town are generally gratifying, as to the advancing importance of that colony; and the rapid improvement and increase of the buildings in Van Dieman's Land, was the clearest evidence of its increasing prosperity.

At Sydney also, the appearances of every thing were most cheering. The agricultural society, established in July 1822, had held its first anniversary meeting, and had met with unexampled success. The merchant traders of Sydney had held several meetings for the purpose of forming a company, and entering into subscriptions to build two smacks to trade between Sydney and Van Dieman's Land, on the same principle as the *London*, *Leith* and *Berwick* smacks. The expense of building and completing the vessels was estimated at 6000*l.*; and to show the spirit with which the business was entered into, 2,500*l.* had been subscribed towards it by the merchants of Sydney alone. The shares were to be of 50*l.* each; the vessels were to have every accommodation for passengers, and the company was to be designated the Sydney and Van Dieman's Land company.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS

Cape of Good Hope.—The accounts from this colony, during the month, have been of a very disastrous nature, and furnish fresh proofs of the sufferings of the residents in this ill-fated settlement. By letters of the 28th of October, we learn that, on the 5th of that month, the weather, which had been previously favourable, changed to a series of storms, which continued from that date till the 18th, without intermission; in consequence of which, the river near Graham's Town overflowed its embankments, and washed every thing away in its vicinity. So violent was the torrent, that it is stated to have swept in its bed the very earth itself away, to the depth of full five feet from the surface. The situation of the unfortunate colonists, in consequence of this visitation, was truly deplorable, the whole of the crops had been destroyed, and the season was too far advanced to get other crops in. The land was also so much damaged as to require fresh ploughing, manuring, and exposing to the sun, be-

fore it would be ready for the seed. Scarce a settler is stated to have escaped from some loss; many have had their houses entirely washed away, and several lost their lives in attempting to cross the swollen rivers. Graham's Town is represented as like a place besieged and taken by storm; forty houses were quite washed down, and many others were so much dilapidated that they would require rebuilding; not one, indeed, had escaped from some damage, even the first-rate houses and public offices having more or less suffered. The authorities had had a survey, and the amount of the damage done in the town alone was estimated at 200,000 *rix* dollars.—The settlers who were tradesmen, and who had left their location to find employment in Graham's Town, and had spots of ground assigned to them on which they had expended all their property in building, were totally ruined.

The Caffres also continued their depredations on the eastern frontier boundary, and by night stole the cattle from the kraals, and in the day from the grazing land. It was unsafe to send out herdsmen to reclaim them, unless in strong bodies, which could not always be mustered. Five belonging to one party had fallen victims, a few weeks before the accounts left to the Caffres; the last of whom, a Mr. Stubbs, having had his cattle stolen, went in search of the plunderers alone, and falling in with a gang of Caffres, they immediately killed him and his horse.

A body of thirty-three head of cattle had been rescued from a party of Caffres, by two courageous settlers, on the 2d of October, who drove them for safety into Graham's Town, which, in fact, was the only safe place of harborage for them.—The Dutch laws are stated to be very severe, and the expense of a lawsuit so enormous as to render the ruin of any person engaging in one absolutely certain.

Buffalo hunting is the favourite amusement of the Hottentots, and whole herds of these animals were to be met with in the brush-wood. The hunters often fall in with the rhinoceros, and occasionally with herds of elephants, which are affirmed to be larger than the elephants of any other country.—The settlers were forbidden to trade with the Caffre people, otherwise elephants' teeth, wild beasts' skins, and ostrich feathers, could be procured in abundance, and great numbers of these animals were killed by them in the woods. The settlers were also not allowed to shoot elephants without a licence; and any one having a tooth

of this animal in his possession, was liable to be severely punished. The object of this law was to prevent their trading with the Caffres, which was thought a great hardship by the colonists, as great advantages were held out, the savages offering a tooth, weighing from sixty to eighty pounds, for eighteen small brass buttons, and the same for brass wire to make rings of, and for, indeed, almost any kind of trinkets. Elephants' teeth, at the Cape, are worth from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per lb.—The Caffres are stated to be very expert with the assegai, killing even birds with it, and in the hands of so vindictive a people, this appears a weapon of great detriment to the Europeans.

The Lieutenant Governor had issued a proclamation, ordering a levy of 500 horse and foot to be raised among the settlers, from the ages of 16 to 60. They had also been summoned to Graham's Town, to take the oath of allegiance, and to be sworn in as soldiers. This project met with great opposition, and nothing was heard but the threats of the lower class, against the government. The proclamation subjected the non-compliants to a fine of fifty six dollars, or commitment to the prison for one month, to support themselves while there, and in case of inability, to work on the public works till the fine, rations, and costs were paid. Steps were taken, in some few instances, to enforce the proclamation, but the government, finding how generally obnoxious it had become, had ultimately yielded to the general feeling, and abandoned the measure.

By the last arrivals from the Cape, we have received the Report of the commissioners of the society formed at that settlement, for the relief of the distressed settlers; together with the resolutions passed at their general meeting. Among the names of persons forming the general committee, are some of the most respectable inhabitants of Cape Town. The Report itself occupies no less than eight octavo pages, and enters into an explanation of the manner in which the subscriptions raised had been appropriated, and notices many cases of extreme distress. A considerable sum had also been expended for the relief of the widows and families of distressed settlers, being the principal object for which the society was originally instituted. The last article of expenditure noticed in the Report, is for the support of the settlers at Cape Town, a part of which had been returned by the individuals who had received it. The Report closes with

several extracts from authentic sources, in order that a correct idea might be formed of the actual condition of the settlers.

It appears that the particular kind of wheat, called Bengal wheat, has succeeded remarkably well during the three years which have proved so disastrous to other kinds of wheat, and the distribution of this grain among the settlers, had become an object of the first importance.

Cape Town, Nov. 29.—The case of P. S. Buissinne, Esq. Appellant to the full Court, against a sentence passed upon him on the 7th instant, by two Commissioners of the Court of Justice, came on on Thursday, Nov. the 20th. All the members were present, except Walter Bentinck, Esq. who excused himself, as being the chief instrument in discovering the prisoner's delinquency; P. J. Truter, junr. Esq. and P. B. Borchers, absent on duty, as Commissioners of the Circuit. When the Court passed the following sentence: "The Court declares the prisoner guilty of embezzling the public money, aggravated by perjury, and consequently unworthy of holding any office under his Majesty's Government, condemns the prisoner to be banished from this Colony, and the territories and dependencies thereof, for seven successive years, on pain of severer punishment, should he return within the same during that period. Declares, that his banishment shall only take effect after the prisoner's estate shall have been liquidated by the sequestrator, and after the prisoner shall have rendered proper account of his administration as receiver of land revenue, and shall have liquidated with his Majesty's Government, or shall have been relieved from so doing by Government. Directs, that the prisoner shall remain in confinement until he shall have complied herewith; and, thereupon, be confined on Robben Island, or some other secure place, until a fit opportunity occurs for his removal. The day of the prisoner's embarkation to be considered as the commencement of the prisoner's banishment; with condemnation of the prisoner in the costs; without its being understood, that anything with regard to the right of the prisoner's other creditors to his person and goods, has hereby been decided."

Isle of France.—The advices from the Isle of France reach to the 25th of October. These mention, that the commissioners sent out to inquire into and reform the abuses at the Cape and Mauritius, were daily expected at the latter

place. Their labours, it was hoped, would be much curtailed by the unexpected death of the Chief Judge Smith, who is considered by the inhabitants of the island to have died of a broken heart, from excessive mortification at having been so long suspended from his office.

Commercial affairs were in a very depressed state at the period of these advices. The highly respectable firm of Arnot and Fairlee, considered one of the most wealthy and substantial in the island, stopped payment on the 18th of October, to the great surprise of the English inhabitants, by whom more particularly it was considered beyond the reach of disaster. Indeed, the greater number of English officers who had left that island for their own country, within the last ten years, had deposited the little capital they possessed into that house, the interest of money being greater there than in England; these, therefore, would probably lose their all. It is added, that one of the partners of the firm of Barry and Gordon, had left the Isle of France abruptly, and without previous notice, in one of their own ships for China, addressing at the moment circular letters to the principal creditors of the house, stating the necessity of his absence to arrange his affairs, and expressing a hope of being able to return in a few months, apologizing at the same time for the suddenness of his departure.

The frequent failures that have taken place in the Mauritius, within the few months prior to the date of these letters, had given the greatest shock to credit generally, and spread so much distrust among all classes, as to occasion an almost entire stagnation of trade. The planters of the island had already refused to sell on their usual terms of credit, or to accept bills, demanding cash for their produce, which could only with the greatest difficulty be procured.

African Coast.—The letters received from the Gold Coast continue to hand very gratifying accounts from that colony. On the 19th November, Sir Charles McCarthy arrived at Cape Coast from Sierra Leone, an event that will relieve the anxiety of his friends in England, as the length of time which had elapsed since his sailing from that place had created serious fears for his safety. The more immediate object of Sir Charles's voyage was to bring to a decisive close the differences with the King of the Ashantees. This savage chieftain had long exercised an oppressive tyranny over the neighbouring tribes; and at

length he had carried his insolence and brutality so far as to murder the sergeant in one of the negro corps in our service. In consequence of this, the English had extended their protection to the oppressed tribes; a strong confederacy of native chiefs has been formed against the Ashantee tyrant, and two British officers, Captain Chisholm and Captain Laing, have conducted military operations against him with great success. The arrival of Sir Charles McCarthy appears to have spread terror and dismay among the Ashantees, many of whose dependants had deserted their standard, while the confederates in the cause of independence had been proportionably animated by the Governor's presence. These accounts state, that many Ashantee prisoners had been sent in by the Dinkeras, who continued skirmishing with the enemy. The accounts from Accra state, that a reinforcement from Awowua, the capital of Southern Creepee, had arrived at Aquam-aho to fight against the Ashantees, but it was thought the assistance of these auxiliaries would not be required to terminate the war. Up to the 15th of December, the settlement at Cape Coast Castle was very healthy. A good trade for palm-oil was carrying on at Tantum and Winchab, and the inhabitants were beginning to find their old system of rearing stock very profitable. They had, however, been disappointed in the sale of corn, and it was thought a great quantity would be spoiled in consequence. The arrangements made with respect to commercial indulgences with the United States of America and our colonies in the West Indies, had annihilated the corn-trade in Africa, which was previously increasing with such rapidity, that in a few years the quantity would have been equal to the consumption of the West India market.

The trade was again opened between Creepee and Adampee, and which afforded a good supply of cattle, sheep, turkeys and other live stock, which had of late been scarce in consequence of the Ashantees occupying a considerable extent of the country, and by their marauding excursions compelling the inhabitants to drive their cattle to the eastward. The Gold Coast Gazette communicates, for the information of those disposed to speculate in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, indigo or other produce, that a large tract of fit land could be readily procured, that the price of labour was as low, if not lower, on the Gold Coast, than in any other of the British Colonies, that the people were friendly, tract-

able and well disposed, and that perfect security for persons and property might be expected, and it was thought an intercourse might be followed with great advantage between the African Settlements and the Cape de Verd and Canary Islands, and also with Madeira, the West Indies, and North America.

A slight shock of earthquake had been felt at Free Town, towards the end of October. At Regent's Town it was more severe, but in neither places does it appear to have occasioned any damage.

These Papers notice the interesting fact of a black Slave having been sent from Brazil, by his master, an Englishman, to be instructed in the Christian religion, and brought up as a freeman at Sierra Leone.

The Slave trade appears to be still carried on by the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, notwithstanding the treaties entered into with them to destroy the abominable and unnatural traffic. Two vessels, under the white flag of His Most Christian Majesty, were taking Slaves at the Gallinas in the month of September. One of these sailed in October, having obtained a full cargo from a wretch named Gomez, calling himself a chief, at Camp Mount. A Portuguese vessel had anchored off Commanda, and having obtained the same wretched freight, had sailed for Popo.

The commencement and termination of that mysterious river, the Niger, was on the eve of being finally settled. Private letters have been received from the African Travellers, Dr. Oudney, Lieut. Clapperton, and Major Denham, down to the middle of July; from Bornou, where they still remained under the protection of the Sheik, waiting until the cessation of the rainy season, when they should proceed Eastward. In the mean time these gentlemen appear not to have been idle, having traced back the stream of the Niger from the great Lake of Tsad, into which it falls full 200 miles to the Westward, and within 100 miles of the lake of Nyffe, into which Horneman had traced its course. Its name it seems between the lakes Nyffe and Tsad, is Yaon, and on its banks are many pleasing villages, and several large cities in ruins, particularly that of old Birnie, which is stated to be nine miles in circumference, and the houses mostly of brick. It was pillaged and laid waste by the Fillatees, a most powerful tribe of the Blacks of Soudan, about 15 years ago; when the large cities of Kouka, Egoraou, and Bornir, near the Great Lake, were founded by the present Sheik of Bornou. One of the Letters of Lieut.

Clapperton, speaks in raptures of the beauties of the Tsad, and its numerous islands clothed with verdure, and the tall and elegant papyrus waving its plummy head above the rest. The natives navigate the lake in large boats, fifty or sixty feet long, sewed together like those of Masulapatani, and they have others on square sterns, on which sheens are erected for managing their fishing nets.

Canary Islands.—Through the medium of a letter from Oratana (Teneriffe), of November 15, we have accounts from the Canary Islands, which, if confirmed by subsequent arrivals, will be found of considerable importance. This communication states that a few days prior to that date, a French frigate had arrived at Santa Cruz, with a Spanish and a French General on board, who demanded in the name of the French government, the whole of the Canary Islands, ceded to them, as they said, by Ferdinand.—The Governor requested a few days to consider the request, and when the accounts came away he had not come to any decision. The inhabitants generally were much exasperated, and declared their dissent from the transfer.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—The accounts received from the Turkish capital state, that the greatest alarm had prevailed there in consequence of the intelligence received, that the Greeks had conquered the Isle of Scio, and were even menacing the city of Smyrna. This intelligence had produced such a sensation in the Divan that the ministry had fallen. The Reis Effendi was succeeded by Saib Effendi, and the Grand Vizier, who was exiled to Gallipoli, was succeeded by Galib Effendi.—The Sultan had ordered the Capitan Pasha to put to sea immediately, notwithstanding the disastrous state of his fleet. The treasury of the Porte was entirely exhausted, in fact not enough remained in it to march the troops necessary for the defence of Smyrna. The first measure of the new Vizier had been the ordering a levy of 80,000 men for the Morea, but the private letter from Europeans resident in Constantinople state, that the new ministry are considered as moderate men, and they deem it is not improbable but that some negotiations may yet be opened with the Greeks.

Smyrna.—Advices from Smyrna confirm the statements previously received from Constantinople, that the Greeks had effected a landing in the immediate vicinity of that city, and had killed the Pasha, and all the other authorities with astonishment and alarm. The number

of troops disposable to repel an enemy, at Smyrna, was very small. The Pasha put himself at the head of 400 of his body guard, and patrolled the streets to prevent any excesses.—He also invited the European consuls to an audience, to consult on the necessary measures to be adopted for the protection of their commerce. It was generally supposed by the English merchants, that this landing of the Greeks, was merely a *ruse de guerre*, as it was thought impossible to carry a place like Smyrna by a *coup de main*.

Soon after the landing of the Greek troops, which took place on the 6th of December, the European consuls at Smyrna, had written to the Primates of Hydra Ipsara, and Spezzia, declaring to them, that the security of their national establishments at Smyrna required, that the Greeks should undertake no hostile enterprise in the Gulf of Smyrna, including the island of Urtas, and extending to the north and south points of the gulf.—This document was signed by the French, English, Dutch and Austrian consuls, and in it they remind the Greeks of Count Orloff having respected the Smyrna trade, in 1774, by an express convention; and Adm. Duckworth having done the same in the war between the Turks and English. The consuls also requested the Primates to inform all Greek vessels, by a Proclamation, that they were not to molest the Gulf of Smyrna; as otherwise the European inhabitants of the town might fall a sacrifice to the Turks.—The answer of the Senate of the Island of Ipsara, is dated the 18th of December, and as it is an interesting and patriotic document, we give it entire.—It is as follows :

Gentlemen—The Captain of the galliot *Amarante* has conveyed to us your letter of the 13th instant, we observe by this, that our countrymen have caused some loss to the Turks our enemies. This loss on the one hand excites their rage against the Christian Rayahs, and on the other lays some restraints on the European trade, and has therefore induced you to beg of us to give the necessary orders that our vessels may make no attacks on the enemy in the Gulf of Smyrna. We wish we had it in our power to comply with this request, but our duty to our country, the laws of war, and the orders of the Greek government, will not allow us to do so: we are even obliged to add, that we will never fail according to the laws of war to attack the Turks on every part of their country. If, in consequence of their hatred to us they persecute the Christian Rayahs and Europeans, this will be the result of their savage state, which leads them to trample on all the laws of

humanity, and to outrage the practices of civilized Europe, which, if it would, might protect by its power the existence and the honour of every Christian. We are convinced that it will do this without demanding the sacrifice of us to cease being the enemies of the Turks. Be assured, Gentlemen, that our countrymen respect the Europeans, and that we should not disturb Smyrna nor the adjacent waters, if the flags of Europe were flying there, and we no longer saw the Turkish flag. But Smyrna is an integral part of the Turkish empire, against which we have now carried on war for three years, and must continue to assail by every means in our power.

If the Turks desire not to be annoyed by us, let them resolve to pay to the islands a tribute proportioned to the loss they suffer, and will continue to suffer, if God favours our exertions. If they will pay this tribute, they may enjoy full security without any fear of being annoyed in the Gulf or waters of Smyrna by our vessels. You are not ignorant, Gentlemen, how much we desire to be again numbered among the civilized nations of Europe; but you are also not ignorant that our war does not at all resemble the wars carried on by Great Britain and by Russia against the Ottoman Porte, for ours is a national contest, which theirs was not. As we are now convinced that you are not ignorant of our rights, we beg of you not to make a request to the Island of Ipsara which is contrary to its duties and the rights of a national war. No doubt you will be more disposed to assist the Christians than the Turks, and we hope you will accept the respectful homage of our countrymen, and particularly of their chiefs.

Your obedient and devoted servants,

The Senate of Ipsara.

The latest accounts from Smyrna state, that the greatest confusion prevailed there, as the Greeks commanded the entire gulf, and almost all the ships that were taking in their cargoes had suspended their labours. It was also confidently asserted, that the Turkish squadron fitted out with the view of protecting Smyrna, had been almost entirely lost in the Dardanelles; five frigates and six brigs are said to have been driven on shore, and the remainder of the squadron much damaged. No excesses had been committed against the Greeks and Franks down to the period of these letters leaving.

Egypt.—A mummy has been brought to Bruges, taken from one of the pyramids of Egypt. It appears to be that of a princess of the race of Pharaoh, who died about 3700 years ago. It is still in the case that contained it in the pyramid. The cover represents a female of more than human height in the Egyptian costume. The colours are

very vivid and well preserved. There was in the same case an embalmed cat, an undoubted indication of the high rank of its companion.

Greece.—The period seems rapidly approaching when this classic country will rank among the states of Europe, and again hold a distinguished place on the map of nations. In addition to the triumphs of Greece, which we have already noticed under the heads of Constantinople and Smyrna, the cause of liberty has advanced throughout the Morea, and the broken bands of the infidels have been rapidly dispersed. The most important fortress of Patras, according to the latest accounts from Missolonghi, was actually in treaty for a surrender. Odysseus had made himself master of Carystos in the island of Eubœa, and had laid siege to Erythrae. The Stratarques, Diamantis, and Gouras, after having taken the fortress of Cara Baba, had established a close blockade of Negropont. Maurocordato with a corps of two thousand Sulists, had commenced the siege of Lepanto and the Castle of Cape Anterhion, and a plan was forming for a campaign against Epirus. The Greeks occupied Corinth with a corps of 500 men, the Turks having previously evacuated the place without any defence. The most disastrous occurrence to the Turkish arms has been however the raising the siege of Missolonghi, which they were compelled to do, after having lost 3,000 men before the fortress, with all their matériel and artillery.

Maurocordato, who had arrived at Missolonghi, accompanied by Lord Byron, Colonel Stanhope, and Lieutenant Colonel de Launcy, had cut two Turkish ships out of the Gulf of Patras, one of which belonged to Jussuf Pasha, the commandant of Patras, and had on board 300,000 piastres in specie.

All foreigners were requested to assemble at Missolonghi, and place themselves under Lord Byron. His lordship continued the soul of the Greek cause, and was everywhere popular. The primates of Missolonghi had elected him a member of their council. A journal, to be called the Greek Chronicle, had been established there, it was to be printed twice a week in the Greek and Italian language. Lord Byron had undertaken to provide for the expenditure of the war in Greece until the produce of the loan raising in England shall have been received, and for this purpose he had sold an estate in England, the amount of which was to be

remitted to Greece according to his order. The Hon. Leicester Stanhope, who had been for some time attempting to form a corps of artillery, had at length succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes, and now boasts that the Greeks have a force more than sufficient to reduce all the fortresses in the hands of the Turks. In fact, under the auspices of the illustrious English visitors, the prospects of the Greeks look more cheering than at any period during the struggle they have long maintained for their country, their religion, and their liberty.

Malta.—The accounts from Malta received during the month have been of considerable importance. An event has occurred there of the first importance to the cause of the Greeks, namely, the death of Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, and lord high commissioner of the Ionian Islands. This unexpected occurrence took place on the 17th of January, on the morning of which day Sir Thomas complained suddenly of being unwell, and in the afternoon was attacked by a fit of apoplexy which carried him off. Sir Thomas had ever shown himself hostile to the Greek struggle, and his decease may be regarded as a benefit to the patriotic cause in the Morea. It is understood that Sir Frederick Adam will succeed to the governorship of the Ionian Islands, and that the Marquess of Hastings will be appointed to the separate government of Malta.

Corfu.—The only document of any interest from this island since our last, is one that would call for much comment, had not the author of it departed this world to render up his account to a judge that cannot err. That which we allude to is the following proclamation issued by the late Sir T. Maitland, dated from the palace of Corfu, Dec. 20.

"Whereas it appears that a most atrocious violation of the Ionian territory, has taken place in the islands of Santa Maura and Ithaca, on the 10th and 12th inst., on the part of some Greek armed vessels, seemingly under the command of a person styling himself Prince Maurocordato, contrary to every recognised principle of neutrality, in breach of all existing Santa regulations, and subversive of the established rights of nations, it is with great regret that His Excellency the Lord High Commissioner finds it incumbent on him to direct that the two islands above mentioned be placed immediately in a quarantine of thirty days, with the other islands of the Ionian states, and the head officer of the health department of Corfu is charged with transmitting the necessary orders forthwith."

The remainder of the proclamation merely speaks of the atrocities committed by the "parties concerned" in the present unhappy warfare, but letters received from Corfu give a very different account of the alleged violation of the Ionian territory, which, as the fulminator of this proclamation is no longer able to reply, we shall take no notice of.

Tunis.—We stated in our last that a British squadron was about to leave Malta for Tunis, to claim reparation for an insult offered to the English flag, and to demand the restoration of eighty Greeks, who were taken by a Tunisian vessel of war, by force, out of one of our merchantmen. We, at that time, expressed a hope that the growing audacity of the Barbary pirates might be effectually checked, and such chastisement administered as would show them the monstrous absurdity of a nest of pilferers opposing the progress of civilization, and committing acts of the most barbarous nature in the very teeth of the mightiest powers of Christendom. We confess we are sorry to announce the termination of this dispute; we regret to find the pirates of Barbary unite to cold-blooded atrocities the most abject cowardice, and that, although they have brutality sufficient to commit the most wanton acts of aggression, they have not the smallest particle of courage to defend them. By the arrival of His Majesty's ship *Medina*, we learn the result of this affair. The *Medina* sailed from Malta on the 21st December, in company with a squadron under the orders of Captain Hamilton of the *Cambrin*, which consisted of that ship, the *Euryalus*, the *Martin*, the *Rose*, and the *Di-patch*, which vessels were destined to blockade the port of Tunis, in the event of the Bey refusing to comply with certain requisitions, which were principally the immediate release of the Greeks, seized as above stated and thrown into slavery, (and not massacred as at first stated,) and that the Bey should sign a treaty to secure the British flag from such insulting aggressions in future. With the first the Bey readily complied, but it was not until after some delay, and orders had been given to the British consul to strike his flag and prepare for immediate embarkation, that he acceded to the second part of the demand. The service being performed, the ships of the squadron dispersed to their respective stations. We again say we regret the pusillanimity of the Bey enabled him to escape so easily, as we had entertained

hopes that such punishment would have been dealt out to him as would have curbed his presumption for the future. Nevertheless, much service has been rendered by the expedition. Independent of the Greeks we have before noticed, several other Greeks who had been sold by the infamy of a Maltese captain, (on board whose vessel they had entered themselves as passengers,) to slavery, were likewise set free. When the *Medina* left Tunis, on the 3rd ult. the Genoese fleet was going into the bay to demand satisfaction for two Genoese subjects who had been killed by the Tunisians.

By other accounts from Tunis we learn, that the white slave trade had been carried on there of late to a considerable extent. By these it appears that the following vessels had arrived at Tunis with white slaves on board.

Oct. 5, 1821. The French vessel *Duke of Angouleme*, from Smyrna, with four boys and two girls.

Oct. 6, 1821. The Tunisian brig, *Eagle*, under the French flag, and conveyed by a French ship of war as far as Cerigo, with two boys.

Oct. 17, 1822. The brig *Garda Giano*, from Smyrna, conveyed by an English vessel as far as Cerigo, with twenty-five women and children.

On the same day the English brig, *Duke*, under the English flag, from Constantinople and Smyrna, conveyed by an English vessel as far as Cerigo, with five or six boys.

May 25, 1823. An Austrian brig, with three boys, and a Swedish brig, (the *Album*,) from Smyrna, with eleven boys and two women. Another Swedish brig, having on board thirteen Greek slaves, bound to Tunis, was forced to put into Malta, where they were taken out by the authorities and set at liberty. The above is a disgrace to the consul at Tunis, from whom no complaints of this infringement of treaty has ever been heard.

Algiers.—Bigotry and its attendant haughtiness, produce on some minds a species of insanity, to which no appropriate name has yet been given, and on persons labouring under this disease, experience has no effect. It would appear that this sort of insolent pride is possessed by the Dey of Algiers in the highest possible degree. We do not wonder, therefore, at his conduct having again led to a fresh dispute between his Highness and England. By the official account published in the *London Gazette* of the 24th inst. it appears that His Majesty's ship *Nalad*,

commanded by the Honourable Captain Spencer, had been directed to proceed to Algiers, accompanied by the brig *Camelion*, and in conjunction with the English consul at that regency, to remonstrate with the Dey against some late proceedings, which were looked upon as infringements of a treaty entered into between Algiers and England, by Lord Exmouth. Among these, we understand, was that of continuing the system of enslaving Christian captives, which was expressly contrary to that treaty. The remonstrances of the commander and the consul, however, had no effect upon the Dey, and, in consequence, the British consul struck his flag, and embarked on board the *Naiad*. In coming out of the harbour, Captain Spencer fell in with an Algerine corvette, and obeying his instructions, issued orders to the *Camelion* to lay her on board, which was immediately done, and the British commander had the satisfaction to find that in capturing her he had rescued seventeen Spaniards, whom the Algerines were carrying into slavery.

In consequence of this rupture, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will immediately appoint convoys to afford protection to the trade through the straits of Gibraltar, and within the Mediterranean, until the differences now existing shall be arranged.

SOUTH AMERICA.

There is little of any moment to communicate from the New World since our last Number; but, generally speaking, the new republics appear consolidating their strength, and are beginning to enjoy the blessings of independence. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with briefly noticing the events that have transpired since our last.

Brazil.—The disturbances anticipated from the arbitrary conduct of the emperor, have not, in general, occurred; the expression of popular indignation having confined itself to one or two revolts of no importance, and which were soon quelled. The Emperor Pedro does not appear to have lost much of his popularity, from his late conduct, which was generally believed in Brazil to have resulted from the machinations against that prince, set on foot by the dismissed ministry. The new junta had passed a decree, ordering every unmarried Portuguese, who had not taken the oath of adherence to the Brazilian constitution, to quit the country in three days.

At Para a desperate attempt had been made by the slaves to massacre the white inhabitants, in which they were much encouraged by the civil dissensions among the latter. At one time the town was in the entire possession of the slaves, but after a desperate contest, the ringleaders were seized, to the number of 256, and confined in the hold of a brig in the harbour. During the night they attempted to force the hatchways, which was, however, rendered ineffectual by the guard, who shot twelve of them in the attempt. The remainder, finding their escape impracticable, commenced fighting among themselves, and in the morning, on opening the hatches, out of the number already noticed only four were found alive.

Peru.—Intelligence has been received from Peru which leaves no doubt of the issue of the campaign. The defeat of Valdez, the royalist general, is certain, and the army of the Patriots, consisting of the united forces of Columbia, Chili, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, was in possession of every hold in the country of importance. The three small divisions of the Spanish army under Canterac, Laserna, and Olanita, were completely cut off the one from the other, while superior forces were marching against each, and their defeat and dispersion appeared certain. Bolivar had been elected Commander in Chief of the combined armies under the name of "The Deliverer."

Buenos Ayres.—By the advices from this republic we learn, that things were in a very disturbed state there, in consequence of the incursions of the Indians into that territory, who drove off the cattle and butchered the men without mercy. Their incursions were rendered more formidable from the extension of the frontier, which had rendered the troops so weak on the confines, that in several engagements the Indians had obtained the victory. Great apprehensions were also entertained of a revolution at Buenos Ayres, in consequence of the increasing clamours of the people, which were incessant on account of the ravages of the savages, and from the city being filled with people who had fled from the interior for protection. The 6 per cent. stock which was 45, had fallen to 40, and even that was a nominal price, few choosing to invest their money under such precarious circumstances.

Mexico.—The Congress of Mexico have determined that the future form

of government shall be a federal republic, and a draft of a constitution was under discussion when the accounts came away.

The letters from Alvarado of the 21st December state, that the Castle of San Juan D'Ulloa was in a deplorable state, being much injured by the fire from Vera Cruz, and many of the garrison being sick and wounded. The Spanish fleet of vessels of war, which had been several weeks idle about the castle, sailed three days previous, it was supposed, for Havannah. They left some provisions, and took away considerable property from the castle. Nothing was heard of the second expedition which it was said Morales would conduct that way. The governor of the castle was requested not to fire upon the city during the stay of the English commissioners, who had arrived there on their way to the capital, to which he assented. The French gentlemen supposed to be agents of the French government, who were arrested some weeks before in the city of Mexico, had been ordered to leave the country, as also the celebrated French General Count Almirar. A motion had been made in the congress to render all European Spaniards incapable of holding any civil or military office in the country.

WEST INDIES.

Demerara.—The accounts from this colony during the month have not been very important; martial law still continued on the 26th December, but it was expected to be done away with on the 29th January, provided no fresh commotion occurred. Some discontent during the Christmas holidays had been expressed by the slaves of the Nabaeth's estate on account of their not being permitted to assemble as heretofore, and thirty-nine of them had been committed to the stocks. With this exception the colony had been tranquil, and the planters were beginning to turn their attention to their commercial affairs again. Mr. Smith the Missionary had been found guilty by a court martial, but recommended to mercy. His sentence has been remitted in England; where he has received a free pardon; but he is not to return again to the colony.

Jamaica.—We regret to be again obliged to announce an attempt at revolt in another of our West India colonies, which, although of not such importance as that at Demerara, affords a melancholy picture of the state of ferment in which the black population at present are. By these it appears that

the negroes of Frontier and Port Maria estates were to have begun the insurrection, which like the one preceding it, had for its object the destruction of the white population. The vigilance of the authorities however detected the plot before it had attained perfect maturity, and seven men belonging to Frontier and Walker's estate, were executed.

Subsequent accounts from Jamaica to the 13th of January, state that tranquillity had been restored to the island, and that, with the exception of the two parishes already noticed, none of the other parishes had risen, although meetings of the negroes had taken place, which however led to no result. Several of them suspected to be disaffected had been committed to prison, to be tried by the first slave court.

In the house of assembly at Jamaica resolutions were passed on the 11th of December, the language of which indicates a determination to resist the legislative authority of Great Britain, it exercised contrary to the wishes of the colonists. These resolutions were accompanied with a memorial and petition to His Majesty, couched also in strong language. In the course of the debate clauses were moved as amendments directly censuring ministers, and praying especially for the dismissal of Earl Bathurst from His Majesty's councils. They were however negatived, and the petition and memorial passed in the original form. During the debate on the subject of legislative independence, Mr. Mars the senior member for St. Andrews said, "It is no new thing for the British Parliament to assume the right of legislating for the colonies, nor will it be a new thing if they should be foiled in the present attempt." This is so perfectly intelligible that it has at least the merit of plain dealing. We annex a copy of the memorial, but the extreme length of the petition, which is by far the most intemperate, prevents our handing that likewise.

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, have of late years frequently prayed your Majesty to take our oppressed state into your Royal consideration

"It is with pain that we once more remind your Majesty of our grievances. Our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland have been relieved of their burdens, but the sufferings of this colony have been increased since our last Address was presented to your Majesty.

"Instead of repealing the war duties on our produce, which have reduced our constituents

to the condition of bailiffs on their own lands, the protecting duty on East India sugar has been lowered, and our situation, in consequence, made worse than before.

"We are aware of the vast debt that was incurred during the late war, and that a great revenue is necessary for the wants of the empire; but your Majesty's Ministers should assess your subjects equally, and not confiscate the wealth of a few, who are weak and at a distance, to lighten the contribution of the remainder, who are powerful, and who surround the seat of Government.

"And this unjust measure of taxation is less partially borne by us, since it is a fact not to be disputed, that the wealth and resources of Great Britain multiplied during the war, and that her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, wonderfully flourished. While we, your Majesty's West India subjects, suffered throughout the contest all its disadvantages, in the increased difficulties of navigation, in the higher price of British goods, and the reduced value of our own.

"The conquest of the hostile colonies by your Majesty's arms, caused the British market to be overstocked with our commodities, and the splendid triumphs of your Royal Navy, which gave birth to the decrees of the French ruler, and to the retaliatory orders of your Majesty's Council, closed every Continental port against us: thus, for a considerable period, sugar did not repay the cost of production, and coffee could not find purchasers at any price.

"Hitherto our complaints have been confined to the injustice of seizing on the entire revenue of the colony; but we are now threatened with a new calamity, which, if it now overtake us, will destroy even the hope we have always reposed in the beneficence of your Majesty.

"Resolutions have been moved by one of your Majesty's ministers, and agreed to in the lower House of Parliament, falsely assuming that the labouring population of this island are ill-treated and unhappy, and voluntarily pledging that House to interpose in their behalf with a view to their emancipation.

"It is our humble duty to represent to your Majesty that we have taken no oath of allegiance to the Imperial Parliament, and that we cannot submit to the degradation of having our internal interests regulated by the Commons of Great Britain, whose powers within that realm are not superior to those which we, the Assembly, have ever exercised within the island of Jamaica.

"Should your Majesty's Parliament proceed in their attempt to subvert our Constitution, and offer for the Royal Assent any Act that arrogates an authority over the interior of our island, we beseech your Majesty to reject the Act, and, by that timely interposition of your royal prerogative, to save us from utter ruin.

"We need not point out to your Majesty's wisdom the certain destruction that awaits the colony, should the negroes be taught that in us,

their natural protectors, are to be found their enemies, and in the distant country of Great Britain, their friends and liberators: when this new light bursts on their uninformed minds, Jamaica will soon be lost to the Mother Country, as St. Domingo is to France.

"But if this island is to be the scene of a dreadful experiment, we claim that we may not be involved in the awful consequences. If slavery be an offence to God, so are anarchy, desolation, and blood. Let your royal Parliament become the lawful owners of our property by purchase, and we will retire from the island, and leave it a free field for modern philanthropy to work upon. The Deity, who sees into the heart, is not to be propitiated by laying on his shrine the possessions of our brethren, but only by the sacrifice of what is our own to offer."

Dominica.—Accounts of a most alarming nature have been received by planters in this country from Dominica. It appears that the negroes had been taught to believe that at Christmas they were to receive their freedom; in consequence of this whole gangs refused to do their duty, and plans had been formed, as appears from the evidence of a negro who had been arrested, to murder the white population. So strong was the impression of impending danger, that the Council and Assembly recommended to the Governor to proclaim Martial Law; and all the ships in the harbour were desired to be ready at a moment's notice, to put to sea with the women and children.

Barbadoes.—The accounts from Barbadoes convey nothing new. The arrival of reinforcements from England had inspired the inhabitants with considerable confidence, and business was resuming its ancient form.

Martinique.—The French appear little more fortunate than ourselves, a plot having been discovered among the free coloured people, to commit an indiscriminate massacre of the whites, and then to set the town of St. Pierre on fire. The opportune arrival of troops from France staggered the resolution of the revolvers, and induced them to postpone the consummation of their scheme from the originally proposed day, the 17th of December, until Christmas Eve. In the mean time the activity of the police made such discoveries, as completely arrested their career, and from 20 to 30 of the conspirators, chiefly wealthy and respectable, had been sent to Fort Royal. Several coloured men had arrived just before at Martinique from France, and had been distributing about seditious pamphlets. About sixty of the coloured militia had also been disarmed.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Marquess of Hastings.—Certain insinuations against the character of the Marquess of Hastings having appeared in the London papers, some of which imputed to him an embezzlement of the Company's funds to the extent of 300,000*l*, Sir John Doyle addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, requesting explicit answers to certain questions on this subject. He obtained, however, no satisfactory reply. This led to the repetition of these questions in a public meeting at the India House, on the 11th inst. the result of which was somewhat more satisfactory. We have given a full report of the proceedings on that occasion in another part of our present Number: but we cannot even advert to it here, without saying that we think the conduct of the Chairman, who refused answers to such plain questions as these, on the grounds alleged by him as sufficient to justify his silence, was, in our estimation, as *really* unwise as it was *apparently* unfeeling; and without adding our firm belief that among all the weaknesses which may fairly be attributed to the Marquess of Hastings, love of money cannot be numbered. We have expressed ourselves too plainly, both in India and in England, on the general character of this Nobleman, to be suspected of undue eulogy; but common justice enjoins us to state (and we do so with considerable pleasure) our firm conviction, that no inducement on earth would be sufficient to tempt the Marquess of Hastings to commit a pecuniary embezzlement, or even be a party to a direct fraud—in the general acceptation of the term. We perceive from a public notification, that a Court is to be held for the express consideration of this subject. We shall, therefore, reserve what we have further to say on this head until then.

Sir William Rumbold.—In one of the Numbers of a weekly paper, called "The British and Indian Observer," published during the last month, an attack was made on the character of Sir William Rumbold, as partner of the banking-house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, imputing to him the perpetration of a fraud on the India Government, to the amount of 300,000*l*.—and alleging that he had been turned out of India on account of this fraud. The manner in which this was forced on the public notice, by placards pasted on the

front of the office, betrayed an *animus* far from creditable to the parties exercising it. Sir William Rumbold, however, moved on the following day for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against the Proprietor, Editor, and Publisher of the Paper named; at the same time denying the statement made in it on oath. The rule being made absolute, the matter will be brought to trial. The facts of this transaction are partly known to us, but in this case, also, we shall reserve our remarks on them until our information is still more complete than at present; as we have no wish to prejudge or prejudice the interests of either party in this case. The general conduct of the Paper, in which this imputation appeared, is, however, such as we can not but regret: since, we are persuaded, that the benefit which it *might* have produced by a fair discussion of Indian subjects, is completely counteracted by the virulence with which it seems to have indulged its personal hatred to particular individuals. The world is no doubt large—and there is ample room in it for every variety of taste. We must frankly confess, however, that "The British and Indian Observer" is very far indeed from the standard which we should admire as the best, either for taste, talent, or execution.

Vaccination in India.—It appears from reports of the National Vaccine Board, that the applications for lymph have been more than usually numerous. In 1821 there were 20,000 persons vaccinated in Ceylon, 20,149 in the Presidency of Fort William, and 22,178 in that of Bombay.

Brass Gun from India.—It is said that the Court of Directors, of the East India Company, intend to have brought home and presented to his Majesty, the large brass gun cast by the great Aurungzebe, to commemorate the conquest of the city of Bejapoor, A. D. 1669.

New Governor of Penang.—At a Court of Directors held at the India House, on the 4th of February, Robert Fullarton, Esq. was appointed Governor of Prince of Wales' Island.

East India Director.—Sir Thomas Reed, Bart. the East India Director was seized with an apoplectic fit on the 17th ult. at the London dock house, which was also attended with paralysis. He has partially recovered from the

shock, though not so materially as was expected by his friends from previous symptoms.

Rates of Insurance at Lloyd's to India.—Outward bound, for free traders 50s. to 70s., ditto homeward bound, 4l. to 6l. For the Company's ships; outward bound 3l., and homeward bound the same. It is probable however that the dispute with Algiers will raise the rate of insurance on shipping materially. The rates to New South Wales are, outward 3l., homeward 4l. to 6l.; and to the Cape of Good Hope outward and homeward 3l.

Agent for Ceylon.—Mr. Huskisson has resigned his situation of Agent for Ceylon: Mr. Penn, Agent for the Mauritius, is to be his successor.

Duel.—A duel took place on the 1st of February on Blackheath, between Mr. Vincent, and Lieutenant Mu-grave of the Company's service. The latter was wounded in the right knee, which was much shattered.

Haileybury College.—The meeting of the court of proprietors which we noticed in our last as being convened for the 11th February, to consider the propriety of endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the clause of the act of parliament relating to the College, as already noticed, took place on that day. The discussion was prevented by a very warm debate, (for a report of which see p. 505) regarding the conduct of the Marquess of Hastings. This diversion from the original object of the meeting occasioned it to be postponed till the 25th of February, of the proceedings of which a brief notice only can be given in our present Number, (see page 537.) reserving a fuller report for our next.

Africa.—The convention between the English and Portuguese for the suppression of the Slave Trade, had provided that ships should not be detained for slave trading, unless they were found with slaves actually on board; but the accounts from Sierra Leone clearly proved that this step had in a great measure frustrated the principal object of the convention; many of the ships notoriously employed in the illegal traffic evading capture by putting the slaves momentarily on the shore, and hovering on the coast till a fit opportunity occurred of re-embarkation. Strong remonstrances were in consequence made by our government to that of Portugal, against this fraudulent practice, but without avail, till the last year, when additional articles were at length agreed to; by which it was settled, that

if there should be clear proof, that a single slave has been put on board any vessel for the purpose of illegal traffic, it should ensure the condemnation of the vessel, if captured at any time during the voyage.

Voyages of Discovery.—Captain Cochran, who undertook a pedestrian tour through Russia and Siberia, to explore that region, and to ascertain the disputed fact of the separation of the continents of Asia and America, has, after a two years' survey, decided the question in the affirmative; there being a contiguous channel between the continents, though frequently blocked up with ice throughout the winter.

Ionian Islands.—It has been determined to separate the governments of Malta and the Ionian Islands, which were conjointly held by the late Sir Thomas Maitland. The former is to be given to the Marquess of Hastings, with a salary of 6,000l. a year, and the latter to Sir Frederick Adam, with one of 4,000l. per annum. The command of the forces in the Mediterranean will not be included as heretofore, in the government of Malta.

The West Indies.—It is decided on account of the late disturbances in the West India Islands, that two bishops are to be appointed to superintend the affairs of the church in the West Indies, one to the Leeward, the other to the Windward Islands. A residence is to be appropriated for them, and each is to be allowed 4,000l. per annum, with a retiring pension of 1,000l. per annum, after a twelve years' residence. Jamaica is to be the head of one see, and Barbadoes and St. Vincent the moveable seat of the other. The Reverend Mr. Sumner, Prebendary of Worcester, and the Reverend Mr. Coleridge, joint Secretary to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and a near relation to the poet Coleridge, are the gentlemen nominated.

Colonial Slavery.—Petitions to both Houses of Parliament praying for an anchorage of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies, have been prepared in the cities of Gloucester and Hereford.

Demerara Missionaries.—The Reverend Mr. Smith, who was found guilty by the court martial but recommended to mercy, and whose sentence was sent home to be decided finally by the privy council, has received his Majesty's pardon, on condition of entering into sureties not to remain in the West India Islands, nor ever again to visit them. The Reverend Mr. Elliot, also a missionary,

arrived in England the other day from Demerara, in the brig *Oscar*.

Dutylon Sugar.—On the 16th ult., Lord Liverpool had a meeting with the leaders of the West India interests, to consult on the expediency of taking off the 15 per cent. duty on sugar, as proposed by Mr. Hume in the House of Commons.

West India Meeting.—A Meeting of the leading West India merchants and Planters was held on the 10th ult., at the City of London Tavern, pursuant to advertisement. After a long debate on the present precarious state of the colonies, the following Address to his Majesty was resolved on.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Petition of the Planters and Merchants, and others interested in the British West India Colonies.

"We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, Planters and Merchants, and others interested in your Majesty's West India Colonies, humbly approach your Majesty with the expression of our loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government.

"We appeal to your Majesty's paternal feelings, which ensure the extension of your Majesty's gracious protection equally to all your subjects, as well to the weak as to the powerful, to those in the most remote parts of your empire as to those nearest your Majesty's person.

We humbly beg to lay our case at your Majesty's feet, in the confidence that it is only necessary to place it under your Majesty's view, in order to obtain protection for our just rights and security for our property.

"We beg leave humbly to state to your Majesty, that we hold our plantations in your Majesty's Colonies by grants or purchases from the Crown.

"That those grants and purchases were made in some cases under the stipulation, in all upon the understanding, that the lands so acquired were to be cultivated by Negro Slaves.

"That Negro Slaves were brought by your Majesty's British subjects from Africa, to your Majesty's West India Colonies, and sold by them to Planters, under the sanction of Acts of the British Parliament, giving to British subjects the exclusive privilege of carrying on that trade, confining it to British ships, and prohibiting the Planters from trading with the merchants of any other country.

"That in the Acts of Parliament relating to that trade, it is described 'as beneficial to the commerce of Great Britain and to your Majesty's Plantations,' and it has been stated to be a trade 'so very advantageous, that it ought to be left free and open to all your Majesty's subjects.'

"That the attempts which have been made, on more than one occasion, by the Legislature of your Majesty's Colonies, to restrict and limit that trade, have been checked by the British Government.

"That the Royal Assent has been refused to Bills passed with that view, by the Legislature in the Colonies, and that it has been declared by the Ministers of the Crown, that it would not be 'allowed to the Colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial and necessary to the Mother Country.'

"That various Acts have been passed by the Legislature of the Colonies, and have received the Royal approval, regulating, in the most minute details, the treatment of the Slaves by their masters, affording protection to the one, and recognising the rights of the other.

"That other Acts have been passed by the same Legislatures, and have received the Royal approval, treating the Slaves in these Colonies as the property of their masters, and subjecting such Slaves and their issue to all the restrictions and conditions which attach upon any other property, for some purposes considering them as freehold, for others as personal property.

"We beg leave further to state, that various Acts of the English, and subsequently, of the British Parliament, have passed into law, treating the Negroes and their issue in the Colonies in various modes as property, for securing the rights of British merchants and other persons who have lent money, taking such Negroes as their security, and affording facilities against the owners of them for recovery of their debts.

"That the several Courts of Law in this kingdom have, by repeated decisions, regarded and decided on the property in Negroes, and their issue, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom and the colonies, which relate to inheritance, devise, settlement, conveyance, and securities for money, recognising in the proprietors a vested interest in the Slaves, their future issue and increase.

"That the property in Slaves has been made an object of taxation, the acquisition of it by devise has been subjected in some cases to the legacy duty, the possession of it to the property tax, and the transfer of it to the stamp duty, amongst which is that imposed upon Slaves and their issue by the Registry Act, passed so recently as in the year 1810.

"In a word, the title of the Master to his Slaves and their issue, has been as completely and as solemnly recognised by the law, as the title of any of your Majesty's subjects to any other species of property.

"We humbly conceive, that in a case in which the parties are the State on the one hand, and any other class of your Majesty's subjects on the other, it cannot be necessary to prove any other title to property, than that it has been recognised by the State itself: and we humbly conceive that, as against the right of the State, to annihilate or to injure in any degree that property, such proof is conclusive.

"It has been urged, with a view of shaking the title to such property, that in its origin it will be found to have been vitiated by acts of injustice or violence; we might ask how much

of the property of your Majesty's subjects—property held the most sacred—could show a title in its origin free from injustice or violence? Whether your Majesty's title to those Colonies, though sanctioned by treaties, and recognised by the law of nations, could stand that test? Whether it could be shown that the original occupation of those countries by the nations of Europe was sustained by the acts of cruelty or violence towards the native inhabitants; or how much of the landed property of Great Britain or Ireland could be retained by the present possessors, if such a title were required to be shown? The general admission of this principle would shake property of all descriptions throughout your Majesty's dominions, and against a partial application of it to the property of your Majesty's subjects in the Colonies we appeal in confidence to your Majesty, the dispenser of equal justice to all your subjects.

"If the State considers that the property of the West India Planters in their Slaves interferes with a great national object, it has a clear course, as in all cases where the property of individuals interferes with a public object, by offering them a fair compensation for the surrender of their property.

"If that object is one which is required by a high moral duty, the same sense of duty commands that it should be accomplished by the fair purchase of that property, rather than by a forcible violation of it. If the right to compensation be admitted in case of injury, but it be maintained that the object can be accomplished without injury to the Planters, the State has also a clear course, by offering a distinct pledge, and making provision for a contingent compensation if no loss should be incurred, this will cost the State nothing if the injury should be inflicted, it will only be satisfaction of a claim previously admitted to be just.

"On the other hand, a refusal to abide the issue of this test will be considered by the Planters as a practical proof that their fears are left to be well founded, however they may be asserted to be groundless.

"We beg leave further humbly to represent to your Majesty, that the tranquillity of all your Majesty's Colonies has been disturbed, and the lives and properties of the inhabitants of those countries brought into imminent danger.

"That the insurrection of the Negro Slaves in your Majesty's colony in Demerara has not been suppressed without sacrifice of lives and valuable property.

"That an impression had, as it appears, been created in the minds of the Negro Slaves in that Colony, that your Majesty and the British Parliament had granted their emancipation, but that their masters withheld it from them, and that they had thus been stimulated to assert their freedom by violence, in other Colonies, plans of insurrection have also been discovered, and a very disturbed spirit has become apparent among the Negro population.

"The confidence in the security of property in those countries has consequently been so much

shaken, that the power of transfer has been nearly annihilated, the value of the securities, on which many millions have been lent by your Majesty's subjects in England, has been equally diminished, and the credit of the Planters, who had been already struggling under the pressure of long continued distress, has been so much impaired, that it has become almost impossible to obtain a loan upon colonial security.

"Under these circumstances, we lay ourselves at your Majesty's feet, and humbly pray that your Majesty will not, by the exercise of your royal prerogative, in any manner sanction or authorize any acts which may impair the value of property in your Majesty's Colonies, so repeatedly and so solemnly recognised by your Majesty, your royal predecessors, and the Parliament of Great Britain, unless a fund should be previously provided for fair and sufficient compensation.

"We further humbly pray your Majesty to be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as to your Majesty may appear best calculated to remove the exaggerated expectations of the Negroes, and to allay the well-founded fears of the White Inhabitants in the Colonies, so as to restore a tranquil and contented spirit in those Countries, and to re-establish the just value of colonial property, and confidence in its security.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."

Greek Loan.—A loan of 200,000*l.*, for the Greek Government, has been brought out in the English money market at 59, and has attracted much notice. The scrip has been doing at as high a premium as 5 per cent. The interest is 5 per cent., payable half-yearly.

Greek Subscription.—A Meeting was held on the 11th ult., in the Town-Hall of Liverpool, for the purpose of considering the best means of assisting the Greeks in their struggle for independence. After some interesting discussion, resolutions for promoting a subscription among the inhabitants of Liverpool, in aid of the Greek cause, were put and carried; and on the following day the amount collected was stated to be 370*l.*

Tristan d'Acunha.—We have been favoured by a respectable passenger of the ship *Berwick*, which called off the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, on her voyage to this port, with the following particulars, to which we give publicity, trusting they may be useful to voyagers bound to India and New Holland:—

"March 25, 1823, the ship *Berwick* called off the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, found 17 people, 10 of whom constantly reside there, who had for disposal 25 tons of potatoes, vegetables, milk and butter. They have two good whale boats, with which they are always ready to afford assistance in watering any vessel requiring their aid. The water is

easily got by rolling the casks a short distance (30 yards) from the boats, or with a long hawse, in moderate weather, the casks could be filled in the boat. In payment for their assistance, or supplies of potatoes, &c. they gave preference to clothes, salt beef, pork, and rum; and their demands were not exorbitant for either potatoes, milk, or assistance."

Accident at Saffron Walden.—We are requested to state that the accident which took place near Saffron Walden, does not refer to Mr. Robert Anderson of the East India College, who lately retired from the Madras Civil Service.

EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 25th of February, a Special Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, to take into consideration a requisition for inquiring into the state of Haileybury College.

A circumstance of an unprecedented nature occurred on this occasion, to which we consider it necessary to allude. The public have, for many years past been admitted to the gallery, to hear the debates, by what is called the private door, at the top of the stair-case. At twelve o'clock, the time at which the court usually opens, a considerable crowd had assembled at this door, and applied for admission, but to the surprise of every person present, ingress into the court was prevented by the officers who had charge of the door. The reporters who attended for the public press, applied in vain for permission to enter; they were informed that none but proprietors would be admitted there. And it was only after a long contention that they were enabled to force their way into the gallery, which was soon after filled by a rush of strangers, who overcame the obstacles which were opposed to their entrance. The reporters were, however prevented by the officers in attendance, from occupying the place hitherto allotted to them in the body of the court, and were compelled to remain in the gallery, where it was extremely difficult to hear the speakers, and where the light was scarcely sufficient to allow of the taking of notes. We hope sincerely that this proceeding is not indicative of a desire, on the part of the authorities at the India House, to prevent their proceedings from being made public; but such was certainly the impression produced by the extraordinary conduct of their officers.

We would take the liberty to suggest that the day is past when any public body can venture to make their pro-

ceedings a matter of secrecy. The East India Company, as well as the highest power in the country, must be subjected to the control of public opinion.

[We give merely an abstract of the debate for two reasons, first because it occurred at so late a period of the month as to render it extremely inconvenient to go into detail, and secondly because the discussion having been adjourned, we think it advisable to defer a more ample report until we can bring the whole of the question at one view before our readers.]

The CHAIRMAN having stated the purpose for which the Court was specially convened,

The Hon. D. KINSAIRD introduced the motion in a speech of considerable length. He said, he knew that the General Court of Proprietors was the last place in which the College ought to be discussed, if it was possible to avoid the consideration of it there; but having found all former efforts to induce the Court of Directors to take up the subject unavailing, he felt himself reluctantly compelled to bring it before the general body of Proprietors. The College, he said, which was intended to have been granted as a boon, was by one clause in the Act unfortunately converted into a penalty, and an object of just and necessary terror to every parent who looked forward to the education of his son for India. It was impossible that any seminary of learning could be well governed without an arbitrary power in the hands of the professors, to prevent contagion, as well as punish crime. The College Council ought to have full power to act *in loco parentis*; whereas at present no student could be expelled until he had infringed some College statute to the letter. Until then, he was at liberty to spread the contagion of his irregular and insubordinate habits, and perhaps corrupt fifty others. At last he was formally expelled, not to the credit of the institution, but to his own public disgrace and ruin. Every expulsion put the College on its trial before the public, and the evil was aggravated in every possible shape. Mr. Malthus, the eminent professor on political economy, at the College, had expressly stated, that until the power was possessed by the College Council, of removing a vicious or refractory character, without clamor or cavil, no hope could be entertained of the gradual removal of the insubordination that had prevailed there. At Oxford or Cambridge the professors would probably advise retirement in the case

of a student likely to prove a bad subject, and he would retire on such advice, knowing the power the professors had of rendering that compulsory, which in the first instance they wished to be spontaneous; but at the Haileybury College the professors had no such power; nor could the pupil retire, because he was compelled to serve four terms there, in order to qualify himself for any appointment under the Company. Mr. Malthus remarked, that in consequence of the value of the appointments and the severity of the punishment, there was a reluctance to exercise it. Every parent dreaded to send his son to this college, though there could be only two reasons why the benefits of public education should be declined, namely, either because better tuition could be obtained in private, or because there were some dangerous defects in the institution. When the folly of a day might ruin a young man for life, it was enough to deter every parent from sending his son to such an institution. The fair course would be, if the student could not conform to the regulations of the College, to allow him to go elsewhere and finish his education where he pleased. He might then, perhaps, return to his old colleagues, and pass his examination with honour. The great reform desirable in the management of the College, was the possession of arbitrary power in the professors. It was impossible by any code to comprehend every case of academical delinquency. Nor could any thing be more ridiculous than the superintendence of the Court of Directors at this distance from the College. In every point of view, the removal of the compulsory clause would prove highly beneficial to the College. Why, if a student were competent in two terms, should he be compelled to remain at the college four terms? The Naval College at Portsmouth was instituted to give education to youngsters on board the navy, on the same principle on which the Haileybury College was instituted for the civil servants of the Company. At first no great success attended it, and the naval captains even advised that the boys should be sent to sea at once. The professors felt the imputation, and infused fresh zeal into their exertions, and, finally, the College rose to the high repute it at present enjoyed. The applications for admission now far exceeded the numbers that could be admitted. The College at Haileybury was, on its establishment, looked upon with an evil eye by those who were about to send their sons to

India. They regarded it as an obstacle of two years interposed in the way of their progress. The object of the Company, in its institution, was to ensure their civil servants a good education. In pursuit of that object, they had most unwisely imposed a restriction on themselves which he now wished them to remove. It was argued by some, that it would be better to abolish the College altogether, as it was supposed nobody could go there except in consequence of the compulsory clause. But though he was not disposed to expend his own money, or that of the Company, unnecessarily, he would advise that the College should be continued, if only 30 students were educated there. A spirit of emulation would be introduced, by which the College would soon rise to a level with the wants of the Company's students. This was a momentous epoch in the history of education. Till lately our public schools were reading the very grammars ordained by Henry VIII. for the schools of his day. At a period not very remote, the mathematical examinations at Oxford were in such a state that they became a reproach to that University. What was the consequence? The mathematical students all went to Cambridge, and the professors at Oxford, in their own defence, were compelled to re-edify the reputation of their University. With respect to the objection to the test he proposed, he begged the court to notice that there was a test already in existence—a strict, written, defined test, the words of which he would transcribe. All he asked was, to give the students an option of arriving at the qualification for passing the test by other means. He should hold it as little short of sacrilege to destroy the College. He was anxious to see the evils that deformed it removed, and the full benefits of the institution reaped by the Company. He trusted the question would now be settled, and that the Court would not again be agitated by it. The hon. Proprietor concluded with moving, that an application be made to Parliament to repeal the clause of the act which prescribed a residence of four terms at Haileybury as indispensable to an official appointment in India; and said that he also wished to have a fit test of examination established, which all students would have to pass before their appointment, but without reference to the place of their previous probation. In conclusion, he expressed a warm anxiety that the Court of Directors would take the subject in hand, and do that as emanating from their body,

which he now recommended for the adoption of the Court of Proprietors.

On the motion being handed within the bar,

The CHAIRMAN, after complimenting the hon. Proprietor for the mild and gentlemanly manner in which he had delivered his sentiments, said, that as he perfectly agreed with him that the General Court of Proprietors was the last place in which the question should be discussed, he would confess, that he had intended, if it had not been for the continual notices given by the hon. Proprietor, to have taken up the subject before he left the chair. He therefore suggested, that it would be advisable for the hon. Proprietor to withdraw the question, and leave its consideration to the Executive Body of the Company. The hon. Proprietor was in error as to the power of the professors. During the first term (six months) the residence of the students was clearly probationary. The certificate applied not only to their proficiency in their studies, but in their conformity to the regulations. It also included their general good conduct.

The Hon D. KINNAIRD was disposed to meet the proposal of the Chairman, if the Court of Directors would accede to his motion, or something equally affecting the main or general question. But if there was no hope that the Court of Directors would give the professors the power he asked for them, he could see no benefit to be gained by postponing the question.

Mr. HUME said, it was desirable that no time should be lost in rendering perfect the means of giving their civil servants an excellent moral and scientific education. It could not be left in better hands than in the Court of Directors, if they were inclined to take it up. He therefore suggested that the question should be referred to them for consideration. If the motion were withdrawn it might appear that his hon. friend had abandoned it.

The CHAIRMAN said, he was afraid he was only creating difficulties instead of removing them. He could not commit the Court of Directors as the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) wished, nor hold out any such hope or encouragement as the hon. Proprietor seemed to require.

The discussion was then resumed.

Mr. CARRUTHERS, after apologizing for intruding himself upon so important a discussion, proceeded to reply to the arguments of the hon. mover. He saw no novelty in them. They were the same that had been refuted in 1817, by

the late Mr. Grant. The servants of the Company were not to be educated as factors or agents, but as statesmen and magistrates. There might be some defects in the institution, but all seminaries of learning in their infancy were liable to abuses. He had no doubt that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, though founded by royal power in its greatest plenitude, had suffered from similar causes. The question was not what individual disappointments might have been sustained, but whether the millions subject to the Company in India were to be well or ill-governed.

Mr. POYNTER also opposed the motion, and denied that Mr. Malthus had spoken so decidedly against the system of education at the College, as was mentioned; on the contrary, he had in many instances spoken in the highest praise of it. He contended, that the effect of this motion would be to abolish the College altogether. On the whole, he thought it was better to let well alone.

Mr. RIGBY spoke in favour of the motion, and contended for the necessity of ameliorating the system of education of Haileybury.

Mr. WEDDING concurred in the opinion expressed by the last speaker.

Mr. TWINING saw no adequate reason for making an innovation upon the present system of the College, and should therefore oppose the motion.

Mr. SAMUEL DIXON spoke in its favour.

Mr. CHAMBERS addressed the Court, but was inaudible in the gallery.

Mr. IMPEY opposed the motion, and argued at some length for the continuance of the present collegiate discipline at Haileybury, which he asserted had materially improved their present class of civil servants in India.

Mr. GAHAGAN warmly supported the motion, and denied that an expulsion from college ought to be a final bar to a student's profession in life. The ablest men of the day had suffered that sort of punishment, and afterwards became very distinguished in life. Sir Francis Burdett was, he had heard, expelled both from Westminster and Oxford. (*A laugh.*)

Mr. R. JACKSON supported the motion. Mr. IMPEY moved an adjournment to Friday.

Mr. TRANT seconded the motion.

The Court divided, when there appeared, for the adjournment, 62; against it, 32; majority, 30.

The Court was then adjourned till Friday, the 27th of February.

MILITARY AND CIVIL INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazette.]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS,
REMOVALS, &c.

BENGAL.

11th *Regt. of Light Drag.* William Henry Warrington to be Cornet without purchase, vice Partridge, who resigns; dated 29th Jan. 1824.

16th *Regt. of Light Drag.* Lieutenant John Vincent, from the 59th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice M'Dougall, who exchanges; dated 12th May, 1823.

14th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieutenant John Liston, from the 38th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Ware, who exchanges; dated 23d May, 1823.

38th *Regt. of Foot.*—Lieutenant Robert Ware, from the 14th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Liston, who exchanges; dated 23d May, 1823.

44th *Regt. of Foot.* Brevet Major J. Chilton L. Carter, to be Major without purchase, vice Guthrie deceased; dated 5th June, 1823.—To be Captains, without purchase: Lieut. Daniel Caulfield, vice O'Reilly deceased, dated 26th May, 1823; Lieut. Frederick Hemming, vice Carter promoted, dated 5th June, 1823.—To be Lieutenants: Ensign Barrington Browne, vice Caulfield, dated 26th May, 1823; Ensign H. Dick Carr, vice Hemming, dated 5th June, 1823; Ensign Henry James Shaw, vice Sergeant, deceased, dated 6th June, 1823.—To be Ensigns: Hemsworth Usher, gent. vice Browne, dated 26th May, 1823; Gore Browne, gent. vice Carr, dated 14th Jan. 1824; Henry Nixon, gent. vice Shaw, dated 15th Jan. 1824.

59th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieut. Alexander M'Dougall, from the 16th Light Drag. to be Lieutenant, vice Vincent, who exchanges; dated 12th May, 1823.

87th *Regt. of Foot.* Major Henry Browne to be Lieut. Colonel, without purchase, vice Miller, deceased; dated 18th May, 1823; Brevet Major H. C. Streatfield, to be Major, vice Browne; dated 18th May, 1823.—Lieutenant John Day, to be Captain, vice Streatfield; dated 12th May, 1823.—Ensign Laurence W. Halstead, to be Lieutenant, vice Day, dated 12th May, 1823.—To be Ensigns, without purchase: Eugenius De L'Etaing, gent. vice Doyle promoted in the 4th Light Drag., dated 18th May, 1823; Nicholas Milley Doyle, gent. vice Halstead, dated 15th Jan. 1824.

MADRAS.

41st *Regt. of Foot.* Captain Robert Brown, from the 24th Foot, to be Captain, vice Townshend, who exchanges; dated 29th Jan. 1824.—Lieutenant Francis Dickson, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Norman, who exchanges; dated 3d April, 1823.

46th *Regt. of Foot.* Surgeon Daniel O'Flaherty, from the 14th Light Drag. to be Surgeon, vice Forster, who exchanges; dated 22d Jan. 1824.—Assistant-Surgeon Richard Hewat, from half-pay 94th Foot, to be Assistant Surgeon, vice Robert Andrew M'Munn, who exchanges; dated 10th Jan. 1824.

69th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieut. John Smith, to be Captain, without purchase, vice Lane, deceased; dated 12th May, 1823.—Lieut. William Norman, from the 41st Foot, to be Lieut. vice Dickson, who exchanges; dated 3d April, 1823.

13th *Regt. of Light Drag.* Cornet Arthur Alexander Dalzell, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hislop, who retires; dated 5th Feb. 1824.—Ensign Thomas Frederick Hart, from the 63d Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Dalzell; dated 5th Feb. 1824.—Veterinary Surgeon John Schroeder, from the 3d Light Drag. to be Veterinary Surgeon, vice Constant, who exchanges; dated 5th Feb. 1824.

30th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieutenant Walter Foster Ker, from half-pay 23d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Onseley, appointed to the 96th Foot; dated 5th Feb. 1824.

54th *Regt. of Foot.* Lieutenant Richard Bourke Warren, from half-pay 84th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Foskey, appointed to the 29th Foot; dated 5th Feb. 1824.

BOMBAY.

84th *Regt. of Lt. Drag.* Capt. Gerrard S. Moore, from half-pay of the 65th Foot, to be Capt. vice Michael Kirby, who exchanges, receiving the difference; dated 19th April, 1823.

20th *Regt. of Foot.* Capt. John Byrne, from the 35th Foot, to be Capt. vice Gethin, appointed to the 96th Foot; dated 29th Jan. 1824.—Ensign Duncan Darroch, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Robinson, deceased; dated 25th January, 1823.—Richard Tasker Furlong, gent. to be Ensign, vice Darroch; dated 25th Jan. 1823.—Brevet Colonel John Forster Fitzgerald, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Bunbury, who exchanges; dated 5th February, 1824.—To be Lieutenants: Lieutenant Richard Church, from half-

pay 31st Foot, vice Kidman, appointed to the 96th Foot; dated 4th February, 1824.—Ensign Edmund Meysey Wigley, from the 82d Foot, by purchase, vice Lord Edward Hay, promoted; dated 5th February, 1824.

CEYLON.

Ceylon Regiment. Second Lieutenant Theodore Milius, to be First Lieutenant, without purchase; dated 15th January, 1824.—To be Second Lieutenants without purchase: Second Lieutenant James Stewart, from half-pay, 2d Ceylon Regiment; dated 25th June, 1822.—Second Lieutenant Alexander Mackay, from half-pay, 2d Ceylon Regiment, dated 25th June, 1822.—Robert Bradford M'Crea, gent.; dated 16th January, 1824.—Lieutenant John Campbell, from half-pay of 5th West India Regiment, to be First Lieutenant, vice Robert-on, appointed to the 96th Foot; dated 5th February, 1824.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Cape Corps. Assistant-Surgeon Thomas Clarke, to be Surgeon; dated 15th Jan. 1824.

Royal African Colonial Corps. Lieutenant James Hingston, from the 83d Foot, to be Captain without purchase; dated 4th January, 1824.—To be Ensigns without purchase: James White, gent. dated 2d January, 1824.—Michael O'Hallaran, gent.; dated 3d January, 1824.—George Foss, gent.; dated 4th January, 1824.—James Uniacke, gent., dated 5th January, 1824.—Charles Lizar, gent.; dated 6th January, 1824.—John Godwin, gent.; dated 7th Jan. 1824.—Richard Fitzgerald Ring, dated 8th January, 1824.

WEST INDIES.

2d West India Regt. Brevet Major William Burke Nicolls, from the 72d Foot, to be Major without purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the Royal African Colonial Corps; dated 8th Jan. 1824.—Lieutenant William Locke, from the First Life Guards, to be Captain by purchase, vice Stepney, who retires; dated 29th Jan. 1824.—Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Sackville Berkeley, from the 16th Foot, to be Major by purchase, vice De La Hausaye, who retires, dated 5th Feb. 1824.

STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

Brevet Colonel Hon. Frederick Cavendish Ponsouby, from half-pay, 22d Light Dragoons, to be Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in the Ionian Islands, vice John Thomas Fane, who exchanges; dated 29th January, 1824.—Captain Lord Edward Hay, from the half-pay, to be Sub-Inspector of Militia in the Ionian Islands, vice Krumm, resigned; dated

5th February, 1824.—Col. Sir Charles Sutton, K. C. B., from half-pay, to be Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in the Ionian Islands, vice Sir Robert Travers, appointed to the 10th Foot; dated 28th January, 1824.—Major General Sir Frederick Adam, K. C. B., to have the local rank of Lieutenant General in the Ionian Islands.—Brevet Major William George Moore, of the 1st or Grenadier Foot Guards, to be Deputy Quartermaster General to the Forces serving in the Windward and Leeward Islands (with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army), vice Popham, deceased.

BENGAL.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Buths.—Aug. 1st. At Patna, the lady of J. W. Templer, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a still-born son; the lady of David Shaw, Esq., M.D., of a daughter.—3d. At Allahabad, the lady of Major G. Warden, 2d Bat. 27th Regt., of a son.—6th. At Nusseerabad, the lady of Capt. S. Smith, 3d L. C., of a daughter.—9th. At Keitah, in Bundelcund, the lady of Lieut. W. Bignell, 1st bat. 8th N. I., of a daughter; at Midnapore, Mrs. John D'M. Synaes, of a daughter; at Digah, near Dinapore, the lady of J. C. Brown, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.—13th. The lady of Mr. John Thomas, ship-builder, of a daughter.—14th. The wife of Mr. G. Pyne, of a daughter.—15th. Mrs. C. Lefevre, of a daughter; at Barrackpore, the lady of Major H. Bowen, of a son.—16th. At Gussery, in the vicinity of Calcutta, Mrs. B. Barber, jun., of a daughter.—18th. In Fort William, the lady of Capt. W. R. C. Costley, Barrack-Master, of a daughter; at Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Thos. Haslam, 2d bat. 20th N. I., of a son.—19th. Mrs. Richard Williams, of a still-born male child.—20th. Mrs. F. Cornelius, of a son; Mrs. C. H. Hackett, of a daughter.—23d. The lady of Capt. H. B. Pridham, of a daughter; the lady of John Smith, Esq., of a son; the wife of Mr. James Fermie, of a son.

Marriages.—August 2d. At St. John's Cathedral, J. H. Moscrop, Esq., to Mrs. Sophia Matilda Richards.—18th. At St. John's Cathedral, Henry Hugh Griffiths, Esq., Indigo Planter, to Miss Eliza Russell.—23d. At St. John's Cathedral, S. P. Singer, Esq., to Anne, second daughter of the late S. Hill, Esq., of Fultyghur.

Deaths.—Aug. 1st. At Patna, Charles Elliot Money, son of Wigram Money, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 11 months; at Calcutta, Miss A. Williamson, eldest daughter of J. Williamson,

Esq., of Malacca.—2d. At Fattyghur, Leopold, son of Leopold Dyce, Esq., aged 13 years.—3d. Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Waterman, aged 14 months.—7th. Eliza, wife of Wm. Dent, Esq., Civil Service, aged 20 years.—8th. At Meerut, Mrs. Keys, widow of the late Dr. Keys, Superintending Surgeon of the Kurnaul Circle. After the death of her husband, she fell ill, and in the course of a few days followed him to the grave.—9th. At Allahabad, Thomas Jones Watson, the infant son of Capt. T. C. Watson.—10th. Of fever, Mr. C. M. Keut, aged 44; at his residence in Loll Bazar, Mr. Wm. Mann, of the firm of Buchanan, Mann, & Co., aged 38.—11th. At Cawnpore, Edward Jones, the son of George Reddie, Superintending Surgeon, aged 3 months.—12th. At the house of Mr. George Aviet, after an illness of nearly 3 months, the third infant son of Mr. Abraham Avietmall, of Chinsurrah.—13th. Frederick Ruddell, fourth son of Capt. J. N. Jackson, aged 2 years; at Guserah, the infant son of R. Barnes, Esq., aged 7 months; Mrs. Elizabeth Samuel, aged about 35 years.—16th. At Aurungabad, Capt. C. E. O. Jenkins, of the regiment of Artillery, late in the service of his Highness the Rajah of Nagpore.—19th. Maba Rajah Rajkissen Behadur, the son of the late Rajah Nobo Kissen. He died universally regretted, and his memory will be cherished and revered by his grateful relatives and friends.—21st. At Fultah, on his way to town from Kedgerie, Thomas Vaughan, of a jungle fever, aged 27 years.—26th. Mr. W. C. D'Rozario, of the Calcutta Custom-House, aged 18 years.

MADRAS.

Deaths.—August 8th. At Gooty, Mrs. M. Viccars, in her 26th year.—20th. At Masulipatam, John, infant son of Capt. John Ogilvie, 1st Batt. 17th Regt.—24th. At Vepery, Mrs. Conductor Hutchison, aged 55.—*Lately*, at Masulipatam, J. S. Newbold, the infant son of J. D. Newbold, Esq., Madras Civil Service.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Aug. 1st. The lady of David Shaw, Esq., M.D., of a son.—3d. Mrs. Thomas Ferrar, of a son.—10th. The lady of Thomas Crawford, Esq., of a son.

Marriage.—August 7th. At St. Thomas's Church, John Saunders, Esq., to Anna, daughter of the late Col. R. Jones, of East Wickham, Kent.

Deaths.—August 4th. Mrs. Goodfellow, wife of Major Goodfellow; Mrs. Laugh-ton, a native of the Orkneys.—7th. Miss M. V. C. Conyers, aged 1 year and 15 days.—*Lately*, at Salvaco, in Mahim,

Maria De Cruz, aged 54 years, the relict of the late Joseph de Miranda.—*Lately*, David, the infant son of David Malcolm, Esq.

VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.

Birth.—August 6th. At sea, on board the Commodore Hayes, on her passage to Van Dieman's Land, the lady of Capt. Sydney Cotton, 3d Foot, of a son.

BARBADOS.

Marriage.—Dec. 4th. Lieut. Lardy, of the 4th, or King's own Regiment, to Thomasine, relict of J. Pinder, Esq., and daughter of Gen. Haynes, of the same place.

NEVIS.

Death.—Nov. 27th. In the 25th year of his age, Richard Clement, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Commission appointed to inquire into the Administration of Justice in the West Indies.

JAMAICA.

Death.—In December, at Prospect Pen, aged 39, Mary, the wife of George Tarbutt, Esq., three weeks after the birth of her nineteenth child.

MALTA.

Death.—On the 17th Jan. Sir Thomas Maitland, by apoplexy. Sir Thomas was a G. C. B. and G. C. He was Colonel of the 10th Regiment of Foot, Governor of Malta, Commander of the Forces in the Mediterranean, and Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He was the brother of Earl Landerdale.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Birth.—Feb. 8th. At the Principal's Lodge, E. I. College, Hert's, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Batten, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 5th. At Sunbury, Edward Dyer, Esq., of Hon. E. I. Company's Military Service, to Penelope Jane, only child of Colonel John Boydell.—7th. At Newington Church, Mr. Wm. Bell, E. I. House, to Charlotte Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Everard Vanstock, Esq., of Oporto.—11th. At St. Pancras New Church, Wm. Dugard, Esq., to Sarah, daughter of Robert Keeling, Esq., of Gibraltar.—16th. Daniel Sturge, City Road, merchant, to Mary-Anne, only child of Edward Tomkies, Esq., formerly of Calcutta, and now of Shrewsbury.

Deaths.—Jan. 31st. Thomas Woodhouse, Esq., Deputy Auditor of India Accounts, aged 53.—Feb. 1. At Dalston, Hackney, John Bailey, jun. aged 31, late in the Hon. E. I. Company's Naval Service.—10th. Of an apopleptic attack, while attending the West India Meeting at the City of London Tavern, Edward Bullock, Esq., of Upper Bedford Place, in his 52d year.—16th. At Pentonville, Mr. W. Cresswell, E. I. House.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Feb. 2	Downs	Royal George ..	Ellerby	Bombay	Aug. 27
Feb. 6	Downs	Cape Packet ..	Kellie	Mauritius	Oct. 26
Feb. 8	Cowes	Two Brothers ..	Meek	Batavia	Sept. 27
Feb. 9	Weymouth ..	Voyager	Richardson ..	Cape	Nov. 23
Feb. 9	Gravesend ..	Henry Wellesley ..	Luke	St. Helena ..	Dec. 21
Feb. 12	Portsmouth ..	Skelton	Dixon	Van Dieman's Land	Sept. 2
Feb. 14	Cowes	George Home ..	Young	Batavia	Oct. 17
Feb. 21	Dartmouth ..	Ranger	May	St. Helena ..	Jan. 1

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

July 13	Hobart's Town ..	Elizabeth	Dacre	London	Mar. 9
Aug. 3	Hobart's Town ..	Competitor ..	Ayscough ..	Portsmouth ..	Mar. 27
Aug. 13	Hobart's Town ..	Brutus	Smith	Portsmouth ..	April 7
Aug. 16	Hobart's Town ..	Commodore Hayes	Muncrief ..	London	April 29
Aug. 19	Hobart's Town ..	Francis	Beason	London	April 29
Aug. 19	Bombay	Brailsford ..	Spring	London	April 14
Sept. 12	Singapore ..	Bridgewater ..	Mitchell ..	Portsmouth ..	Feb. 27
Sept. 25	Batavia	Houqua	Nash	London	June 10
Oct. 1	Batavia	Diamond	Strout	London	June 10
Oct. 5	Batavia	Jemima	Watt	London	May 8
Oct. 14	Mauritius ..	Alexander ..	Richardson ..	London	July 17
Oct. 14	Mauritius ..	Rambler	Powell	London	July 3
Nov. 18	Cape	James Sibbald ..	Forbes	Portsmouth ..	Aug. 28
Nov. 18	Cape	Assa	Reid	Downs	Aug. 21
Nov. 18	Cape	Hercules	Vaughan ..	Plymouth ..	Aug. 28
Nov. 21	Cape	Asia	Lindsay ..	Portsmouth ..	Aug. 28
Nov. 21	Cape	Hope	Flint	Portsmouth ..	Aug. 30

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Departure.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Jan. 29	Deal	Thomas Coutts ..	Christie ..	Bombay and China
Jan. 29	Deal	Prince Regent ..	Lamb	Van Dieman's Land
Feb. 1	Portsmouth ..	Macqueen	Walker	Bengal and China
Feb. 1	Cowes	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 1	Cowes	Duchess of Athol ..	Daniel ..	Bombay and China
Feb. 9	Downs	Luna	Knox	Cape
Feb. 14	Cowes	Cornelia	Septhia ..	Batavia
Feb. 14	Cowes	Castle Huntly ..	Drummond ..	Bombay and China
Feb. 14	Milford	Cumbrian	Birbeck ..	Cape
Feb. 14	Cork	Prince Regent ..	Wales	New South Wales
Feb. 15	Portsmouth ..	Alfred	Laughton ..	Van Dieman's Land
Feb. 19	Downs	Caroline	Harris	Batavia
Feb. 22	Cowes	Thames	Latson ..	Ceylon
Feb. 22	Portsmouth ..	Duke of Bedford ..	Cunningham ..	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 25	Portsmouth ..	Sir David Scott ..	Tween	Bengal and China
Feb. 25	Downs	Rosanna	Johnson ..	Batavia
Feb. 25	Downs	Wm. Money	Jackson ..	Madras and Bengal
Feb. 26	Portsmouth ..	Orpheus	Findlay ..	Madras & Mauritius
Feb. 26	Cowes	Dunira	Hamilton ..	Bombay and China
Feb. 26	Downs	Earl of Balcarras ..	Cameron ..	Bengal and China
Feb. 26	Downs	Canning	Head	Bombay and China
Feb. 26	Downs	Joseph	Christopherson	Singapore

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Port of Departure.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Downs	London	Sotheby ..	St. Hel., Bombay & China
Downs	Larkins	Larkins ..	Bombay and China
Downs	Marquess Camden	Child	Madras and China
Downs	Lady Melville ..	Smith	Madras and China
Downs	Wm. Fairlie ..	Benn	Bengal
Liverpool ..	Perseverance ..	Truscott ..	Madras
Plymouth ..	General Palmer ..	Wilkinson ..	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth ..	Larkins	Warrington ..	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth ..	Catherine	Macintosh ..	Madras and Bengal
Downs	Melish	Cole	Bengal
Downs	Eliza	Faith	Bombay
Downs	Lonach	West	Mauritius and Bourbon
Downs	Muirgrave Castle ..	Helph	Mauritius
Downs	Britannia	Lamb	Cape
Downs	Hottentot	Sinclair ..	Cape
Downs	Alacrity	Findlay ..	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Downs	Lang	Lusk	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Downs	Denmark Hill ..	Forman ..	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Downs	Deveron	Wilson ..	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Cork	Almorah	Boyd	New S. Wales & V. D's Land

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	From whence.	Destination.
Dec. 10	3.58 N. 23 W.	Oleassa	Jackson	London ..	Cape
Nov. 26	8 N. 91 W.	Wm. Shand ..	Kenn	London ..	Van Dieman's
Nov. 27	30 N. 35 35 E.	Spyke	M'Pherson ..	Mauritius ..	London
Feb. 9	8 long. fr. Lizard	Prince Regent ..	Lamb	London ..	Van Dieman's
Feb. 10	48 N. 10 W.	Lord Hungerford	Furquharson ..	London ..	Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the Royal George.—Lient. Liddle, N. 1 Regiment; Mrs. Conyers, and four children; Mr. Pye, Governor of Rodriguez; Miss Prier; Lieut. Thompson, R. E.; two soldiers, and one woman.

By George Howe.—None.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the Duke of Bedford.—Mr. and Mrs. Walter; Miss Yates; Miss Snow; G. Pearce, M.D. Mrs. Pearce; John Ord, Esq. Mad. Civil Ser.; Lieut. Lang; Messrs. Hughes, Reed, Bates, Rawlinson, White, Chinery, Campbell, Bates, Hoffman, Money, Rose, Vynart, Stubbs, Hooper, Bloag, two M'Kenzies, Rumsey and M'Kay, Cadets; and Mr. Burt, returning to India.

By Sir David Scott.—Messrs. Egerton, Fullow, Gibb, Daniell and Paxton, Cadets.

By the Dumira.—Mr. Mrs. and two Misses Elphinstone; Mrs. Snongrass; Misses Evans and Fressure; Capt. and Mrs. Little; Mr. Phillips; Messrs. Binny, Malcolm, and Bunnett,

Writers; Messrs. Ramsay, Colquhoun, Trevely, Fitzroy, Rind, Smith, Foulerton, Styles, Purvis, Otley and Molroy, and Messrs. Arnott & Gibbs, Assistant Surgeons.

By the Canning.—Mr. and Mrs. Law, and two servants; Mr. Brownrigg, and one servant; Messrs. Laurell, A. P. Beghie, Dixon and Gibson, Cadets.

By the Earl of Balcarra.—Capt. Fitzgerald; Mrs. Bellhatchett; Miss Graham; Miss R. Graham; Mr. Walker, Writer; Mr. McGaveston, Assistant Surgeon; Messrs. Higginson, Milner, Hutchinson, Stewart, Lyon, Reid, and Brown, Cadets.

By the Orpheus.—Lieut. Vickers; Royal Engineers; Mrs. Vickers; Ensign Westmacott, Staff Corps; Lieut. Stalker, H. M. 8th Reg.; Dr. Montgomery; Mr. J. Davy; Mr. Dolland, and Mr. Wilson.

ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE.

By the Hercules at the Cape.—Sir Edward Barnes, Governor of Ceylon, and finally, on his way to his government.

The *Brailsford*, Spring, which sailed from Bombay on the 26th of September, had arrived at the Cape, 26th November, today, and it was supposed would be obliged to discharge her cargo. She had the following passengers:—Mrs. Frome, Capt. Collis, and Lieut. Sanders, N. 1.

TO THE PUBLIC.

HAVING been given to understand that many persons connected with Indian affairs believe me to be concerned either in the property or management of a Weekly Paper, entitled "*The British and Indian Observer*," and being unwilling to permit this erroneous impression to prevail in any quarter, I take this public mode of declaring that I have never been in any way associated with that Paper, from its commencement up to the present period.

To prevent this declaration being construed into a denial of my connexion with any English Newspaper whatever, I think it right to add, that "*THE EVENING CHRONICLE*," recently established in London, was projected by me; that I am the sole Proprietor of that Paper, and have approved the appointment of the present Editors; that it is my wish and intention, to add to the general review of public events in Europe, which these gentlemen will superintend, a department, in which the affairs of India and the Colonies will receive that particular attention, to which their growing importance fairly entitles them; and that in the same spirit of candour and freedom, in which my opinions on Indian subjects have been already expressed in "*THE ORIENTAL HERALD*," I shall avail myself of the columns of *THE EVENING CHRONICLE* to communicate such facts and observations on Indian affairs, as might be diminished in interest and utility by the delay necessarily attendant on a monthly publication.

My attention will, nevertheless, be steadily and uniformly devoted to this last Work, as the principal channel, through which whatever good is to be effected for India, by means of the press, is most likely to be attained. *THE EVENING CHRONICLE*, while it attends chiefly to the Foreign and Domestic Policy of Europe, and to all other subjects usually coming under the consideration of Public Writers in England, will be also an occasional, and, I hope, a powerful auxiliary on Indian questions of every description. It is principally on this ground,—of my undiminished zeal in the great cause of improving the happiness, and elevating the condition, of the people of India,—that I have embarked in its establishment: though, at the same time, with a full and entire concurrence in all the sentiments expressed in the Address, with which it was first ushered forth to the notice, and on which it grounded its claims to the support, of the British Public at large.

11, Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 4.—APRIL 1824.—VOL. 1.

NARRATION AND DISQUISITION.

No species of composition demands a more severe exercise of the judgment than Narration. Ornament and the flourishings of art are nowhere so misplaced; and the facts or incidents should be ranged, like the pillars of a temple, in graceful order, with no more space between them than regularity might require. The neglect of this truth makes so many narrative works intolerable to read. The authors play the rhetoricians from the first page; for not being satisfied with seating themselves quietly in our affections, they come with a whole armament of tropes and figures and reflections, and attempt to force us into admiration. That they do not succeed is no wonder: for the mind, like a small democracy, is extremely jealous of its liberty, and rouses its powers of resistance upon the least appearance of encroachment. We would excuse an author for the thinness of his retinue upon such occasions; we want to see our way clearly, and not to have the view obstructed by the ensigns of his premature triumph. But our writers of narrative seem to distrust their events, as if they were scarcely worth the labour of composition, and so throw in a profusion of embellishment, as a kind of make-weight, lest the reader should suspect their powers, and shrink from the nakedness of their details. But they ought to be aware that few events are so unimportant as not to be interesting when well told. Sallust insinuates that it was the genius of the Athenian historians, and not the "*res gestæ*," which communicated so much majesty and interest to the affairs of that republic. Though there be more ingenuity than truth in this remark, it lets us see what sort of narrative this historian set value on; for the writers of whom he speaks were of all men the most sparing of ornament, and the great charm of their story arises out of its extreme and elaborate simplicity.

It is obvious, however, that when once the taste of a nation has worn for itself a way into the channel of excessive figure and ornament, the voice of an obscure writer, "*crying in the wilderness*," cannot check the impetuosity of the torrent. The man who

throws himself in its way must be borne down and overwhelmed by it. Judicious precautions, and the favour of fortunate stars, may prevent its escaping further from its bed. But it is no business of ours to take the auspices as to what may come to pass; the appointed soothsayers must look to that, we have only to observe the actual state of things. It is, notwithstanding, come to this pass, that the writer of every little tale believes himself authorized to be magnificent. Mystery and pomp of language crowd round the workings of nature till they become invisible, and the mind has to make its way through long avenues, as it were, and studied heightenings of expectation, only to come at a little event, which, could it have foreseen things, it would scarcely have turned out of its course to see.

The English are not a narrative people: our historians rather philosophize about facts than relate them; and, though doubtless many of them were great writers, this is the true cause why so few of us read our own, or, indeed, any modern history, to any good purpose. They display such intolerable knowledge, and keep their own capacity so constantly before our minds, that we at length fear they may be tempted to use it to our disadvantage, and can seldom forget the writer sufficiently to sink as we ought into the stream of events. In inferior matters, such as tales, memoirs, &c. it is much the same. There is likewise an extreme expansion of ideas and circumstances, and the incidents follow each other so haltingly and unwillingly, that on some occasions the author seems like a pig-drover, obliged to stop and run back every moment to force forward his refractory subjects; at others they revolve heavily along, like the huge billows of the sea after a tempest, "*interposito longo intervallo.*"

And what can be the cause of this but affectation? for certainly the authors might reach greater simplicity if they would. But be this as it may, the effect is, that of what is read little or nothing is remembered. Disappointment, like the harpy of Phineus, defrauds memory of her feast just as she is about lifting it to her lips, and leaves her to pine and wither away in intellectual famine.

Mr. Beckford's "*Vathek*" is an exception to this. The events, though extravagant, arise rapidly out of each other, and keep the attention awake by a vague but intense expectation, which gradually ripens into fulfilment. Humour, cruelty, incantations, are succeeded by beautiful scenes of pastoral nature, and ruins, and tremendous punishments. It is an example, indeed, of that sublime which arises out of situation, and seems to be wrought out by the reader's mind. It occasions more thought than a dozen volumes of Sir Walter Scott. This seems the test by which narrative should be tried: if it be pregnant with interesting ideas, which it deposits as it goes along, and thus plant truth, and colonize the imagination with its vigorous progeny, it is good, it is

useful : but if, on the contrary, it glide by in a state coach, which attracts and dazzles our eyes, and for awhile leads our fancy along a willing captive, but puts it down pleased, and stunned, and dizzy, at last,—however pleasant the ride may be, there comes nothing of it, but the barren recollection of having travelled a certain distance with Mr. A. or B.

There is another pernicious practice given into by many authors, that of telling half a story, and significantly dropping the rest, as if they would have you think they knew more if they could but be prevailed upon to divulge it. This does very well with a certain description of readers, who, with much good-nature, believe that an author who places these fragments at the mouth of his den, must have abundance of good cheer within, if one could but roll away the stone and get at it. But the judicious merchant shakes his head at the sample, and before he purchases would like to see the sack. An author may write a good fragment who could never complete a story, just as a painter may sketch a fine leg or arm, and be utterly incapable of putting a whole man upon the canvass. But what is the use of these fragments? of these dead legs and arms? there are plenty of sound, healthy, unmaimed bodies to be had. To the charnel house with them—or at least let them be placed decently in the family vault. We have no sympathy with halves and quarters of bodies—there can be no soul in them.

Another wicked set of scribes are those who are never serious. They tell you a good story, but there is a certain expression of face which never fails to go along with it, that puts you on your guard, and raises a suspicion that the relater does not believe it himself, and is secretly laughing at you all the while. This is a fatal feeling. A laughing prophet never yet made any proselytes. With such a writer you go on, as you travel with a facetious fellow you may chance to meet upon the road—you seem perfectly at ease, and laugh heartily at his jests, but notwithstanding keep a good look out, and now and then feel your pockets. Whatever hollow applause may be bestowed upon him, who would be such a writer? He never moves a fibre of the heart—never lifts up the pall from “gentle woes expired,” to call forth new tears. He is no intimate and cherished companion; he is a politely received, and politely dismissed visitor.

How differently do we sit down with the author of earnestness and passion! He does not take our affections by storm, because we throw open the gates to him. We admire, we cherish him as a beloved guest—we wish him to come again, and often. With all his faults, and in spite of every thing which has been said and written against him, such a writer is Rousseau. He never flings an impertinent jest at you; but, with his beautiful narrative in his hand, lays himself at your mercy. He supposes you to be possessed of passion and feeling like himself; he thinks that truth

and nature cannot but be acceptable to you. "But he too deals in reflections." He does—but it is after he has told his story. There is nothing which places the reader so much at the mercy of his author as earnestness. You are not ashamed of being affected at what a man tells you with all his soul, though it should not happen to be very important: his warmth excuses yours. The appeals to the reader from a passionate, and from a finical writer, resemble each other as much as the distress of a savage does that of a beggar—free nature forcibly lays hold of you in the one, and whining and well-affected want besets your pity in the other.

From this earnestness flows, likewise, another advantage—simplicity and continuity of detail. The writer being fully possessed with the belief that his tale is worth listening to, pours it forth in a strong and unceasing tide. Hence results sparing embellishment: but the metaphors admitted, as being created and infused by passion, are strong and daring, and communicate a species of majesty to the march of the narrative. The author presses forward with rapidity, events gather and thicken round him, like the shades around Mercury, but they obey his wand, and only keep ready to spring at his touch to light. He never loses his self-possession. The current of things does not bear him down: he moves with it, and watches its course, and its traces remain faithfully upon his mind. It is the mechanical writer who loses himself in narrative: for, being desirous of displaying all the craft of his profession, of inspiring the reader with admiration for his command of the powers of language, of letting slip no opportunity of draining off the deluge of his common-place book, he causes the eager incidents to stand still, that he may bring out his bales of precious sentiments and reflections. He is like the smith who lets his iron cool upon the anvil, while he is prating about the make of his hammer; for the business is really to be begun again, the imagination lapsing, during this interval, into tranquillity, and requiring a new force to cause it to take up the thread of things afresh.

In Disquisition a different method is allowable—for the species are completely dissimilar. Narration should lead the mind down an easy slope, where all is beautiful before it; but the business of Disquisition is to force it up a difficult hill, during whose ascent it is often glad to turn round to refresh itself with a sight of the surrounding country. Here, therefore, beautiful metaphors, lively fancies, apt comparisons, and richness and pomp of language may be permitted, that they may allure the mind forward in the track of Truth, who does not always choose to travel through the easiest roads. Thus the Fancy may enjoy her pleasure apart from the understanding, leaving the latter to thread the mazes of the labyrinth unmolested, while she gazes upon the beauty of its entrance. Neither are the mind's advances performed by direct progression; it must often travel backwards to consult principles, to see whether

the casual streams which fall into the current of its reasoning be pure, to assure itself that no powerful auxiliary has been passed by on the way. By this means it does not gain ground rapidly, nor is it raised to enthusiasm by the quick pressure of new images; but it becomes familiar with those scenes which it does pass over, and even invests them with something of the charm of home. It is this quiet lingering about truth which gave the old writers of our own country so close an insight into nature. When chance conducted them into some bye nook of the understanding, remote from the common way, they were in no haste to be gone, but with a patient appetite of delight imbibed every new impression, and luxuriated in the very changes of the sky. Hence they appear to insist on trifles, to clothe a shadow with importance, to erect every opposing hindrance into an impassable barrier. But they did it because they would not fly to a conclusion; because they would not grasp at vague and indeterminate objects, or wilfully provoke truth to cast them out of her precincts. They did not form a theory to cause nature to wear its livery, but suffered it to grow out of the bending and tendency of ideas to move in a certain route. They took the profile of truth as she appeared to them in a moment of inspiration, and wrought it to a perfect likeness afterwards by meditation and labour. If we would have our works carry down our memories to posterity, we likewise must take this simple course. Fame has no ear for trifling; much less will she suffer men to form themselves into a kind of committee to decide what name she shall or shall not put into her trumpet. With one fierce blast she will deafen them for ever, and continue to have mercy on whom she will. Neither is she so capricious as it has been pretended, though her ways are not like our ways. She does not catch the sound at "the cannon's mouth," but flying far off, listens to the report in the distance, and thence judges of the force of the impelling power. We do the reverse of this, and are in consequence stunned and deceived. If truth be worth anything, it is a good equivalent for labour, which in undergoing, however, we may soften in the best manner we can. In Disquisition, therefore, a naked, cold style is the death of the end aimed at: for the imagination and understanding being harnessed together like two steeds, if the former, which is the stronger, refuse to proceed in the dreary path, it is all over, for, rearing back with invincible force, it carries its companion with it whithersoever it pleases. Ideas, therefore, may be admitted, not strictly forming any link in the chain of reasoning, or otherwise forwarding the mind than as places of repose (intellectual caravanserais), which, by refreshing the traveller, enable him to pursue his journey with better spirit. But they must not lie out of the road, or occur too often; else they become hindrances, and break the energies of research into too small portions. Many authors suffer their leading thoughts

to travel *incognito*, so that none but a few privileged persons can discover them—they need a commentary without being worth it, and in a short time become totally enigmatical. But it is the volumes of writers like these that stir up the wit of your searchers after rarities, who gather up such precious nuts as have dropped out of the jaws of Time, and crack them to show the strength of their teeth.

In following up a fresh perception as far as it will go, the mind accustoms itself to singleness of view; its whole vision is carried forward in a right line; and no other object is at all visible till the one it is in pursuit of is fairly hunted down. The exercise communicates force of muscle and breath to hold out in a longer chase; success inspirits, and habit at length makes it easy or necessary. Some authors abound in good thoughts, who have no coherency or communion between their principles, but suffer them to straggle over the field like free-booters, subject to no discipline, and marshalled in no order. They appear to be the feeble keepers of an unruly flock, and never to have used the crook to enforce attention to the bell. But such persons have really no genuine aim in writing, and only wander about in a circle that leads to nothing; and reading them is doing penance to no purpose, the mind becoming the more perverse in proportion as its notions of things are confused and dim. They resemble a blind man assorting jewels—the alpha and omega of things go side by side, the mind is worried by incongruity, the imagination by whirling round the same point, the memory defeated by a confused mass pressing upon it at once for admittance, and application is deadened or annihilated by finding that it has got hold of the stone of Sisyphus. It is better to have fewer materials, and a spark of daylight to arrange them by: for the mind that is not totally perverted, hates every thing that seems to renew the regime of chaos; and would prefer “the cinders of the element” set in harmonious beauty, to suns and moons jostling in confusion in the sky.

In making inquiries concerning principles, whether those of taste, or of philosophy, it seems that a writer should in all cases be sincere. No excellence can make up for want of sincerity. It is this which makes some established writers condemn for trivial faults the compositions of younger men. They are not sincere in seeking for merit, and are glad to have some excuse for turning the sting of disappointment back upon the enthusiast's heart. They never calculate that by how much hope has been raised, its fall must be the more destructive. What if youth throw out its branches beyond limit, will not time teach it sufficiently soon that it will have enough to do to fill the space allotted to it by propriety? Severity is misplaced in such cases. These harsh judges should recollect that they themselves are young in comparison of Time, and that no mortal can foresee how that most unmerciful

of critics will deal with their own productions. He often pounces upon the orphan and the fatherless, the moment they become such, and strangles them forthwith. This should teach us forbearance, except to hopeless sinning. While the rake has lands he may amend and cultivate; but when he begins to touch his last acre, we may consider him a confirmed gambler, and lash him accordingly.

But in most of the lesser productions of our times there is an under-current of ridicule, intended against the reader or the subject, as if the writer did not depend for consequence upon his profession, but had some other source of dignity in reserve; and would wish, like Congreve, to be regarded as a fine gentleman. No one with such a feeling should ever become an author; for whoever believes himself above the regard arising from the reputation of a great writer, is unworthy to be at all ranked among writers. No man was ever great in the republic of letters, who did not conceive its honours worthy of the most serious pursuit. Cæsar and Xenophon, says Lord Bacon, thought their fame more sure in the offspring of their pen, than of their sword or policy; and the modern fine gentleman who thinks it a trifle to be placed on the same shelf with Xenophon, may be sure that our posterity will take care he does not occupy any shelf of theirs.

We should be persuaded, therefore, that whatever we write about, is worth seriousness and sincerity; that our reader is a fit auditor for our best thoughts; that if we laugh at him, he will have his revenge by neglecting us. Under the guidance of this spirit, Disquisition of every kind may become dignified composition, and its authors claim their sprig of bays as well as the poet and the historian.

BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.

THE abominable practice of offering up human sacrifices in the East, and immolating living victims to ignorance and superstition, has been so often brought before the notice of the British Public, and the British Legislature, that we find it impossible to suppress either our surprise or indignation at finding that the benevolent individuals who have agitated the subject before us, should all have laboured in vain. If the practice of roasting hogs alive in the streets of London were to be introduced, by a native of the South Sea Islands, every tongue and pen in the kingdom would denounce it as a cruelty which ought to be put down without a moment's delay. Are then, the women of India of less account than the hogs of England?—and if not, why are the British public and the British legislature so sensibly alive to the infliction of pain

on the animals of the brute creation, and so callous and indifferent to the burning alive of human beings? Let us suppose the immolation to be voluntary, and produced in no degree by coercion, or the tyranny of threatened separation from all mankind,—could even this render it an act to be tolerated? If a new sect were to spring up in England who should hold the doctrine of indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes,—would they be permitted to reduce it to practice? If another sect were to follow, who should hold the most opposite opinions, and attempt to make exclusive intercourse secure by enforcing the murder of every widow at the moment of her husband's death, to prevent her passing to the possession of another,—would such a practice be permitted? There is no man who could for a moment suppose it would. Society indeed could not exist, if such a principle were recognised; for, if religious belief were once considered to be a sufficient apology for adultery, murder, and other crimes, there is nothing that might not be equally defended on the same grounds; and all distinctions between right and wrong would be done away.

If we had conquered a people among whom it were the custom for mothers to slay their children and eat them; we should, no doubt, as soon as we possessed a firm footing in their country, have abolished such a horrid practice, by prohibiting it under the severest penalties. The immolation of living mothers, burnt by the hands of their children, is at least quite as abominable, and yet, this frightful custom remains in full vigour to the present hour. The power of the English in India is now so great, that they might, by a mere decree, put an end to this cruelty for ever; and no man would dare to resist their orders. But the ignorance, and even the superstition of the people, is favourable to their system of oppression; and *therefore* they are unwilling even to *begin* to enlighten them. Whatever the Indian Government does, to preserve an appearance of such a desire, is wrung from them by the fear of public opinion, and by a desire to delude the people of England into a belief of their zeal for the happiness of those subject to their power. If this zeal were really felt, however, nothing would be more easy than to evince it in practice. The emphatic language of the Scriptures is particularly applicable to their case:—"By their fruits ye shall know them." Their promises are fair and specious; the fruits of them are misery, degradation, and suffering.

Most of our readers are perhaps aware, that among the Brahmins, who, like the priesthood of all priest-ridden countries, lead the multitude as they please, great difference of opinion prevails as to the obligation of continuing this custom. The most learned of the Brahmins contend that it is not necessary; that it is not enjoined by the great lawgiver Menú; that it is not even recommended by him. These priests and their followers, who are both *few* and numerous, contend also, that the pure Deism of

the ancient Hindoo religion has been corrupted by ignorance into the degraded superstitions of Polytheism, from which they are anxious to rescue their faith, and restore it to its original purity. Were the Indian Government only to encourage this party, and give them their public countenance and support, the degrading religion of India might soon be reformed, even by this sect of Hindoos themselves, without the necessity of any violence or interference on our parts, beyond that of silently assisting the spread of general intelligence, through the Press, and encouraging, by the rewards of inferior offices in their service, all who had the courage to separate themselves from the superstition of their degraded countrymen. But the East Indian Government do not wish to hasten their emancipation. They find it more easy to strip and plunder the ignorant than the wise. While the people are in darkness, they cannot see into the conduct or the policy of their rulers. While they have no share whatever in the offices of the State, they can neither oppose nor protest against any laws that may be made. While the pilgrimages and processions continue, the East India Company derive a revenue from their shrines and temples—so that the breaking up of their idols would, they fear, lessen the stream of wealth that flows into the public treasury. These monopolists are therefore unwilling to take any serious steps for enlightening the people, though they amuse the public of England by a show of philanthropy in their pretended care about schools and education. They have put down the Native Press, as well as the English Press in India. They will not suffer Englishmen to settle among the Natives for the purpose of informing them of their rights as well as duties. They reject from their service those who have embraced Christianity, merely *because* they are Christians; and although no widow would presume to burn herself, nor any persons assist in the task, if the Government were to prohibit it, they not only do not prevent, but they absolutely encourage this enormity, by authorizing their English magistrates to sign the death-warrants of all; thus giving the public sanction of their authority to this monstrous and murderous sacrifice of human life.

As we already perceive the unaccountable and unpardonable apathy of the great mass of the British public to all questions that do not touch their own immediate interests, and their utter indifference to the existence of suffering, misery, and crime, provided their pleasures are not lessened by their influence;—we have determined not to press too strongly on any of the many topics which we shall from time to time invite them to discuss with us. They must be soothed and won over to the side even of humanity: we blush in making the avowal, but we firmly believe in its truth; and it is this conviction alone which induces us to repress our feelings when we advert to the melancholy fact. We shall hope,

however, for improvement in this respect, and at least perform our duty in endeavouring to promote it.

We have thought it necessary to offer these prefatory observations before we enter on the design of the present article, which is, to advert to the Papers presented to the House of Commons, during the last session of Parliament, on the subject of the Burning of Widows in India. They have now been before the public for some time; but they have excited no sensation compared with their importance; we shall therefore, for the present, call attention to the narrative of facts contained in these documents, and reserve all comment beyond that which will be necessarily interwoven with the text, for a future opportunity.

It is commonly known, that in India a practice prevails among the Hindoos generally, of consuming the bodies of their dead upon a funeral pile. This practice, in so warm a climate, is, in itself, highly salutary; but, unhappily for humanity, a custom has been appended to this, of immolating also their living widows, who are supposed to proceed through this medium immediately into the regions of bliss. Superstition gives strength to the weak; and thus this mental delusion is known to carry off annually, in one Presidency only, many hundreds of human beings, of all ages and conditions—from the young and timid girl of eight years, to the exhausted and decrepit matron of one hundred and upwards, who are seen to mount the pile themselves, or to be assisted to do so by the hands of their nearest friends, when weakness, disease, or age, may render their physical energies unequal to the task. Nor will even the lowest classes be outdone in this horrid devotion. The Joogeas, and others, bury their dead, in order to avoid, probably, the expense of raising the pile, which is in some districts considerable, and the widows claim occasionally the privilege of contributing to these abominable rites, and are buried alive with their deceased husbands. There is also an intermediate practice sometimes resorted to, when the husband dies at a distance from home and his wife; a pit is then dug, into which combustibles are thrown, and when these are burning, the widows jump into the flames!

Soon after our first intercourse with this interesting part of the world, tales of horror were bruited throughout Europe, requiring for their credence the utmost possible degree of faith. In the progress of time, as the real state of India became more generally known, the well-intentioned observer, and the interested invader, alike offered the existence of these errors as a justification for interference, and even for the disorders and crimes of conquest. These plausible pretences were more deeply scrutinized by the enlightened philosopher and statesman, and the motives of the declaiming and interested parties fairly appreciated; but it was naturally anticipated that the rapid amelioration of the condition

of the Natives, under a more enlightened jurisdiction, would compensate many wrongs, and redeem the cost, however high the price. The full influence of European government has been supposed to be in constant action to correct these abuses. The knowledge and wisdom of the West have been, it has been fondly hoped, in close co-operation with the paternal benevolence of her delegated rulers, to procure the reform of these hideous notions in the East, and to introduce there the charities and loveliness of a purer worship.

These Papers, laid before the Legislature of our country, have entirely broken the charm, and dissipated this cherished delusion ! No longer may the friend of the human race "lay the flattering unction to his soul," and believe that the fruits of conquest are ripening, and that the harvest of European dominion will be gathered in the bountiful production of moral and religious reform. The philanthropist will turn from leaf to leaf, and pass rapidly through this ponderous volume, of 139 folio pages, in vain :—he will nowhere discover the firm stamp of enlightened wisdom ; nor even the speculative abortions of weakness and expediency ; and worse than all this, he will find that, where the benevolent activity of individuals has anticipated the humanity of their governors, and endeavoured to check, by salutary admonition and slight coercion, the loathsome practice of human sacrifice, a tender regard for Hindoo prejudices has been immediately awakened, and official communication is in these papers frequently repeated—as if a desire were really felt to remain unacquainted with the fact—"that there is no existing rule or order which makes previous notice of a suttee to the police necessary, or which makes the not giving it punishable by fine or other penalty, against the relations or existing persons."

Temperance and mercy may be principles highly valuable in the composition of the government of states—but who ever heard of instructions to suppress inquiry into the extent of crime, lest the prejudices of the criminal should be "warmed with enthusiasm" ? Can it be believed, that in the 19th century, and under British rule, the annual suicidal murder of many hundred victims takes place, under any pretence ?—and that the Governor in Council shall instruct the magistracy, that they "ought to avoid drawing public attention to the unfortunate subject" ?

The following "*Directions to be issued by the magistrates to the district police officers,*" will show the amount of interference warranted by the East India Company's regulations.

It appearing from the expositions of the Hindoo law, that the burning a woman pregnant, or a girl not yet arrived at a full age, or who has borne a son within a period of twenty days, or a daughter within that of a month, is expressly forbidden by the shasters ; that the intoxicating a woman for the purpose of burning her, and the burning one without her assent, or against

her will, is highly illegal; also that a Hindoo woman having a child within three years of age, is not permitted by the shasters to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, unless some person will undertake to provide a suitable maintenance for the child; that the wife of the brahmin is positively forbidden by the shasters to burn herself, except on the funeral pile of her husband; and that the woman of any other caste is not permitted to burn without the body of her husband, unless absent from him at the time of his death, and immediately on hearing of that event;—you are hereby strictly enjoined to make known these rules, as stated in the foregoing provisions of the Hindoo law, whenever a woman may be desirous of performing the suttee within your district; and after proceeding yourself to the spot, or sending a peshear or gomastah, with a Hindoo pcon, for the purpose, are to allow or prevent the proposed suttee, according as it may appear conformable, or not, to the provisions of the shaster, applicable to the circumstances of the case.

You are hereby enjoined to use the utmost care, and make every effort to prevent the ceremony of burning from taking place in any case in which it is not permitted by the Hindoo law; and for that purpose will ascertain from the woman who is to be burnt, whether she has given her assent, and the other particulars above mentioned, relative to her age, &c. In the event of the female, who is going to be burnt, being less than sixteen years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or on her declaring herself to be in that situation, or should the people be preparing to burn her after having intoxicated her, without her assent or against her will, it will be your duty to prevent the ceremony from taking place; and to explain to the people, that in the event of their persisting, they will involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to punishment. As a woman, having a child under three years of age, is not permitted to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, unless some person will undertake to provide a suitable maintenance for the child; you will be careful, whenever a person undertakes to do this, to see that a written engagement, in duplicate, on stamped paper, and according to the following form, is entered into and duly attested, and leaving one copy in the possession of the child's nearest of kin, or other proper person on the spot, will transmit the other copy, with your report on the case, to the magistrate.

FORM OF ENGAGEMENT.

It being prohibited by the shasters, that the ceremony of suttee should be performed by a woman having an infant under three years of age, unless some person will undertake to provide suitable maintenance for the child, and ——— being consequently prevented from burning herself with the body of her late husband; with a view of removing the above legal objection, I do hereby voluntarily engage to maintain, educate, and support the child or children of the said ——— in a manner suitable to their rank and situation in life, and my ability; and to neglect none of the duties which are incumbent on a father towards his own children.

In failure whereof, I further engage to make good such sum as the magistrate of the district, on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, shall judge it proper to direct.

In the case of the woman being of full age, and no other impediment existing, it will be your duty, or that of the persons sent by you, as above directed, to remain on the spot, and not to allow the most minute particular to escape observation. And in the case of the people preparing to burn a woman by compulsion, or after having made her insensible by administering spirituous liquors, or narcotic drugs, it will then be their duty to exert themselves in restraining them, and at the same time to let them know, that it is not the intention of Government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of their dominions, or even to require that any express leave or permission be obtained previously to the

performance of the act of suttee. Lastly, it will be your duty to transmit immediately, for the information of the magistrate, a full detail of any measures which you may have adopted on this subject: and also, on every occasion, when within the limits of your district, the ceremony of suttee may take place; the same being lawfully conducted, you will transmit a report thereof to the magistrate.

The court of foudarry adawlut further propose, that the several magistrates should be required to transmit to them through the court of circuit, an annual report, according to the form to be prescribed by the court, as early as practicable after the close of each year; showing the number of Hindoo women who may have burnt themselves on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands within the year. p. 74, 75.

These are the regulations; and such the whole amount of interference (if the term be not misapplied) in regard to these horrible murders. Upon a close examination of the language here used, it may fairly be questioned, whether, instead of supposing any objection to these barbarous rites, the natives do not believe the attendance of our officers is ordered to afford sanction to their proceedings, and do honour to the ceremony. This view too is borne out by the papers; where numerous cases are detailed of notices forwarded to the magistrate, and the suttee proceeded in without time being allowed for any answer. Professions indeed are frequently made of a desire to restrain these enormities; but every official document is accompanied with some gratuitous expression of respect for the Hindoo rites. If the promise of *toleration* is to be brought to justify these numerous murders, it may be wished that the word had never been known; and the principle will become abhorrent to the friend of humanity. But how comes it that this tenderness for native prejudices does not *generally* exist? The Brahmin is a sacred character according to the Shaster, and it is forbidden, on any pretence, to injure or molest him. And yet, we ask, would his holiness be respected, if he robbed, or forged, or committed any other capital offence? The Shaster would be found to be a very slender objection why sentence and execution should not follow conviction. Much dependence is said to be placed upon the good offices of the person employed to attend the suttees; but this will appear to be mere pretence, when attention is given to the language of their "instructions." Some apprehension may be fairly entertained of the all-powerful effects of corruption in the distant provinces; more particularly when it is recollected that very usually the native officers are employed in these missions, who are themselves Hindoos, and occasionally Brahmins. But it is made apparent in every page that these officers even are frequently absent, and reach the spot only in time to report, most complaisantly, that all has been done conformably with the "regulations." There is no censure if they be not waited for; and the authorities seem even to have gone out of their way to express that there is no necessity for sending any notice.

The same reprehensible spirit of indifference appears in the

compilation of the "Provisions of the Hindoo law regarding the practice of widows burning themselves." This important document, it might be hoped, would have been drawn up with as much regard to the protection of human life as the Hindoo code and customs would allow; but instead of this, it appears that though provision is made by some of the most venerated lawgivers for those who do not choose to burn, and who may by austerities, &c. be equally entitled to Paradise, yet these are unaccountably left out of the tables of ordinances promulgated. The following paragraphs form part of the official instructions to the magistracy:—

Every woman of the four castes is permitted to burn herself with the body of her husband, provided she has not a child under three years of age, nor is pregnant, nor in a state of uncleanness, nor under the age of puberty, in any of which cases, with the exception hereunder specified, she is not allowed to burn herself with her husband's body.

But a woman who has infant children, and can procure another person who will undertake the charge of bringing them up, is permitted to burn.

These sentences cannot be otherwise interpreted than as giving official sanction to the abominable practice; the permission being here legally authorized. A great government ought, however, to have maintained its dignity by a very different course; and if it could not safely prohibit, might have at least abstained from sanctioning, a practice so abhorrent to humanity. But the Government of India might safely denounce and proscribe this hideous custom altogether: and we have the authority of some of its own servants even for making this assertion. In confirmation of this opinion, we cannot refrain from giving at length the following interesting official document, addressed to the Indian Government by one of their own officers, Mr. C. M. Lushington, dated Trichinopoly, October 1, 1819:—

To the Register of the Southern Provincial Court of Circuit, Trichinopoly.

Having submitted specific answers to the proposed questions, I trust I shall stand excused in offering the following remarks to the consideration of Government. I take it for granted that the subject was referred to the magistrates of the several zillahs with a view of collecting their opinions as to the possibility and propriety of preventing future instances of anugamanum.

When I was acting magistrate at Cambaconum, I addressed the Government on this subject, and pledged myself to put a stop to all future instances of self-immolation, without any ill consequences arising from the prevention. I look upon this inhuman practice as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government; it is ever abominated by the better sort of natives themselves, and nowhere is it enjoined by the Hindoo law.

On referring to Colebrooke's Digest, and other authorities on Hindoo law, I find that the text authorizes immolation, but does not enjoin it. There are also authorities against self-immolation, as well as in favour of it; the most strenuous supporters of it are Angeerasah, Gowtamah, and Vasah; the authorities against it are Menü, Bhoorespatee, and several others. I state Menü as an authority against the practice, because he has prescribed a line

of conduct to be observed by widows after the death of their husbands. The text of Angerash states, "That woman who, on the death of her husband, ascends the same burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven." But Menü states, "Let her (a widow) emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband." And then adds, "And like those abstemious men, a virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity."

From this it is clear that there is a diversity of opinion in Hindoo law on this subject, the first recommending immolation on the funeral pile, and the second a rigid practice of austerities; at the same time it must be recollected, that the weight of authority is in favour of the latter practice, because it is that prescribed by Menü, revered by Hindoos as the first and greatest law authority.

The practice then of this horrid rite is only sanctioned by ancient custom, ancient, I admit, for an instance of immolation is stated in Diodorus Siculus. But custom can only be legally upheld when it does not militate against law; "*consuetudo pro lege servatur*" will only extend to cases where no specific law exists. In the present instance there is a specific law, sanctioned by Menü, in direct opposition to authorities of inferior weight.

The only possible plea or excuse, therefore, for the continuance of a practice so abhorrent to humanity, and irreconcilable with reason, is the fear of exciting an apprehension of interference on the part of the British Government, in the religious usages and customs of the country.

That this act was tolerated in the Musulman government is certain; not from any fear of the consequence likely to ensue from its abolition, but from venality and corruption. But does it therefore follow, that the British Government should permit these horrible sacrifices to continue? or is custom so imperious as to sanction deliberate murder? Infanticide was a Hindoo custom; the punishment of sorceries by death was another; it was openly avowed and practised, yet they have both been abolished. Why then allow anugamanum? Surely it is a palpable contradiction, that the same Government, which in its humanity interfered to prevent infanticide, should hesitate to prevent the immolation of adults. But our Government has gone further than this, in direct contradiction to a specific and fundamental Hindoo law, namely, that it is *illegal* on any account to punish a brahmin with death; execution on brahmins has been done in common with all other delinquents of the country. I apprehend, the obvious absurdity of the law itself, and the impossibility of reconciling it with our notions of justice, induced its abolition. If, then, a law can be repealed from its inconsonancy with reason, the same arguments exist in a stronger degree against an inhuman, barbarous, and unjust custom.

Convinced that no bad consequences could possibly result from the abolition of anugamanum, I submit the propriety of making, by legal enactment, the attendants of such assemblies accomplices in the murder. It might be introduced in the same manner as Section XXXIV, Regulation VII. of 1804.

If any person or persons shall hereafter form themselves into an assembly, for the purpose of "aiding, assisting, or witnessing anugamanum, they shall be considered as accomplices in the murder, and dealt with accordingly."

As we have before observed in a preceding page, we do not wish to press any one subject with unnecessary force on the attention of our readers, even though it be that in which we feel the most intense interest.—We desire to win them over to the cause *even*

of humanity, or at least such of them as cannot be enlisted in it by mere earnestness of appeal to their reason or their feelings.— We therefore select this as a halting place in our way; and requesting them to peruse again, and consider attentively, the opinions advanced by the writer of the paper cited above, we pass onward to a lighter topic, under the promise, however, that as we have not dwelt so long on this as to become tiresome (at least we hope this is the case) in the present instance, we shall embrace an early opportunity of returning to it at a future period.

THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE.

THE love of wealth and power is common to man, but the love of enterprise is not so universal. The former requires many sacrifices, but the latter is exposed to greater dangers. To be rich, a man must be industrious, prudent, and persevering; but to be enterprising, he should unite to these qualities commanding talent and invincible courage.

The desire of wealth springs from our conviction of its importance in procuring for us necessities and comforts, and from the complacency we feel in being the objects of respect, admiration, and even of envy in others. But the love of enterprise is superior to these motives, inasmuch as it calmly contemplates toil, privation, and suffering, when viewed in the rugged paths of duty or of honour. This distinction in the pursuits of mankind arises from three particular causes: the love of present enjoyment; the difference in the talents and energies of individuals; and the *prevailing error* of regarding human life as the end, rather than the commencement of existence.

The love of ease and pleasure, so visible in the world, is to be referred not only to the force of the senses and passions, but to the variety of characters men are born to fill in society, the ties of connexion, and the powerful force of example. From youth to age such a rapid succession of events, replete with novelty and interest, happen to every individual, as wholly to engross his attention, his sympathies and exertions.

The school-boy looks forward to gay and highly coloured pleasures in after life, and sighs for his release; the youth is impatient of paternal restraint; the young man enters ardently on life, with his sympathies and feelings let loose upon the world, with much to admire, to love, and to hope for; his pride is fanned into fervour by the competition and consequence of his associates; he pants for the respect he sees shown to more age and experience, and is hurried on with impetuosity in the current of human affairs, pursuing a vain and fancied self-importance. The high interest which is attached to this state of feeling, with the love of localized scenes that strongly fastens on the mind, too frequently contract

the sphere of exertion within the limits of a narrow and unvarying circle.

The paltry engagements of secular occupation, the allurements of increasing wealth, the unworthy pleasures and security of private life, and the enfeebling influence of particular connexions, envelop the noble energies of the human mind in the mazy net which they gradually weave over them; preventing all exertion, though not obscuring the duties and honours which lie before them. The attractions and warm affections of the domestic circle also impose a powerful restraint on the conduct of those who aspire after enterprise. For supposing a man to be master of himself, and of his own heart, it is not always possible for him to sooth the anxieties of those whose happiness hangs on his good fortune, and would be blighted by his reverses. Nor is every man in a situation to provide for the exigencies of a family, which is either separated by distance, or following the track of his adventures. But this is a consideration of more moment than any other that ought to check the career of the honourably ambitious. Where there is nobility of soul and temper of mind adequate to an heroic exploit, there will usually be found some circumstances to favour the arrangements, and to provide for the happiness of a family; and where one man is deterred from a great undertaking by considerations of this nature, there are hundreds who are shaken from their first resolution by an apprehension of the dangers that await them.

But independent of the various circumstances of a relative nature, which damp the spirit of enterprise, the personal qualifications of few men capacitate them for its exercise. There is too frequently an absence of genius and courage; or where these exist, knowledge and perseverance are often wanting. The combinations necessary to an enterprising character must result from a firm and resolute temper, hardened habits of life, and a philosophical tone of reflection. There will be in such an individual a penetrating mind, buoyant with hope, but not liable to be depressed by reverses; a daring and resolute spirit, made confident by an innate conviction of its own good fortune; a sobriety of judgment, that is ever alive to danger, and not at a loss for expedients; and, above all, an invincible ardour, that never tires, but supports even in the extreme hour of peril. Such were the characters of Alexander and Julius Cæsar. Both were impelled by dauntless courage, and an internal assurance that all their undertakings would succeed. The result was usually gratifying to their feelings; and it must be confessed, that they were both fit to govern the countries they conquered. For though the former wept that he had not another world to subdue, and the latter used to say with Euripides, "that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they should be disregarded only for the sake of

reigning," yet it is a fact that each hero carried the useful and polite arts with his conquests, and extended the advantages of civilization, commerce, and navigation to the world. So it was with Pompey and Napoleon, in whose characters there is a striking similarity. But in each of these instances this self-confident assurance was encouraged to an extreme, that amounted almost to a superstitious impression, and blinded their sober judgments. Both these heroes were exalted to the highest stations by their own personal enterprise and exertions. The former had thrice triumphed over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and by his conquests nearly doubled the extent of the Roman territory. At last he was placed at the head of the republic; but his ambition and vain confidence in the auguries with which he was flattered by the Haruspices, forced him on to his ruin. He fled to Egypt to seek refuge with a prince, whose father he himself had before protected at Rome. But there he was betrayed by ingratitude and perfidy; sentenced to death, murdered, and cast on the Egyptian strand; and afterwards it was remarked by Valerius, that the earth, which was not sufficient for his victories, could not find a place at last for his grave. The career of Napoleon, which is fresh in the memory of all men, is replete with similitudes to that of Pompey. His rise from private life; his astonishing enterprise, courage, and perseverance; his numerous victories; and, above all, his last march to Paris on his return from Elba, will fill the pages of history when other events of this age, to which much present interest is attached, shall occupy but a trifling space, or be for ever obliterated from it. His subsequent reverses, and final misfortunes, excite the warmest sympathies of the heart, and invest his name and character with an imperishable greatness, which all his previous successes failed to bestow.

Not less illustrative of the distinguishing traits of the enterprising character, are the performances of men who fill humbler stations in society, but whose views are chiefly confined to the particular and more immediate objects in which they engage, instead of embracing that enlarged sphere of action which was chosen by the characters before quoted. This characteristic develops itself under circumstances so numerous, and in such endless varieties, that it is vain to attempt a detail of them. The germe or fundamental principle of action, the strong native spirit, is biassed and directed by the particular associations of individuals; but though the peculiar inclinations vary, there are properties in the enterprising character, which will always be more or less common to all. The bold conception, the innate confidence in personal exertion, the daring and never-flagging spirit, and the desire of distinction will ever be found prevailing. Let what may happen, there will be "*a good heart for any fate*:"—the end, and not the means, will be contemplated. To such a mind dif-

faculties appear in a diminished aspect. The confident and adventurous spirit is eager to follow the tracing lines of a quick and vigorous conception; and the mind being wrought up to an artificial and enthusiastic confidence, brings powers into action, which rapidly gain ground on the obstacles to which they are opposed. In whatever direction, or to whatever object, the mind may be led, there will always be difficulties to meet, some summit to gain, some depth to penetrate, some gulf to pass, some barrier to break down, or some labyrinth to unravel. The arduous, the heroic, and the persevering undertakings, are those grasped at by the enterprising character. Whether we contemplate Columbus, relying only on the energies and supports of his own mind, in search of a new world, or Mungo Park, penetrating into the wilds of Africa, or the busy merchant in his incessant and persevering quest of wealth, or the architect designing and superintending the erection of a vast and sublime pile of building, or Sir Isaac Newton in his bold astronomical discoveries, or Homer, or Milton, in the slow production of their inimitable epics, or, lastly, the moral philosopher, in his boundless and eternal researches into the properties of the human mind, we behold essentially the same strong desire, or first moving impulse, which impels the individual to leave the monotonous line of vulgar occupation, and enter the more arduous sphere of action, which is reserved only for spirited, high-minded, and intellectual men.

The motives to enterprise may be drawn from the nature of our personal and relative characters in society, and the circumstances to which we are liable in life. All men have duties to perform commensurate with their peculiar powers. It is not the duty of every man to be engaged in active exertion; but it is his duty to do the *best* which his relative station and talents will admit of. It is not his duty to spend his days in the listless and beaten paths of worldliness and mere personal gratification, whilst he may benefit his friends and his country, and improve his moral character and general condition, by laudable and persevering enterprise. Indeed, to do a something that shall distinguish him from the mere herd of mankind, who are governed more by their senses than their reason, has been the aim and effort of every man of renowned genius or virtue in all ages.

To save his name and his memory from oblivion in the minds of his children's children, and of good men, is surely a praiseworthy and honourable feeling; that amidst the innumerable barks which are hurried along the broad expanse of this world's element, his little vessel may appear more conspicuous than some, that her keel and ballast may keep her erect, her sails be on the full swell, and her colours be known and distinguished. There is naught to deter men from a course so honourable, and so suitable to their nature, but an apprehension of the dangers and difficulties which lie before them. Yet how insignificant and unworthy of thought

are these, when compared to the sufferings and hardships of a great part of our species, and the ills to which human nature is subjected in every situation of life ! If we contemplate the condition of the many millions of men, who are groaning beneath the chains of despotism and superstition, and the oppressions and cruelties to which they are exposed ; if we consider the horrors of the heathen and savage world ; the Hindoos immolated before their idols, or sacrificing their sick on the banks of the Ganges ; the New Zealander in his terrific warfare ; or the ferocious Cannibal in his inhuman feast—we shall blush at the idea of being intimidated from the most heroic course that either our interest or duty may prompt us to attempt. But when we reflect also on the insecurity of our condition under the most simple and common pursuits ; the attacks of disease, the uncertainty of life, the treachery of supposed friends, and the wounds that injustice and jealousy inflict on our peace, we must view the field of enterprise as the proper sphere of man, rather than as a gloomy and dangerous wild. The excitement and ardour of an active mind will also best fortify us against the calamities to which we are exposed ; and to feel we are doing our duty whilst in the search of science, or wealth, or honourable fame, will invest our minds with a calm and dignified composure, that will accompany us through every toil, and shed a soothing satisfaction on our hearts, whether we may be exposed to a burning sun, or Polar climes, or wandering in inhospitable regions, or tossed on ungovernable seas. Added to this, there will be the satisfaction arising from a retrospective view of our course, the delight of disappointing the presages of our enemies, the high bounding hopes of consummating the objects we may have in view, and the cheering sunshine which precedes success : these will confirm and establish our efforts, renew our spirits, and give increasing strength to our characters, till we are eventually conducted to the haven of a proud and honourable repose.

THE SWALLOW.—A SONNET.

THERE 's stirring in the earth—the early morn
 Peeps from behind a warmer cloud—the wind
 Pipes softer—and afield the rustic hind
 Hies among clinging clods and peeping corn ;
 And all the village, as if Spring were born
 Afresh, do gossip 'neath their dripping eaves ;
 When lo ! the swallow's wing the ether cleaves,
 From the warm south on winnowing breezes borne.
 Fate, then, for thee, sweet bird, benignly weaves
 A purer bliss than does aught else befall ;
 For thou dost twitter aye through summer leaves,
 Or bask in sunshine on the mossy wall,
 What time thy brethren cold of life bereaves,
 Or stuns the sound of wintry waterfall.

BROX.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 4.—*China.*

IN making ourselves acquainted with the institutions of various nations, we now and then meet with singularities that excite our surprise, and lead us to think deeply upon the causes which produced them. It is common to say, that man is the same in all ages and countries, and only changes in appearance; but it remains for us to inquire how far he is made up of appearances, and what is that distinct nature, which, assuming the mask of every accident, is not modified by any. Man, abstracted from all relation, is a naked savage, possessed by one or two passions at most. Every thing which we observe in the refined individual, beyond these passions, is the gradual work of circumstances, engrafting upon a simple and rough stock the buds of new passions, hopes, and attributes. The mode in which he shall acquire and enjoy these, is regulated by the form of government chosen by his tribe or nation; and thus it is that politics shape and fashion the intellects and habits of men.

The Chinese have grown into a great nation under the influence of very peculiar principles and accidents; and if they are superior in many respects to almost all the nations of Asia, we must look for the causes of this superiority rather in the latter than the former. It was a thing very usual, in antiquity, to enlarge notions generated in domestic life, to suit the exigencies of a state in the first *nîsus* of its formation: and this proceeding was natural and inevitable in very early ages, before man's intellect, by the aid of retrospection and comparison, had towered above the pressing calls of his individual situation; but it was found in the course of time, that some ideas, like some fruits, are only fit to be used as they are gathered, and not only do not become better, but will not keep. Among these are the notions which, in various ages, have prevailed very widely, about an imaginary paternal government, constituting the chief of the nation its father, and the numerous members of the state his children. It is very certain, however, that few fathers know how to govern their children with wisdom and integrity; more especially in those stages of society in which their conduct could have been proposed as a model for a state. But it has ever been the vice of statesmen and legislators to look more to the actual than the possible, to what they have seen practised, than to that at which they can arrive only by high speculation and experiment. Even in established governments, we observe those, who are most conversant with the frame and habit of existing things, to be of all men the least given to imagine improvements; they look upon government as a wheel, whose motion and

course can never be accelerated or rendered less destructive ; and consequently rather suffer it to impel them, than endeavour to carry it into a new line. It is, therefore, left for authors to inquire what is best, and how far the several institutions, which at various times have been invented by men, still remain from the perfection of government.

The question, with respect to the government of China, is, whether it be a limited monarchy, or a mere despotism ; for very great writers differ on this subject, some affirming the former, and others the latter, to be the case. But a temperate monarchy is that government in which certain laws restrain the will of the sovereign ; and a despotism is that in which the monarch experiences no effectual control. By looking at the institutions of China, in operation, we shall see to which of these species of rule they are to be referred.

In the first place, it will be proper to understand through what principle the mandates of the Chinese government are carried into effect ; whether it be simple or compounded ; and whether tending to degrade or ennoble the minds of the people. For this purpose, it is to be observed, that upon all occasions, in which foreigners have had to do with the Chinese, no mention has ever been made of what the laws forbade or required, but only what was the Emperor's will. Now, if in any nation there exist laws and some show of liberty, it is commonly their first wish to impress a conviction of it upon all other people ; because it is inherent in human nature to attach more dignity to free agency, than to the constraint of tutelage. But the Chinese, as well before as subsequent to the invasion of the Mantchoux, have ever entertained the loftiest ideas of royalty ; the Emperor's word is law ; it carries fear, and produces obedience, even to the remotest provinces of the empire. The peculating mandarins tremble at the very shadow of the imperial sceptre, and place their whole hope of impunity in the number and value of their presents. Torture, confiscation, and death, are for ever in the minds of the Chinese, overbalancing every thing but the insatiable thirst of gain. Fear, therefore, and avarice are the ruling passions of their minds ; they scarcely dare to rob, but they are expert at cheating, at extorting presents. The manner in which crimes are punished in China, as well as the principle upon which punishment is regulated, is a proof that fear is the active instrument which produces obedience. Various criterions have been adopted by different writers, by which to judge of the degree of liberty enjoyed by the several nations of the world ; but none seems more suited to the nature of things, than the degree of care with which the life of the citizen or subject is preserved by each respective people. In some states, the laws appear to consider man in the abstract, or as forming one body, whose rights, if any individual member of the community

attack, he is instantly severed from the mass and devoted to destruction. But such legislation is founded on metaphysical subtlety, and operates for the good of an imaginary being, which it calls the State, in contradistinction to the individual men composing that state. Again, arbitrary crimes have been raised to an equality in guilt, with such as really make against society; crimes against property, against rights of particular persons, against opinions, have been confounded with those committed against the lives of the citizens. In China, it is a crime, punishable with death, to dispute the antiquity of the empire, to wear a yellow coat with five-clawed dragons on it, and, frequently, to give advice to the Emperor. Property, also, is valued more than human life; which is the case in all despotic countries, and such as are verging towards despotism. In the republics of ancient Greece, the life of the citizen was sacred on almost all occasions, because a portion of the sovereignty virtually resided in his person; but his property was much less secure, because nature, and the wisdom that follows nature, attach much less importance to wealth than to its possessor. There is as much ignorance as selfishness in the promoters of sanguinary defences of property; because men naturally crave those things to which they perceive much importance attached, and will risk anything to obtain them. In a tyranny, however, neither wealth nor virtue is the thing most in request, but a certain pliability of disposition, united to plausible manners, and a certain shrewdness of intellect, which passes for merit. This the government is careful to seek out and reward. Honours and titles are distributed in China upon this principle; and the government, moreover, has the additional policy to confine whatever title it confers to the individual, never making anything hereditary in a family, lest an order of nobility might grow up, and become a powerful restraint upon the exercise of the royal prerogative. Wherever there exists a monarch without hereditary nobles, he is inevitably despotic; for the distribution of honours will always keep chained to his footstool all the base aspirants after titles, who will at every moment be ready to execute the most iniquitous plans he can devise, provided there be a hope of fresh distinction. The Emperor of China may likewise take away any title conferred, as well as the life of its possessor, if it should be judged expedient. The princes of the blood only are exempted from arbitrary punishment; it being ordained that they cannot be put to death without trial. But as the Emperor *nominates* their judges, his will is still absolute law. As to *honour*, in the sense in which Europeans understand the word, there is no such thing in China; "for I have no conception," says Montesquieu, "of the honour of persons who are *camed* for every little offence;" and according to Duhalde, it is the *CANE* (*bâton*) which governs China.

In our sketches of the Asiatic governments, we may seem to

confine our views too much to what concerns *manners*; but in such governments manners are every thing, for, properly speaking, *there are no laws*. Government seems to be a certain collection of principles: laws the means by which those principles operate. Now, laws are influenced by manners and national character; and, therefore, the administration of the government depends greatly, in all countries, upon the natural disposition of the people. But under an absolute monarch there being no real laws, we must have recourse to manners and customs chiefly, if we would gain any true knowledge of the nature of his dominion.

The manners of the Chinese are said to be polished and refined in a very high degree, and every thing seems to go on according to etiquette and received rule. They are enclosed by an impenetrable code of ceremonies, which is never on any occasion to be broken through: they walk, they speak, they live by established custom and authorized practice. This has been brought forward in their favour. But however it may make for them in other respects, it says nothing in favour of their government; for although politeness be a very good thing in itself, and admired much by those who understand little else, it seldom shows itself in the stiff gilded robes of ceremony, until a great deal of the first zest of liberty has evaporated away. Among the million slaves of imaginary politeness there is not one free man, not one who knows that it is a sleeping potion administered by tyranny to the political conscience. No man need despair of enslaving a ceremoniously polite nation; for it is corrupt, and incapable of freedom. The reason is, that this kind of politeness destroys that facility of intercourse, and full development of views, which are necessary to the maintenance of liberty. For when every man piques himself upon his rank or personal consequence, the result is, that all avoid those who cultivate ancient candour, and that rough neglect of trifling observances which marks ages of freedom and virtue; and from such avoidance flow a general selfishness and secret insulation of heart; men confine their hopes to their own concerns, and feel themselves distinct from the state and from each other. There is a wearisomeness arising from excessive formality which causes men to look upon each other with a secret contempt, and while it is possible they entertain great views, and only await the bold co-operation of a few who think like themselves to carry them into effect, the cold aspect of all they meet, affected also by themselves, keeps back all confidence, and they live on and die with the noblest enterprises lying in embryo about their hearts. This is uniformly the case in China, unless on occasions of famine and other national calamities; for then suffering, intense and almost universal, speedily bursts the chains of politeness; the people collect together, and imparting their feel-

ings, and bewailing the common misfortune, forget their habitual reverence for rank, and distrust of each other; they elect a chief to conduct their plans of plunder, and, if successful in these, march to the capital, and place the adventurer on the throne. There have been twenty-two complete revolutions of this kind, besides innumerable smaller ones and unsuccessful attempts. These frequent revolutions, always cruel and destructive, are among the most intelligible proofs of the badness and imbecility of the Chinese government. The missionaries and other travellers in China, who honestly judge of things by their outward faces, have made very magnificent eulogies on the beneficence of the emperors when a famine breaks out in any province of the empire. They tell us that upon such occasions it is customary for these fathers of their country to remit all the taxes of such province, and, if need be, to send immense quantities of rice and other provisions to the sufferers. But what then? Have they not been taught by experience that famine is a deaf monster, who knows no respect of persons, who will drag the "celestial monarch" from his throne with as little compunction as he himself would give the bastinado to a miserable culprit? Doubtless the emperors of China have policy enough to know also, that the reputation of humanity is advantageous to a monarch; that it is easily purchased; and that, when obtained, he may commit ten thousand cruelties under the wings of this virtue, which cover "a multitude of sins."

But the emperors of this vast country have the usual supporter of tyrants to depend upon—the ignorance of their subjects. It was at one time quite fashionable in Europe to attribute all knowledge and all perfection to the Chinese, and to consider their government as the model of a complete monarchy. Voltaire did much by his moral enthusiasm to give credit and extent to this delusion; but Montesquieu (in this instance, as in many others, a better politician than Voltaire) saw even then that all such romantic notions were groundless, that China was nothing more than a half-civilized despotism, and that knowledge had not reached anything like maturity in that country, any more than the art of government. But let us hear Voltaire: "The human mind cannot conceive a better government than that in which every thing is decided by great tribunals, subordinate the one to the other, and whose members are received only after the most severe examination." "Now, if there ever was a state in which the lives, property, and honour of men were protected by the laws, it is the empire of China." "The general laws emanate from the emperor; but by the constitution of the government, he can do nothing without having consulted men learned in the laws, and elected by ballot." "It is impossible in such a government that the monarch should exercise an arbitrary power." To this we will

not oppose the opinion of Montesquieu, as on such a subject he ought not to have more authority than his opponent; but we will quote the words of De Guignes the Younger,* who spent many years in the country, and who appears to have understood as well at least as any preceding traveller, the nature of the government and laws of the country. He returned from China in 1801.

"The emperor has the power to abrogate the established laws, and to enact what new ones he pleases." "If any bold censors have dared to condemn his conduct, exile or death has quickly silenced them." "Dispenser of all honours, he creates or breaks the mandarins at his pleasure." Here we have a proof that in fact the power of the "celestial emperor" is altogether unlimited, and that the "constitution of government" which controlled his actions was nothing but a chimera. But are not the Chinese a learned people? are not the mandarins men of letters?—Yes. How then does the emperor found his power upon the ignorance of his subjects? or, if such is not the case, how do we reconcile the contradictions of knowledge and tyranny subsisting together, and seeming rather to promote than weaken each other? Upon the solution of this seeming enigma depends the proper understanding of the government and society of China.

It seems that knowledge in general has not a necessary connexion with liberty; for, as well as all other things, it may be divided into that which is genuine, fertile in wisdom, inductive of virtue; and that which is artificial, noisy, affected, frivolous, and employed in arts of luxury and effeminacy. It was scepticism influencing every operation of the mind which kept the Greeks in a perpetual state of experiment and suspicion of power. They had few prejudices, because they had few positive opinions. When once the sciences have become emancipated from scepticism, they grow stationary. There is no progression where there is no doubt; for there is none but a madman who would go in search of a better dwelling, when he was persuaded that he already possessed the best in the universe. Freedom propagates freedom, as despotism perpetuates despotism. For where men are free to propose their doubts, the mind will never rest satisfied with imperfection, but evincing its dissatisfaction, go on to imagine and seek after a better state of things. In antiquity every thing liberal in arts and knowledge had some open or secret reference to government; and musicians, teachers of the belles lettres, were versed in the *arcana imperii*, and imbued the minds of their pupils with maxims of state. The dissatisfied and projecting disposition of the Greeks has been enumerated by modern sagacity among their imperfections; but the Greeks were restless because they saw that they were far from having reached the perfection which they were able to conceive;

* Son of the Historian of the Huns.

whereas barbarous and ignorant nations are tranquil and satisfied, because they can conceive no perfection that they have not reached. The spirit of the infinite number of books which ancient Greece gave birth to on the art of government, illustrates, in a striking manner, the difference between the character of a free and an enslaved people. The Greeks inquired earnestly and seriously what was the best model of a state; the others, on the contrary, suppose the question decided, and write in praise of whatever government they may happen to live under. "May the king live for ever!" exclaims the Persian. "May the shadow of the celestial emperor overcast the thrones of all the kings of the earth!" says the Chinese. The Greeks (to adapt to this subject a beautiful expression of Plato) always held themselves free to steer in whatever direction they might be carried by the stream of their reasonings; and were in fact the only people that ever did so. They were governed by reason; the Romans by the authority of the senate; modern European states by prejudice; the Asiatics by force.

With regard to the Chinese in particular, they know no other form of government than monarchy; and an anecdote, given without reference to any particular theory in Nieuhoff's *Travels*, in proof of this, is of more weight than a thousand Jesuitical declamations.

"Next morning they (the Dutch embassy) were visited by some lords of the imperial council.—In regard that these commissioners could not well understand the nature of a commonwealth, because the Tartars and Chinese know no other sort of government than the monarchical, they (the Dutch) were obliged to make use of the name of the Prince of Orange, as if they had been sent by his Highness."

Here we have the extent, as regards politics, of Chinese knowledge; they are not able even to conceive a free state. Their ideas in reality turn entirely upon the means of acquiring petty power, and amassing money; and the greatest mandarin is frequently flogged like a slave for the meanest act of extortion.—"Their letters," says Sir William Jones, "if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their popular religion was imported from India in an age comparatively modern; and their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments; their sciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have, indeed, both national music and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetic; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as works of imagination, they seem (like other Asiatics) to have no idea."

Is this the picture of a great nation? Do we here find traces of that superior people which Voltaire and others imagined the Chinese to have been? But in reality it would be irrational to hope for exalted knowledge among a people whose every idea bears upon it the superscription of authority, and descends through the strainers of the court. The children of the mandarins, who are sent as governors into distant provinces, are forcibly detained at Peking, to be educated in the imperial college; and it is easy to imagine the nature of the ideas which are there instilled into them. But in all cases it seems to be the policy of the government to keep out foreign notions as it would keep out an enemy; and for this purpose, strangers entering the country are carefully watched, that they may not communicate their ideas to the people.

But even the knowledge which is permitted to circulate in China operates as some restraint upon the Emperor; for when Kamhi (the Mantchou) imprisoned his son, whom he had previously designed for his successor, he thought it prudent to publish manifestoes in all the Gazettes of the empire, laying before the people the reasons which had induced him to act as he had done. The various members of the royal family of China are not treated, however, in the barbarous manner of the Persians and Turks; for, although divested of all authority, they are not only permitted to live, and to preserve their eyes, but also to enjoy a splendid palace, and tolerably extensive revenues. This peculiarity also is undoubtedly owing to their superior civilization; and to the effect of their laws, awkward and cumbrous as they are;—because, although laws may be bad, they are still better than the casual caprices of a tyrant. It is nevertheless impossible to give to laws their due effect under a despotic government; “for that which is united to despotism has no longer any distinct power,” any more than has a gentle rivulet, mingling with a disturbed river, a distinct and self-directed current.

Notwithstanding, the mere ritual and frame of the Chinese monarchy is calculated to impose at first upon the mind; its assumption of the paternal function—its solemn and numerous tribunals—its ostensible patronage of merit—its frequent and excessive charities—its apparently virtuous, or rather moral exterior—every thing seems to announce a system of humanity, justice, and wisdom.

The affairs of the nation are intrusted to six* grand tribunals, or sovereign courts, which are placed over all those in the empire. The first of these courts watches over the conduct of the mandarins dispersed in the various governments of the provinces; the second directs the finances; the third superintends the rites of religion, the sciences, and the arts; the fourth has the management of

* Twelve, according to Visdelou,

war; the fifth presides over the proceedings in the criminal law; and the sixth has the superintendence of public structures. The results of all affairs decided in these courts are communicated to a superior tribunal. There are besides these forty-four inferior courts in Pekin alone; and every mandarin has one to assist him in his deliberations in the different provinces. The Emperor is supposed to be the father of the whole empire; the viceroy, of the province over which he presides; and the mandarin, of his little city or town. Thus we have a country which is governed entirely by fathers—but it must be allowed they are somewhat severe parents.

From various causes, however, industry is promoted in a wonderful manner by this government, although all the drudgery of common labour seems to fall exclusively on the native Chinese, ever since the Mantchou conquest. Nieuhoff observes, that the Tartars' boats were hauled up the river by the Chinese. "They often slip," says he, "into narrow paths, and are drowned; and if any grow faint and weary, there is one who follows and never leaves beating them till they go on or die." The mandarin of the district visits the labourer in the spring, rewards him if industrious, assists him if poor, and punishes him if slothful. A son who is accused by his father is punished without inquiry or appeal; it is thought that no parent would prefer a false accusation against his child.

From what has been said, it is plain that China is not an exception to the general assertion, that all the nations of Asia are enslaved; for by force or intrigue the emperors of this vast country have ever maintained the most absolute power; and if through the natural mildness of a few of its princes, there have been instances of the sovereign having been guided by the wisdom of his counsellors, we ought not thence to infer that in general it is even permitted to represent the true state of things to the monarch. In all the tribunals he has a spy who reports to him in secret how and at whose suggestion any particular measure has been adopted; and as every one present is aware of this spy being among them, it is easy to foresee that the interests of the people, who have no influence in preserving their stations to the judges, must be sacrificed to the interests of the Emperor, at whose nod they rise or fall. This consideration should have taught those politicians who have written of China, that these famous tribunals were rather the instruments than the checks of arbitrary power; but a great number of writers seem content to follow in their reasoning what they are pleased to call the *constitution* of a government; never considering that these *vocabula magistratds* are things which may be made to suit any system of oppression. We learn from Tacitus, that the first Roman emperors cunningly permitted the old terms of liberty to remain, even after every vestige of real

freedom had disappeared. In other countries, the same thing happens in other ways. It is the least thing of all to know the given formulary of a state; there is scarcely an idea communicated by it. The true nature of a government is not so much to be sought in its totality, when the close-riveted parts, like a suit of armour, adhering together, exclude the eye from searching its interior:—we must contemplate it in history, when each part in succession comes in contact with the rude grasp of circumstances, with the fierce blows of time, before we can pronounce upon the measure of freedom and prosperity that it is calculated to entail upon a people. Politics are a science in which the commentary is much more valuable than the text; the latter is composed of the shifts and conjectures of men; the former, of the decisions of nature and experience upon their wisdom and solidity.

AGAINST LUXURY.

I.

SWEETER to sing to the wild blast that chills me,
 Hardened with toil and with cold,
 Than list to the fountain, whose melody stills me,
 Floating in odours and gold!
 Oh! the full glow of the fetterless spirit
 Dwells not with Luxury's slave;
 Patience and courage alone can inherit
 That portion of God to the brave!

II.

Tell us, ye children of wisdom, who measure
 The actions of man and his might, —
 Tell us, was Earth won by day-dreams of pleasure?
 And battles and watchings by night?
 Tell us, did sylphs shield the valiant from ruin?
 Did syren songs lull their repose?
 No! the proud soul, sacred glory pursuing,
 Steered by his pole-star through woes.

III.

Planted by valour, and waved against fortune,
 Rome's flag wrapped the world in a shade;
 E'en the rude North, with its ample folds sporting,
 Paused as he viewed it displayed.
 But when the slow moth of Luxury stealing,
 Wasted its strength to decay;
 Tempests less fierce than the Northern wind pealing,
 Blew its bright ruins away.

THE FASHIONABLE AND UNFASHIONABLE WRITERS OF
THE PRESENT DAY.

PERHAPS there are no two classes of men that more essentially differ from each other than fashionable and unfashionable authors. In literature, this distinction has ever existed; and, as a certain peculiarity of taste is observed to pervade and characterize every nation and period, it is probable that it never will cease to separate the republic of letters into two powerful and contending bodies. In the present age, however, this division of the national mass of intellect is more obvious and striking than at any former period in our literary annals. Now that the accumulation of books and authors is so unprecedentedly great, we can almost perceive the two parties set in warlike array against each other—the one basking in the sunshine of popularity, and weaving an existence out of the success of their productions—the other proudly viewing what *they* term the *temporary* fame and splendour of their adversaries, and (though with high hopes of *future* justice) sullenly plodding on in obscurity their adopted course.

A fashionable writer is one that is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the age in which he lives; he is one that narrowly marks the varying currents of opinion, and anxiously studies the likings and antipathies of the public—that knows “what will take,” and what will be disregarded; what are the methods to excite attention, and when excited, to secure popularity. He is the artful flatterer of the prejudices of men, and understands well how to chime in with their most favourite notions. He is the anxious caterer for the public taste; and, whilst he pampers it like a spoiled child with every thing it asks for, is ever upon the watch that no food may be administered from any other hand but his own.

There is a certain tone of thought, as well as style of composition, that is necessary to the formation of a fashionable writer. He ought not to be much versed in metaphysics, nor to have any great enthusiasm for antiquity, which might give to his works too deep and thinking a cast, or too *antiquated* an appearance. The great art in his writings must consist in reflecting with advantage the sentiments of the age; and by a judicious defence of those ideas to which they are most partial, endeavour to persuade men how much wiser they are than they before thought themselves! The fashionable writer seldom sees anything in the existing state of things to reprehend or quarrel with. The political aspect of the country is good—because it is considered so by the majority of such persons as are likely to become his readers. The state of religion is flourishing; for do not men delight to believe and to be

assured of that which flatters their dearest prejudices? Lord Byron is a man of vicious habits and of no principle—for is he not so deemed by persons in place and power, to whom his writings are offensive, because inimical to *their* interest? by those hypocrites who if they cannot find a *moral* regularly tacked to the end of every production, immediately raise a hue and cry of “crucify him, crucify him!” In short, such a writer must see every thing as the world sees it:—he must look for his cue in the faces of the multitude. We must seldom expect the discovery of any important truth in his writings; for instead of going directly to seek her at the fountains of nature, he beholds her dim image (“as with a glass darkly,”) through the intervention of the minds of others.

It may be thought, that this character is too sweeping, hasty, and exaggerated; and true indeed it is that it can by no means be made applicable to all who come under our term of fashionable authors. If it were otherwise, our present literature would certainly be reduced to a very degraded state; and the interests of truth would be sacrificed in a greater degree than our own observations convince us that they are; for the great body of our writers without doubt lean to this class. Before we contrast these with their opposites, the *unfashionables*, we shall here single out such writers among the former as may properly illustrate our theoretical sketch.

It should be noticed, perhaps, in the first place, that we consider the numerous host of writers in the different Reviews, Magazines, &c. as coming under the appellation of our title. They indeed approach more nearly to the spirit of our definition than any others we could name. Whilst the present unparalleled number of these works exists, these writers are compelled of necessity to seize present topics—coincide with present opinions—and study the variations of public taste, if they would ensure themselves readers. And can they be blamed for this? Things that are intended but for the day, why should they not take the tone of the times, as far as may be consistent with integrity? Meant for the amusement of a leisure hour, why should they jar with the feelings or the prejudices of men? Written to delight the mind, and to confer a pure pleasure, why should they destroy their object by an ill-timed introduction of unparticipated feelings? Theories, systems, and particular opinions, should meet the public eye in distinct and regular works, when the reader may be previously prepared to grapple with an argument, and have time to provide himself with the shield and armour of impenetrable prejudice, to resist the attacks made, perhaps, upon his favourite notions.

We claim no alliance, however, to the class of fashionables, (though ourselves a periodical). At the same time, the reasons we have just given why Magazine writers in general partake more or less of this

character, will in the minds of many, no doubt, be deemed sufficiently satisfactory for their acquittal.

First and foremost in the rank of fashionable authors, we recognise Sir Walter Scott—supposing him of course to be the real father of those yet unowned prodigies, the Scotch Novels ! If he be the true source of those productions, he is unquestionably the most fashionable of living authors. But though doubtless in those works there is a constant caution maintained with regard to the opinions expressed, and a secret reference continually made, in the author's mind, to the state of public feeling ; yet Sir Walter can hardly be said to have practised, to their full extent, those arts to secure popularity, which would constitute a full claim to the appellation. Their popularity is unquestionably more owing to their inherent genius than to the adoption of any secondary means. His Poems bear the same negative character in relation to their entire freedom from all dogmatism, and individual opinion. There is little or no party spirit in either ; they neither flatter nor offend. This liberality, however, as is well known, does not equally mark all the writings of Scott. He has been, and is now, as it is said, a writer in periodical works in which "church and state" is the cry, and "an accommodation of conscience to interest" the practice. In these he has taken part with the stronger side, and has hurled the thunderbolts of invective against the friends of liberty and truth. He has there soothed the fierce irritability of the demon Prejudice, by the lulling song of flattery, and gratified the hatred of the powerful by the abuse and revilement of their enemies.* Here, therefore, he is fashionable through design ; in the others, through the potency of his genius.

What is that work which some short time since was to be found in the drawing-rooms of the great, in the parlours of humbler life, and in the solitary student's cell ?—and what that name which was on the lips of all readers, and in the hearts of all lovers of genius ? The "*Sketch Book*, by Geoffrey Crayon, Gent." Does not the very mention of this work at once illustrate our character of the fashionable writer ? Every thing in it is smooth, calm, and calculated to make every one contented with himself. Every thing of a political or religious tendency—every thing of a disputed or controversial nature, is carefully kept back. It does not, like most books of the sort, written with the same view to present popularity, openly declare in favour of ideas most prevalent, but holding forth no particular opinions, professes to respect all. You return from the perusal of these volumes as refreshed as the forest stag from the crystal lake—with a measure of happiness and content that at once refines the feelings, and makes charitable the heart. They look always at the bright side of human things. If they do not

* See the "*Beacon*" for proofs of this.

tend to give you just views of men and society, they at least induce pleasing ones; and the fine spirit of humanity that breathes through every page, fastens upon the reader's mind, and beguiles him into the same amiable deception. The effect upon a person reading this book, who knew nothing whatever of the world (if such a thing were possible) would be the idea that this earth was a land of perpetual sunshine, instead of a wilderness of brooding night; that its inhabitants were but "a little lower than the angels," and not men; that virtue was its pervading spirit, and justice the birthright of all; and that the paths of our pilgrimage through it were as smooth as those of fancy, instead of as rugged as reality!

There is another very popular author of the present day, that in some respects resembles the last-mentioned person, though wanting much of his genius; D'Israeli, a writer on our literary history, who has brought before the public some very pleasing works for light reading and leisure hours, which have been much perused and admired. He has written "*Curiosities of Literature*," "*Calamities of Authors*," "*On the Literary Character*," &c. &c. He is more commendable, however, for his patient research, finished taste, and warm enthusiasm for his interesting subjects, than for any great share of genius or ability. We shall not, therefore, say much of him, though he is, perhaps, as literal an illustration of our description as we could meet with.

"Do you call Lord Byron a fashionable author?"—Yes, certainly. "How then does he agree with your account, when instead of chiming in with the sentiments of the times, he keeps up an incessant raking fire upon all of them by turns?" This seems to go much against our theory; but a few considerations will account for it. It is in *other* circumstances that we are to look for the cause of his popularity; and the principal are these:—First, his amazing genius, which claims universal homage; secondly, his nobility and rank; and thirdly, the mysterious and impenetrable darkness which hangs over his destiny and life. All these have excited an interest in him which no scoffing or ridicule, no "immoral tendency," no profaneness, or libertinism, could repress. He always acted in direct opposition to the generality of timeserving writers, in the recklessness with which he exposed and treated human opinions; and the very singularity of his conduct, when added to the consciousness of his immense powers, gave another impulse to the rolling wheels of his reputation. But he is an author who has been so much thought on, that the particular and numerous causes of his extensive fame must be obvious to every one. He has had a celebrity which no English writer during his own life-time ever enjoyed, and nearly equal to that in which Voltaire revelled during the noon-day of his glory. It has been well observed by Mr. Hazlitt, in speaking of Lord Byron, that the *nobleman* and the *poet* reflect light upon each other, set off

one another's excellencies, and screen each other's defects. With all his genius, perhaps, no man's fame was ever more increased by adventitious circumstances, than Byron's. No man's private history was ever so much a *private* one. Of course this excessive interest will cease with his death, and it is this event only that will show his real quantum of solid and lasting fame.

It will be needless to extend further this Banquo-like procession of authors. Sufficient have been introduced to explain the character they were intended to illustrate, and the names merely of a few of the rest will be required. We may refer to the same class—Moore, Barry Cornwall, Southey, Campbell, Rogers—*"cum multis aliis."*

We now proceed, chiefly for the sake of the strong contrast it affords, to draw a portrait of the unfashionable writer, and shall also follow it up with one or two examples.

Our antipodes cannot certainly be in greater opposition to us than are unfashionable authors to the ones we have been just describing. Being so little noticed, their number is quite unknown, and of course their merit quite unappreciated. They are generally obscure and retired students about the metropolis: men for whom some early direction of mind, and subsequent pursuits, have created a world of their own, in which they are content to dwell, but which, at the same time, shuts them out from a participation in the real one. They are persons who live to themselves. They are often those who have followed through their lives the deluding phantom of some wild opinion, or favourite system, and who, because they cannot bring the public to admire the depth and originality of their peculiar conceptions, sink back into indifference, disgust, and obscurity! They are mostly good scholars, and consequently look upon the comparative shallowness of their more successful brethren with disdain, and consider their popularity, whilst *they themselves* remain in the shade, as a sure proof of the incapacity of the public to discover worth. They are self-involved. Their tone of thinking is individual. Common opinions seldom find a place in their minds, but they reject these in a wild gallop after original ones,—as if truth were a thing of yesterday, and the experience of ages nothing. They are often deep thinkers, but their very depth, by inducing obscurity, is a chief cause of their neglect. To endeavour to follow the track of their thoughts is like trying to keep your eye fixed upon a sheet of water that is dashing over an immense cataract—you keep sight of it awhile, and catch glimpses of it occasionally, but it is at last lost in the impenetrable depth and darkness of some engulfing chasm! Such a writer is Mr. Coleridge. For proofs of it see nearly every thing he has written; and particularly his *"Friend,"* and the *"Biographia Literaria."* Through both of these, more dull and te-

dious than the ponderous quartos written on the Arian controversy, we continually meet with the flashings-out of a great mind. It is true they are as momentary as meteors shot into the midnight sky, and like them too, only serving to render the returning darkness more palpable and gloomy. On opening a volume of his writings, we sometimes perceive the traces of a profound and highly-original thought,—but in a partial development, like the faint indications of a vein of gold to the toiling miner : you follow on with eagerness, and work your way through half a dozen more pages in the same expectation ; but it is gone—or was but a vision—or, like the African river, terminates in obscurity. His mind seems for ever rolling about amid contraries—between poetry and metaphysics, imagination and fact ; and it is well if he can keep himself buoyed up in the storm of such conflicting elements ! He is a ship without a rudder—a prey to the winds and waves of contending opposites. A flower of true poetry starts up in his writings, but a whole rabble of metaphysical conceits and follies immediately rush over it and trample it to the earth. His metaphysics are the grave of his imagination—his imagination bewilders his reasoning powers. He seems ever on the watch for odd fancies, and they come upon him like a cloud of locusts, darkening by their number the whole land of his mind. He appears to have *overthought* himself. “*Rudis indigestaque moles*” is the true idea of his construction.

A writer may be unfashionable from his known adherence to heterodox principles in politics and religion. The expression of such opinions he may consider his duty, and may make the enforcement of them a chief feature in his writings. This will be even more fatal to his reputation than obscurity, or too great depth. The terms, republican and blasphemer, echoed about from mouth to mouth, will effectually prevent his entrance into the libraries, or minds of men. If genius be allowed him (which is not often the case), it is accompanied with a charitable passion that “such great powers should be so perverted.” Party spirit is a great enemy to the interests of literature, and interferes with it in a most daring and lamentable manner ; and at no time more than the present. See the leading periodicals of the day, the *Edinburgh and Quarterly*. In their discussion of purely literary subjects, how do they permit the barefaced introduction of political discussion ! How often do they, under pretence of reviewing an author’s work, bring his political principles under the lash ! His merit as an author is secondary to the orthodoxy of his creed. This is much to be regretted, and indeed we know of no greater evil in the modern condition of letters. Literature is a pure thing of itself, and ought to have no alliance with the bad passions of men, and no connexion with the strife and tumult of life. It should not admit of such noisy and unwelcome guests. It is not a hus-

tings for men to declaim, rave, and "strut their little hour" upon, nor a pulpit for the anathemas of the church. Literature is an inner and sacred part of the temple of the universe—a holy of holies—and should not be defiled by the entrance of unhallowed steps.

Among those who have suffered the loss of their just fame from the influence of these causes, is Mr. Shelley. Undoubtedly, we must set down the chief cause of his unpopularity to the heterodox cast of his opinions; but there are others founded upon the nature of his mind, which have greatly contributed to the same effect. We shall not, however, enumerate them at present, but content ourselves with giving a short extract from a paper that was published some little time since "On Obsolete and Obscure Writers" in the *Literary Examiner*. The writer seems to entertain precisely the same sentiments with ourselves on the nature of Mr. Shelley's mind and principles; and the passage is so characterized by deep insight and perception, and so forcibly elucidates the peculiarities of his excellence, that it would be impossible for us to clothe our own conceptions in a more impressive form.

"Mr. Shelley was not, during his life, a popular writer; nor are his works calculated, independently of the opinions they contain, to become popular; but he has purchased a freehold in the territory of the Muses, which neither time nor critics will ever be able to separate from his name. Whatever may be said, it is impossible to credit that his singularity was the effect of affectation, and not rather the aberration of a spirit drenched in enthusiasm, and fluctuating with the impulses of extraordinary feeling. He threw himself into the course, to run with Nature to the extremity of her line; and it is no wonder, that amid the whirling dust of this Olympic contest, he sometimes forgot the charioteer. * * * Perhaps he did not see his way with sufficient clearness through the incumbent swarms of his weighty thoughts, and may sometimes have raised, like a daring necromancer, more active principles than he could afterwards reduce to order; but this did not happen because his mind was weak, but because Nature is too strong for any mind, and will not have her secrets wrested from her by the bold impiety of mortals. The reader does not go from his works with a conviction that he has seen through the whole texture of them: he is led to ponder on principles. His reason and judgment are sharpened to come again to the onset, and he is never cheated with a shadow. What if some of Mr. Shelley's conclusions be wrong, and induce false notions of some of the highest things about which the human mind is conversant? it is because he chose to think on lofty subjects, and that it is the part of humanity to be liable to mistakes."

Whoever is acquainted with the writings of Mr. Shelley, must

perceive at once the literal truth and expressive force of this passage; it is warm with life, and the image of the man is reflected as truly upon the page, as a cast that is made of a head gives back the exact features of the countenance. We cannot but think that the odium, which at present attaches to his name, must shortly dissipate itself, and that a powerful reaction will take place in his favour. His obscurity, his too unrestrained luxuriance of imagination, and want of subjects of more human interest, which are his chief faults as a writer, will for ever prevent him from being generally read; but it is our firm belief that he is one of those minds destined to remain conspicuous and immovable when the tide of opposing circumstances has ebbed away.

Wordsworth is another unfashionable author; and *one* cause is sufficient to account for it—he is too deep for the multitude. It is in vain to talk of his absurdities, false notions, and babyisms both of thought and language. These are *not* the true reasons of his unpopularity. They occur but comparatively seldom in his works, and to the man of deep feeling they are so amply atoned for by the prodigious genius elsewhere displayed, that the occasional aberrations of a great mind are easily forgiven. His “Excursion” contains few of these objectionable follies, and to those who are capable of understanding its sublimity, its pathos, and true poetic feeling, it must ever appear a work of unquestionable genius and powerful interest. But can common readers enter into the spirit of such a poem? a poem that embodies the most delicate and refined abstractions of the mind—and an exquisite devotion and love for nature, concentrated, original, and pure! We must not look among the herd of mankind for such persons as are capable of enjoying Mr. Wordsworth’s poetry. He himself must be too well aware of the great superiority of his mind and poetry to be disappointed at his unpopularity. We cannot *comprehend* the nature or attributes of the Deity,—we can believe only. Men of genius are a kind of gods, of whose qualities the further they are removed from humanity, we can have the less conception. There is less of the common material, and more of the divinity in them than in others; and the phenomena of their minds are not reducible to the same rules as those by which we judge of baser natures. Like Shakspeare’s witches,

“ They look not like the inhabitants o’ the earth,
And yet are on it!”

It will not be necessary to enumerate further the particular authors that belong to this class; as the reader will be able himself, after what has been said, to refer nearly every writer to his proper standard. But it may here be proper to mention, that we are far from considering all our authors as belonging to one or other of

these two parties. There is undoubtedly a medium, a negative character which many have preserved. Such are neither fashionable nor unfashionable; they do not strive to become the former, nor does the nature of their minds render them the latter. They write just what they think, and seek no adventitious means to engage attention. Their minds are powerful enough of themselves to gain them readers, and without making use of petty arts and cunning devices, they are contented with the measure of their fame. They are generally those that love learning more for its own sake, and are satisfied with the reputation that springs from worth. When they write they think more of their subject than of its readers; and keep their eyes fixed upon Truth, rather than on the fluctuating opinions of the multitude.

To conclude this lengthened speculation—What is the result of all this? We are like *Æsop*, or the revilers of Lord Byron: we must have a moral! The result and the moral are simply this: That there are in our literature at present two distinct and opposed classes of writers, each marked and characterized by the particular qualities that have been pointed out; that we should be more aware and more upon our guard against the subserviency of popular writers to their interest in adapting their opinions to the times; that we should be more solicitous than we have been to take up the productions of the unpopular ones, considering that at least they possess an integrity of purpose, which the others generally want; and that upon the whole, those last mentioned, who have neither the flattery of the one, nor the obscurity of the other, are the best suited for our present instruction and permanent benefit. We hope we shall not be considered to have spoken too harshly of the character that we set out with; nor to have classed under it more of our authors than was quite fair. We do not think that we have done either. The interests of letters require that a continual watch should be kept over all their abuses, for no order of society is more liable to them. Some of these abuses we think have been pointed out. We too eagerly seize those authors who will present us with an entire concordance of sentiment; and too hastily reject those who have nothing but their own merit to offer us. Why should we not be as particular over our literature as our religion? They are both of inestimable value,—sympathies interwoven with our nature,—chords that vibrate music—a golden light strewn over the track of life. They both alike have their origin in the aspirations of man after a higher state, and are both less sullied by the tinge and intermixture of the earthly, than all other human enjoyments.

THE WIDOW.—PART I.

It was a place,
 Where willow with its weeping grace,
 And yew, and cypress, breathed an air
 Of baneful grief and sad despair;
 Even the expanse of sky above
 Was dark as disappointed love,
 Dropping such tears as woman's eye
 Lets fall in hours of agony;
 While breezes wandering through the leaves,
 Came like the sighs which woman heaves:
 The unmown grass was waving there,
 Uncheck'd its growth by mortal tread,
 Save when some foot of stealing care
 Came to lament the absent dead.—

There is a mound
 Of new raised earth—the fresh-moved ground
 Has late received into its rest
 Some other tenant as its guest,
 To slumber on its parent breast;
 And in that mean and little space
 Reposes one whose mighty mind,
 In the brief period of his race,
 No earthly bounds had e'er confin'd;
 He seemed as one, whom smiling Heaven
 Delighted in its course to bless,—
 To whom life, love, and fame were given,—
 A fountain in the wilderness:
 But one bright gem, one fragrant rose,
 Laid on his breast,—was treasured there;
 One smile of brightness round him glows,
 And sheds a halo bright and fair.
 With hearts like these, oh it is sweet,
 In life's cold wilderness to meet!
 To see of souls the sunny glow
 Shed beams of brightness all below,
 Dispersing sorrow, care and wo!

And he is gone!—Ah, who shall say
 The anguish of that lost one's breast,
 When he—her hope, her joy, away—
 Might feel, but yet had left no rest!
 To see no more the light of day;
 'Midst tombs and sepulchres to dwell;
 'Mong bodies of the dead to stray;
 Each moment feeling death's cold swell:
 All this were nothing—but no more
 To meet the eyes of those we love,
 Yet still to feel our souls adore
 Some distant star which shines above;

To look on every face we meet,
 Yet know such scrutiny is vain ;
 To feel, that while life's pulses beat,
 We never, never meet again—
 To bear all this through countless days,
 To dwell on sorrow for his sake ;
 To feel a hidden grief, which preys
 Upon a heart that will not break——

* * * * *

But who is this, with stealing pace,
 And careless self-neglecting grace ;
 Who, dashing with her footstep light
 The rain-drops from the grass blade slight,
 Intent to pierce appalling glooms,
 Heeds not obstructing time-worn tombs !
 Treads over bodies long since laid,
 The sire, the matron, and the maid ;
 Hears in her course the bird of night
 Uttering its cries of wild affright,
 Yet hearing, heeds not—careless now
 Of these dark scenes, that once had been
 Enough to chill the heart's warm glow,
 If but to think of,—all unseen.
 But deep embittered sorrow hath
 No room for unsubstantial fears ;
 It rather courts the fearful path,
 As unison with self it wears—
 It is a thing which fills the heart,
 Yielding to lesser guests no part.

Alas! ~~those~~ tears, those flowing eyes,
 The ~~gapings~~ gasps of that sobbing breath,
 That ~~would~~ have followed where he lies,
 Have no control o'er ruthless death.
 Nor can the life-warmth of that breast,
 Once the loved pillow of his rest,
 Convey one touch of genial heat ;
 Nor can he feel that heart's wild beat,—
 His bosom's sod is all too dark
 To carry the electric spark :
 Love cannot now disturb his rest,
 In vain the pressure of that breast
 On the cold earth where now he lies,
 He will not waken to those sighs ;
 He cannot feel those arms embrace
 His cold and weary dwelling place.

In vain she called upon his name,
 In vain invoked him to her arms ;
 No more his words like music came ;
 Insensible to all her charms.

Yet would she not forsake the spot,
 Hallowed to her, where he reclin'd ;
 In other places he was not,
 And here she left the world behind.

When Morning came, with gloomy mien,
 Ashamed to smile on such sad scene,
 She saw that lost one still would share
 His cold earth-pillow—nor forbear
 On his sad couch herself to rest,
 And press near his her aching breast.

EVA.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OF TEA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, March 1824.

I HAD intended last month to have drawn your attention to this subject, and presented your readers with the statement of the comparative prices of tea in this country and other parts of the world ; but as this has been so ably done in the last Number of the Edinburgh Review, I shall confine myself to some additional remarks upon the monopoly of the East India Company, referring to the article in the Review, and to the valuable tables in p. 106 of your first Number.

By the latter it will be perceived that the consumption of tea in this country since 1801 has remained much the same, whilst the population has increased 3,448,985 in the same period. Deducting from the total population of Great Britain, 14,391,631, one-third for children who may be considered as not consuming tea, there will remain 9,594,421 ; and allowing two ounces per week for each person (the usual allowance for servants), equal to six pounds and a half per annum, the consumption would be 62,363,736 pounds a year, or nearly three times the quantity which the Honourable Company are graciously pleased to provide us.

The inadequate supply thus offered for sale, will at once explain the cause of the dealers giving so much more for the tea than the putting-up price ; and although it would not fail to strike every one acquainted with commercial subjects, I have not hesitated to point it out to the observation of those who are not so conversant with them. A singular elucidation of this may be found in the fact, that so accurately have the East India Company gauged the stomachs of that part of his Majesty's subjects, who can afford to drink tea at the monopoly prices, that at any one of their quarterly sales they can raise or lower the price of tea by the increasing or decreasing of the quantity put up, 100,000 pounds out of about 6,000,000.

It may not be generally known that in 1814 and 1815 the Dutch East India Company was supplied from this country with tea ; and the best informed persons in the trade felt convinced that the continued supply of the Continent might have been secured to this country, if the East India Company would have imported sufficient, and declared four additional sales per annum for exportation only. It excited astonishment that they should have neglected this favourable opportunity, but a little reflection

will show that they had good reason for preferring the home monopoly; for had the East India Company put up tea for exportation only, the prices would not have exceeded one half what they were compelling the people of this country to pay, John Bull's eyes would have been opened without the trouble of investigation, and they would have been obliged to lower their prices to him.

The writer in the *Edinburgh Review* is surprised that Government has not taken up the subject, and compelled the East India Company to declare a larger quantity for sale, but he forgot that the higher the price the greater was the amount of the duty. For instance, if the price of congou is 2s. 6d., the duty is 2s. 6d. per pound; but lower the price one half, and the duty is so much the less. I will allow that if double the quantity were consumed, which I see no reason to doubt would have been the case, the same amount of duty would have flowed into the Government coffers; but it is to be considered that until lately, this argument has not been received as conclusive, and comprehensive views on commercial subjects were confined to the few.

The dawn of a brighter era is, I am happy to say, breaking upon us, and it is creditable to the present Ministers that they have actually preceded the mass of this thinking nation in taking rational views of our commercial policy; and I am therefore sanguine, that the discussion of this subject will be attended with the best effects, not only by enabling a greater proportion of the people to indulge in the use of tea, but in the necessary consequence of an increased employment of our shipping.

The majority of your readers are, perhaps, not aware that it is the East India Company's practice to pay the commanders and officers of their China ships, by the allowance of a certain quantity of tonnage to each, according to their respective rank: the wages of a captain are about 150*l.* a voyage, and his privilege is fifty tons, which he can sell for about 2,500*l.* or fill with tea on his own account. On his arrival home the tea is sold at the East India Company's sale, and on the settlement of his account, the Company deducted, until very lately, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. for their share of his profit; which they have now reduced to about 25*l.* per cent.

Now we will suppose the Captain's tea to sell at 3*s.* per pound, from which they take 1*s.*, and out of the remaining 2*s.* he has to make a profit after deducting freight at the rate of 50*l.* per ton; for if there was not a profit above the 50*l.* per ton, no one would bring tea, but prefer selling his privilege: (a sufficient proof that the Americans can afford to bring tea from China, sell it at their low prices, and still have a profit on the importation.) You will observe the keen eye which the East India Company have to the main chance in taking their percentage, of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. on the selling, instead of the invoice price; for if the latter were adopted, their share, supposing the cost 1*s.* per pound, would only be 4*d.*, whereas, at the selling price of 3*s.*, they take 1*s.* or 100 per cent. on the cost.

This reminds me of the more equitable mode of taxation in America, compared with ours: tea pays in America about 100 per cent. duty upon the invoice cost; but we pay it on the sale price, which, including all the expenses of freight, &c., if the selling price be 3*s.* and the duty 3*s.* Government receives 300 per cent. on the first cost, which is a tax upon the shipping interest; and consequently we must under any circumstances pay more for our tea than any other country.

The quantity of tea sold by the East India Company is so inadequate to the supply of this country, that it is not to be doubted that a great deal must be smuggled, or a spurious article substituted, to the great injury of the revenue, the health, and morals of the people; and if it was not imperative upon Government to remedy this monstrous abuse on any other grounds, I think these alone would demand an immediate alteration.

The advocates for the continuance of the excessive exactions of the East India Company must not attempt to impose upon the public by the assertion that the dealers in tea make exorbitant profits; as it is notorious that in few lines of business is the competition greater, and the profits consequently less, for I am assured that seven and a half per cent. is the medium return on the capital employed in the tea trade.

The day is gone by when the objection to the increased consumption of tea would be considered valid from its withdrawing so much capital for an herb, as there is not a plainer axiom than that there cannot be buyers without sellers for any continuance; and it is well known to those conversant with the China trade, that the greatest difficulty exists in finding returns for our present limited trade. Increase the consumption of tea, and you will have a vent for a still greater quantity of your manufactures.

Should Government be still apprehensive of losing so productive a revenue, notwithstanding the moral certainty of increased consumption on the reduction of the price, I would ask this plain question,—If you save to the people of this country, the two millions sterling per annum now extorted by the East India Company, will not the consumption of some other articles be increased, upon which the duty will be an equivalent, and the comforts of the people augmented? A saving to the poor is only an additional source of expenditure, which sooner or later finds its way into the public treasury.

That the China trade was at one time the support of the East India Company I am willing to allow, and that they must have fallen without it there is pretty good reason to believe; but as that honourable association has surmounted its difficulties, and from its increase of territorial revenue, is in a more flourishing state than their most sanguine admirers could ever have anticipated, the necessity exists no longer of our being so heavily taxed for the preservation of their East India possessions; and I trust, therefore, they will follow the illustrious instances of disinterested conduct, which several of our great public sinecurists have evinced, and give as a boon what they may depend will soon be demanded as a right.

In conclusion: I have only to remark that so jealous have the Company been to veil the profits of their tea trade, that they have resisted, with all their might, the throwing open of the China trade to the shipping of this country with other parts of the world; and whilst Americans have been loading in our ports for Canton, we have had the mortification to feel ourselves excluded. I am at a loss to imagine what other objection they could have, than the conviction that the price they were making this country pay would appear so monstrous an abuse of their monopoly, that they would be compelled to concede something to the general voice of the nation, as soon as it should be aware of the exaction; and ardently hoping that the discussion may have the desired effect, I shall in your next number supply a few further particulars.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

P. B. P.

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 3.—*The Quarterly Review.*

WE were aware that we had undertaken a somewhat bold task, in thus venturing to discuss the merits and defects of the Periodical Literature of the day; but till we had fairly sat ourselves down to treat of the Quarterly Review, we did not anticipate that it would turn out to be one from any portion of which we should shrink, with mingled feelings of sorrow, indignation, and disgust. The truth is, we would willingly have escaped altogether from this part of our undertaking; and for various reasons. In the first place, the Quarterly Review, so far as regards the matters to which we are now alluding, is beyond the reach of remonstrance, because it is past the sense of remorse. Anything that we, or any one else, could urge against its political delinquencies, or rather against those acts which have grown out of its political views and feelings—would, as regards itself, fall from it (if they ever reached it) like water drops from the feathers of a bird. In the second place, we have little hope of being able to kindle, in the public mind, sentiments on this subject similar to those which actuate our own. For, to say nothing of the acts of which we speak having been the means of creating the very appetite to which they appeal, and on which their influence is to depend,—they have still more efficiently provided against any appeal that may be made in opposition to them, by blinding the public eye to the evidence on which the strength and justice of that appeal must rest. Let us explain more distinctly what we mean. In order to prove the atrocity of the Quarterly Review's attack on Keats's Poems, for example, it would first be necessary to destroy the general belief which the Quarterly Review has established, as to the value of those poems: for, if the said poems *are*, in point of fact, what the Reviewer has stated them to be, the public should be grateful for that attack, instead of the reverse. And how is this to be done? By this time—and especially now that the writer of them is dead—the Poems of John Keats ought to have been generally admitted to evince powers not inferior to those of many English poets since the days of Milton. And, in fact, but for the efforts of the Quarterly Review, and of the still baser herd who have followed in its train, this sentiment respecting them *would* have been general. We do not, of course, mean that it would have been the genuine sentiment of every individual reader of the Poems in question; but this tone of feeling respecting them would have obtained generally—(whether by rote or not is another question)—in the same manner and by the same means as it obtains respecting the Poems of Milton himself. But what is the kind of feeling which *does* generally obtain respecting John Keats? Why, if any

one of his half dozen—or half hundred appreciators (for they do not amount to more) were to express his opinions and feelings respecting this neglected poet in any “mixed company” throughout England, the members of which, generally, professed to be of a “literary turn,”—the chances are that he would be greeted with an open laugh for his pains:—that he would excite a suppressed one is certain. No—the Quarterly Review is lord of the ascendant; and the poet of the Hyperion must wait half a century longer for his renown.

In fact, we anticipate but little either of present or future good from any individual attempt to lay bare the besetting vices of this powerful organ of a politico-literary party:* for although, abstractedly, a very extended feeling does prevail, as to the bias which so frequently directs its decisions, yet, practically speaking, that feeling is of no avail whatever, because, it is only a general one, and therefore the inferences attending it are general also. Every one admits that the Quarterly Review has a strong bias towards high tory and high church principles; which is precisely what the Review itself would be the first, not only to admit, but to insist on; because it is on *this* that its very existence depends. But the Quarterly Review, with an effrontery almost peculiar to itself, while it insists on and glories in this very bias, would at the same time insist on the non-existence of any individual results from it. And the “reading public,” in its amiable simplicity, is eager to accept this denial as a proof of the fact. As if a bowl with a bias *could* run in a direct line!—and as if, supposing it had been *intended* to run in a direct line, any bias would have been given to it!

These are some of the reasons which make us enter with great reluctance upon this part of our task: for to fulfil an ungracious and unthankful office without the prospect of any positively beneficial results arising from it, is sorry work to any but such as feel a direct pleasure in detecting the foibles of their fellow-beings, and the corruptions that mix themselves up with all human things. But these reasons are not sufficient to deter us from performing the promise with which we commenced these papers—of speaking the truth (*i. e.* the *whole* truth) of every work that might come before us. And the chief cause of our alluding to those reasons at all in this place, was, to account for any seeming deficiency that might be observed in us, of that hearty good-will towards

* *Note.*—Since these papers were planned, and the first and second of them written, we have learned, from an article in the first Number of the Westminster Review, that it is the intention of that new work to enter into a detailed examination of the nature and tendency of the political papers that have hitherto appeared in the leading Reviews, which form the subject of our present paper, and that which preceded it. No feeling of rivalry can, for a moment, prevent us from expressing our unmingled satisfaction at this circumstance; for we conceive that such an examination might be conducted in a manner which would be likely to ensure the most important and beneficial results.

our undertaking, which had been the surest promise of a successful result. The fact is, that, like young Norval in his reluctant quarrel with the knave Glenalvon, we "have no tongue to rail;" and if telling the mere truth of the *Quarterly Review* will not satisfy its enemies, "they may kill the next Percy themselves:" for we are willing to applaud whatever is good in that work, and are the enemies of its vices and errors only.

The *Quarterly Review* first appeared about fifteen years ago, and under the most favourable circumstances which could attend such a work. Its great precursor and model, the *Edinburgh*, instead of pre-occupying the ground, had cleared and prepared it in various ways; by rousing anew the dormant appetite of the public for periodical reading, and at the same time rendering that appetite too fastidious to feed on the trash that had latterly been placed before it; by showing to the literary world exactly what was needed in the department in question, without anything like satisfying the need thus pointed out and rendered active; by calling into the field of periodical writing a class of persons who had never before thought of entering it, and exciting a desire to appear there in many more, without offering them the means of gratifying it; and above all, by demonstrating the absolute necessity of establishing something like a balancing influence against that which was then bearing all upon one scale,—for till the establishment of the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh* was worth half a score of close boroughs to the Whigs.

Under these circumstances it was that the *Quarterly Review* made its appearance; and it was immediately hailed by all parties (except one) as supplying an obvious desideratum. For, in fact, nothing could be more moderate and reasonable than the political views which it developed when it treated of political subjects at all; it exhibited a laudable degree of variety in the matters to which its attention was turned—giving a decided preference to none, but letting general and miscellaneous literature, science, the arts, politics, statistics, theology, poetry, classical learning, travels, &c. take their due turns in discussion; and treating each, if not with equal care and profundity, with equal apparent impartiality; and throughout all, while showing a disposition to imitate, or rather to adopt, the spirited and piquant style of the *Edinburgh Review*, in speaking of books and authors generally, and especially of such as did not seem to demand any very serious or subtle examination,—yet not evincing that impolitic, as well as unfeeling inclination to tear both to pieces for the mere amusement of its readers, and the exhibition of its own superior pretensions, which had in part given to its elder rival that, in some respects, "bad eminence," which it was enjoying. Neither did the *Quarterly Review* indulge in Essay writing to so great an extent as its precursor had done—chiefly confining its efforts in this way

to some very able, luminous, and temperate political sketches—if that could be called political which merely professed to give a connected insight into the then state of active affairs on the Continent of Europe, and the political prospects and events likely to result therefrom. It is true, the chief strength of the Review seemed to consist in this latter class of papers,—or at least to be expended upon them. And it may perhaps be worth remarking, that it was started at a most important period for indulging in views of this kind—namely, just at the time when Austria, after having lain for years at the feet of Napoleon, had roused herself once more for the combat, and issued her celebrated State Papers, declaring herself prepared to make war upon him again, *à l'outrance*.

In fact, for the first two years of its existence, the Quarterly Review might be cited as offering a most valuable, and nearly unexceptionable, addition to the Periodical Literature of the day. Its papers were as various in their character, as the varied nature of the literature which called them forth. The political ones, as we have hinted above, were few in number, and those few were written with great ability; and if they announced a firm adherence to the views and principles of the governing party, that adherence was stated in the most temperate language, and justified on reasonable grounds. The article in the second Number, on the Austrian State Papers above alluded to, is admirable in its way; and the most determined enemies to the political views on which it rests, cannot deny that the predictions, which it modestly puts forth under the form of hopes, have been verified to the letter. The papers which treated of miscellaneous literature, where the subject seemed to require it, were composed with great care, and exhibited considerable taste and judgment, and very respectable acquirement; and where it was thought necessary to try the work under review by the test of ridicule, this was done, generally speaking, with much lightness, gaiety, and spirit, but without any of that self-sufficient arrogance and unfeeling flippancy, which had characterized some of its rival's effusions in this kind.—We conceive the two papers, in Numbers VIII. and IX. of the Quarterly Review, on Sir John Sinclair's pamphlets relative to the Bullion Question, to be, without exception, the very best specimens of this style of writing that we have ever met with. They are, from beginning to end, a tissue of the most easy, elegant, and playful wit, and the most keen and cutting irony; yet they never, at any one point, overstep those exceedingly delicate and almost evanescent limits within which a *gentleman* would wish to keep on such an occasion,—especially where he is speaking of a gentleman.

Up to the period of which we are now speaking, the Review had been much less happy in its poetical papers than in any

others; if we except a very able article in the eighth Number on Mr. Crabbe's works. The paper on Mr. Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* was feeble and common-place in proportion to the apparent labour bestowed upon it; and that on the *Battle of Talavera* was a friendly but futile attempt to lift the merest mediocrity to an eminence that it was utterly unworthy of, and was not able to maintain for a single season.—In all the other departments of literature, the Quarterly evinced, for a considerable period, a very respectable portion of talent and information; and it produced a great variety of papers fraught with interest, amusement, and instruction. But it by no means displayed generally that distinguished and even first-rate excellence, which has since placed it at least on a level with its northern competitor in its best qualities. Neither did it as yet venture upon those, as it seems to us, frightful derelictions of common honesty and decency, and even of common sense, which have, so far as the particular papers in question are concerned, sunk it infinitely below the "lowest deep" that its rival in bad as well as in good has ever reached in this respect. All the arrogance, and ignorance, and flippancy, all the want of feeling, and want of taste, and want of perception, displayed in all the papers of the *Edinburgh Review*, on Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Lamb, Montgomery, &c. are as nothing, in regard to the feelings they call forth in the impartial and initiated reader, when compared with that deliberate falsification of deep conviction, which has characterized some of the papers in the Quarterly.

Without meaning to be very particular about dates and periods, it strikes us that, about the beginning of the third year of its establishment, the Quarterly Review began to *feel its strength*. Without pretending to know with what views, or under what auspices, it may have been originally started, we observe that, about this time, it stepped forward to much higher ground than it had hitherto occupied, and began to treat matters with a higher hand, and in a less chastened and indecisive tone. It began also to bring politics more frequently into discussion, and to choose its political subjects from a much narrower circle than that on the confines of which it had hitherto expatiated. In short, in regard to politics, it began to treat of persons and their productions, instead of confining itself to principles and events. It evinced, too, a very obvious advance in the general style of its lucubrations;—whether from an access of strength in its contributors, or from its original ones having gained that increased power and skill which are usually attendant on practice and success, we shall not stay to inquire: for we profess to have no concern whatever with any of the writers in this work, in their individual characters; or even in their characters *as writers*. It is of their productions alone that we profess to treat. Regarding those papers which have

struck us as the most obnoxious and unjustifiable in the *Quarterly Review*, we have never given faith to any of the rumours that have reached us as to their authors, because they have never been accompanied by anything like satisfactory evidence of the fact:—and the accusation was not to be admitted lightly against any man. But be this as it may, the *Review*, from about the period of which we have spoken above, became very different from what it had previously been, and seemed gradually to assume the air of “one having authority over us.”—There was an *ex cathedra* as well as an *ex officio* manner about it, which its northern rival, with all its brilliance and confidence, had never been able to adopt. And undoubtedly, its general influence and character increased in a proportionate degree. For though its coming to be considered (which it now speedily did) as the authorized organ of the government party, of course laid it open to accusations and imputations, which would not otherwise have been cast upon it, yet this circumstance created towards it much more respect and attention than hatred and suspicion; and it created both these classes of feelings in the same persons: for the more we hate and envy any person or thing, of the more importance it becomes in our thoughts. Accordingly, it became indispensable for every body to know what the *Quarterly Review* had to say on any particular subject—its enemies, that they might be able to gainsay and reply to it—and its admirers, that they might repeat and applaud. This again re-acted upon the *Review* itself, and, by increasing its sense of power, necessarily increased that power itself: for unquestionably the *sense of power* is, in some sort, no less the *cause* of power, than it is the evidence and the effect. Putting aside, as we for the present purposely do, all consideration of the delinquencies to which we have above alluded, there is no question that, from the time of which we are now speaking, the *Quarterly Review* very rapidly improved in all its miscellaneous departments, and speedily became at once the most useful and agreeable work of the kind that had ever issued from the English press: and such, in a word, it remains to the present day,—still keeping out of sight the effects of its party views and feelings. Whether the extreme mischief occasionally resulting from these latter, does not in a great measure counteract the good that it accomplishes in other ways, may very fairly be questioned, when we come to examine the nature of that mischief—which we shall do in another paper.

Having thus unequivocally shown our disposition to praise the *Quarterly Review* where we conceive it to be deserving of praise, we shall feel the less reluctance in entering, in our next Number, into a brief exposure of a few of those “crimes and misdemeanors” which it has from time to time perpetrated, in its avowed character of a party and political organ.

ODE.

Addressed by a young Athenian to Aspasia.

WOULD the grasshopper * I were,
Glittering 'mid thy sable hair,
And with life endowed, to be
Sensible I sat on thee!
Not be more blest the Teïan † sung,
Ever joyful, ever young,
Sipping summer dew, than I
In thy scented curls to lie.

Alas! as o'er the sacred way
I see thee walk at close of day,
And at thy side the Thunderer, ‡ he
Who rules our proud democracy,
I rail, I rail at partial Jove,
At Venus, and the God of Love,
That they should thus on *one* bestow
The two best gifts they held below,—
Power and Beauty,—I'd resign—
So thou, the other, mightst be mine—
The first to whom the Gods might please,
To many, or to Pericles.

As I pass in silence by,
Turn, O turn on me thy eye;
Still seeming, as it wanders free,
To linger on the distant sea.
Towards the Salaminian isle
Appear to send thy growing smile,
Or sigh, as faithful mem'ry brings
Sad or softly-pleasing things
To mind—the haughty Persian's fate;
Or else the wildly flying State, §
Lingering on the sea-brink, ere
Earth drank the last departing tear.

Let these, Aspasia, seem to be
Cause of the sigh thou giv'st to me;
And if thou smile, too soon 'twill fly,
To rouse the Statesman's busy eye.

BION.

* The Athenian women, it is well known, used to wear golden grasshoppers in their hair.

† See his Ode to the Grasshopper.

‡ An epithet bestowed on Pericles by the comic poets.

§ When, at the instigation of Themistocles, the Athenians forsook their city, and with their wives and little ones, betook themselves to their ships, and the island of Salamis.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS OF SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN.

"There are no abuses in the exposure of which society is more interested than those of the law. There is no misconduct in the exposure of which it is more interested than that of lawyers."—*Mill's History of India*.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

PRAY, Sir, who is Sir Francis Macnaghten? I mean the Indian Judge, who is reported in the first Number of your Work to have pronounced so extraordinary a judgment on the question of licensing periodical publications at Calcutta. Is he one of the family of the Wrongheads; a descendant perhaps of the celebrated Sir Francis? or is the defect in his conformation somewhat lower down in the body? Do, pray, furnish your readers with some biographical notice of this gentleman. Above all, tell us, if you can, in what school he studied law: for, assuredly, "if ignorance is bliss," it must be the happiest little community on the face of the earth. One ought else to know what precaution his lordship has taken to avoid the *infection* of knowledge: for, sitting in the same court so many years, as I am told he has done, with such men as have composed the bar of Calcutta, I should have thought, would have been fatal to that pure and uncontaminated fatuity, which so eminently distinguishes the subject of my inquiries.

His lordship sets out with complaining that the counsel of the petitioners assumed that Englishmen in Calcutta are as free as in London; and he triumphantly asks, in what book such freedom is to be found! What engaging simplicity! as amusing as the prattle of infancy! Can there be any judge, even an Indian judge, so innocent as not to know that it is for *him* to show when and how an Englishman loses his freedom by going to Calcutta? It is the practice here for a solicitor, who is attentive to the improvement of his clerks, to give them now and then an elementary lecture on the laws of England. If Sir Francis could take a junior desk for a month or two in a respectable office, I take it, his theory of jurisprudence would be amazingly altered. His master would say to him, "It is the business of law to *restrain* rights, not to *give* them: when you come to read an excellent work, called 'Blackstone's Commentaries,' which I shall put into your hands when you are a little older, you will see that we have a right to do whatever is not prohibited; you will not find, for instance, an express law entitling you to eat your dinner, to walk about, to converse with your friends, &c.: you have a right to do these acts, because no prohibition has been set on them."

It is a pity that no Law Primer has yet found its way to India, containing a few such principles as these, made intelligible to beginners by easy illustrations. There are little books for children, published by Pinnock and Maunder, and among others a "Law Catechism," which might answer the purpose. The Lord Chancellor, I remember, once said, that these books, though written for children, might be read with advantage by some persons of larger stature: I wonder if he had an eye to the Indian bench?

Sir Francis, who broadly hints that India is not in a fit state for liberty, thinks that a free press ought to *follow*, and not to *lead* a free constitution.

Why so? "Because the Government, as at present constituted, cannot exist with a free press." No? How did it exist until the time of Lord Wellesley? The learned judge has furnished no answer to this question. Taking it then for probable, notwithstanding the alarming *ipse dixit* of Judge Macnaghten, that as the Indian Government has stood in spite of a free press through very dangerous times, it would stand now when the danger is past: may it not be possible that a free press might hasten the moment for introducing freedom with safety? an epoch, which Sir Francis assures us it will give him great pleasure to see. He will be pleased then to learn that it has long been the opinion of all men in England, whose opinions have any weight with any party in the state, that a free press is the great civilizer of nations; the best, and indeed, almost the only preparative for the enjoyment of free institutions: to affirm that a free press ought to *follow*, and not to *lead* a free constitution, is to say that a boy ought not to be sent to school until his education is finished; or that a patient should take his medicine as soon as he has recovered. But, return we to his lordship's law:

As to the propriety of Mr. Buckingham's transmission I cannot (says his lordship) say what might have been my opinion had I been consulted on it: but I take it for granted, that the Government conceived that they were justified in sending him out of the country. Assuming therefore, that the Government did right, what is the consequence? Mr. Buckingham is sent away: but he appoints a person to succeed him, who, he tells the Government, cannot be sent out of the country. I ask whether it would not be trifling with the Government to allow this? Here are laws to protect the Government, set at defiance. I have not the pleasure of knowing the present Editor, but I have heard him highly spoken of; and I believe him to be a most respectable individual. I know many respectable individuals of the class to which he belongs; but I would not place them above the Government. He comes forward and says, "I cannot be sent out of the country." Now where is the repugnance to the laws of England in a regulation to meet the case? To what purpose has the Government the power of removing a British-born subject, if another can say, "I will conduct this paper on the same principles as before; and you cannot send me away"? Mr. Buckingham's successor is a member of a respectable body of the community; every one knows it to be so: but I say—and I solemnly declare that I mean no offence—that the grounds on which they found their claim to be placed above British-born subjects, are precisely those on which every Cooly* and Sircar may found a similar one. If such a claim were set up, would it be tolerated for a moment? or could this Government exist if it were admitted? No: but I say—and I again declare that I mean no offence—that every Cooly, every Sircar,† every Bearer,‡ way, every Mihter§ in the place, may urge this claim, and on the same ground; namely, that he cannot be sent away. ||

Now, taking upon my head the presumption, first, of supposing there is any argument contained in the foregoing passage, and secondly that I have found it out, I imagine the learned judge means to lay down this position; that whereas a power to control the press by banishing an unruly British editor, would be nugatory if the said editor could leave a substitute not liable to the same treatment; therefore "a regulation," (alias

* Coolies, a low order of natives who carry burdens.

† Native collector of bills.

‡ Bearers, who carry the palanquins.

§ Mihters, nearly the most degraded caste of Hindoos, who perform the work of scavengers, &c.

|| A friend has kindly furnished me with a complete copy of the Calcutta Journal, which I have followed; it differs a little from your report,

any regulation) "to meet such a case" cannot be repugnant to the law of England! To an inhabitant of the West this is rather a startling proposition; and yet it is the only one which I have been able to extract. To any one but an Asiatic judge, it might have occurred, as within the limits of possibility, that since the power of transmission* was so ill-adapted for controlling the press, it never was intended to be used for such a purpose, and therefore that no "regulation to meet the case" was required.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the power of transmission was given for such a purpose, does Sir Francis mean to say that a necessity is thence created for rendering such power effectual, which necessity is of itself sufficient to show the measure adopted not repugnant to the laws of England? If so, why not at once render all other persons, as well as Englishmen, liable to transmission?

Such a step would at least have had the merit of consistency. Sir Francis is shocked at the idea of the Indo-British claiming to be above the English. Well; but they *are* so. What have you done by this new regulation to put them on a level?—Nothing at all. The English are subject to arbitrary transmission. The Indo-British, foreigners, coolies, sircars, bearers, and mihters, are *not*. Now it would have been an attempt at compensation if the former had been left free of the licensing plan, while the latter had been subjected to it. Instead of that, however, it is thrust upon *all*. Good, patriotic Sir Francis, in his horror at seeing the beam dip so low on the side of our rivals, flings an equal weight into the scale of each party, and expects to restore the balance!

But why not pursue the simple and obvious path, and declare all persons, of whatever nation, liable to banishment? Am I to be told that such a "regulation" would be repugnant to the laws of England? I answer, that if the measure is to be judged by the criterion of repugnancy or non-repugnancy, and not by "the tyrant's plea," necessity, I will proceed, and calmly, if possible, examine whether the restrictions in question can be reconciled with the laws of England; or whether they are not the most flagrant and atrocious violations of English law that have ever been ventured upon. Good God! that in the year 1824 an Englishman, writing to the editor of an English magazine, should be called on to prove that a "regulation" to restrain a man from publishing what he pleases at his own peril is repugnant to the law of England! Bitterly indeed do I feel the disgrace of such a task; nor is the degradation at all lessened by reflecting on the utter imbecility of my antagonist, because, although his logic descends to that point in the scale of intellect at which Nature compensates for its worthlessness by making it ludicrous, yet the power with which he is invested by his office has enabled him to become too mischievous to be utterly contemptible.

In this wicked act, Sir Francis and his coadjutors have not even the merit of originality. They are poor and slavish copyists of Scroggs and his brethren. "When the Licensing Act," (says Lord Camden) "expired at the close of King Charles the Second's reign, the twelve judges were assembled, at the king's command, to discover whether the press might not be as effectually restrained by the common law as it had been

* This is the gentle phrase used in India for what we should call in England "Arbitrary Transportation without Trial."

by that statute."* That is to say, the government were afraid of attempting to re-establish the censorship, and wished to ascertain how far the power which it still possessed would suffice to curb the press. The judges were of opinion that "there was nothing," to use the words of Sir Francis, "repugnant to the laws of the realm in a regulation to meet the case;" and they consequently resolved (*inter alia*) "that it was criminal at common law not only to write public seditious papers and false news, but likewise to publish any news without a licence from the king, though it was true and innocent."†

So far the parallel between Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and his brethren on the one side, and Mr. Adam and Sir Francis Macnaghten on the other, is pretty close; with this advantage, however, on the part of the latter gentlemen; the machine was encumbered by its inventors with a jury,—a movement which requires great nicety of construction to make it "work well." It is due to the Indian artists to acknowledge that to them belongs the merit of simplifying the apparatus, by altogether getting rid of this vexatious appendage. I have, therefore, I must confess, been somewhat too hasty in calling them servile copyists: they have only borrowed the principle—the execution is their own.

But, unfortunately, the world is very ungrateful to discoverers; and Scroggs got very roughly handled by the House of Commons, even during the reign of Charles, for acting on the resolutions of the judges; and in the time of Lord Camden such law was only considered a "curiosity."‡ May our Indian projectors not have to complain of their merits going unrewarded!

The twelve judges unfortunately omitted to give the people the benefit of the grounds on which they founded their memorable resolutions against the press. This defect has been supplied by Sir Francis Macnaghten; and his main argument—the sheet-anchor of his case—is worthy of them and himself.

Licensing the press, I am of opinion, is not at all repugnant to British law; but, on the contrary, quite consonant to it. Is the press absolutely free in England? No: what is the law respecting it? By the 39th Geo. 3. a man is obliged to have a certificate before he can set up as a printer. I know there are laws in England, which put a restraint on the press similar to licensing; and, indeed, it pervades every department of life. Are not almost all trades and professions in the United Kingdom licensed? Can a man vend drugs, or drive a hackney coach, without a licence? Are not the members of the liberal professions all under similar restrictions? Can a clergyman preach, an attorney act, or a barrister plead, without an authority amounting to a licence? Are not hackney-coachmen, livery-stable-keepers, &c. licensed? and if these trades cannot be carried on without licensing, it proves that licensing is not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain. And by the Act I have already mentioned, the 39th of Geo. 3. it is directed that no man should set up a printing press without first registering it, and obtaining a certificate. If he did, a magistrate was authorized, in the day-time to break open, enter the house, and carry away the presses and types, with all their appendages. And another law absolutely deprives nineteen-twentieths of the people in England of the liberty of the press altogether; for the 60th of Geo. 3. compels persons who publish newspapers of a certain size and value, to enter into recognizances and give securities for the purpose of recovering damages, in case of conviction for libel, which nineteen-twentieths of the people of the United Kingdom could not comply with. And, by the bye, in every case in

* Entick v. Carrington; 19 Howell's State Trials, 1070.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

which fines are levied, for whatever cause, they are recoverable before a magistrate or justice of the peace. There is then a law which compels a man to enter into security to answer for the offences of his press. I do not say this amounts *exactly* to a licence; but where is the repugnance of a licence to it? By it a man may have presses and his types seized, for not registering his paper: it amounts to the *same thing* as a licence. After this, will any man tell me that licensing is repugnant to the law of the realm?

After all, we have a feeling of kindness for Sir Francis: he has one great virtue in an enemy; he speaks out. He says plainly and boldly, that the press of England is not in fact *quite* free, and that it is consonant with English law to put it in chains. Such is the official opinion of a judge, at this time the Chief Judge of the "Supreme Court" of Indian justice, established especially for the protection of our own countrymen!—Now for the argument. The law of England has restrained the liberty of printing to this extent: By the 39th of Geo. III. a printer must tender to the clerk of the peace for the county in which he resides a note, stating the number of his presses, and the place in which they are kept; upon which the clerk of the peace, on the payment of *one shilling*, is bound to furnish the printer with a certificate that his presses are duly registered. By the 60th of Geo. III. the publishers of newspapers are compelled to enter into certain recognizances, and find sureties in limited amounts to answer their fines in cases of libel. By the "regulation" in question, *every* periodical work, containing either news or political strictures, is subjected to a licence, to be arbitrarily granted, and liable to be arbitrarily withdrawn! But this is not all. Mr. Fergusson, in his speech against the registration of this decree, asked, "What is there to prevent the same power which is to pass this regulation, from following it up by another, putting the same restraint upon the press in every department, and preventing any man from printing, publishing, or even vending, any book of any description without the licence of Government?" The Government took the hint;—like the hostler, who being asked by his priest why he had said nothing in confession of greasing the teeth of the horses to prevent them eating their corn, replied, "he had never before heard of that blessed crime," and forthwith profited by the suggestion; so the Indian Government immediately followed up the foregoing restrictions with a bye-law, by which they assumed the power of granting, or revoking, at "discretion," the privilege of using a printing press, or of "circulating" any newspaper, book, or printed paper of *any* kind! And as this bye-law was passed by virtue of the regulation registered by the Supreme Court, the "reasoning" of Sir Francis must be held to be applicable to both. The case then stands thus: In England every man who can afford to buy a printing-press, and pay a shilling, or who chooses to employ such a capitalist, may publish (on his own responsibility of course) any species of composition he pleases, except a newspaper. In India, even by the regulation as it stood at first, no man could print any periodical work, containing political strictures, but at the will of the Government; and now he can neither print nor circulate any work of any kind, but by the same authority!

"After this, will any man tell me that licensing (that is, the kind of licensing in question) is contrary to the laws of the realm?" No, indeed, Sir Francis! very few people will be so rash, you may depend upon it. *Here*, we never think of contradicting a man, who affirms

four and five to be equal numbers. We immediately remove knives and razors out of his way, and inquire for an establishment where the treatment is kind and soothing.

I have said, the reasoning of Sir Francis must be held applicable to both—to the regulation and the bye-law; indeed it is of such a nature as to fit almost any case that can be supposed. A logician who has proved that a state of things in which *any* man, by fulfilling certain easy and definite conditions, has an unalienable *right* to perform certain acts, is “consonant” with another state, in which *no* man can by any possibility gain such an unalienable right,—cannot be affected by any little change in the terms of a proposition. If the regulation or the bye-law had rendered it necessary to obtain a licence to eat, drink, talk, or enjoy the free use of his limbs, the analogy between them and our law would have been just as close as it is now. Such decrees would not be “repugnant to the laws of the realm;” for Sir Francis tells us that in England “licensing pervades *every* department in life.”

Indeed, on close examination, it seems as if in England we were in some respects more hardly dealt with, than the tender mercies of the Indian Government can bring themselves to think requisite for Bengal; for the lynx-eyed Sir Francis has discovered a law, which “absolutely deprives nineteen-twentieths of the people in England of the liberty of the press altogether.” Now this act is no favourite of mine, God knows! though I believe the worst that can be said against it, is, that it has been prayed in aid of such an act of tyranny as these restrictions. The 60th of Geo. III. cap. 91, the act in question, is one of the celebrated “Six Acts,” which were passed to quiet the alarm into which the old ladies of this country were thrown by the Manchester meeting, and the election of Sir Charles Wolsley to be legislative attorney for Birmingham. The 39th Geo. III. was passed at another period of popular ferment. They both arose out of a temporary state of feeling; and if they had not been perfectly nugatory, would long before the time at which I am writing have been blotted out of the statute book. These are the “shameful parts” of the law of England; and that perhaps may account for the delight with which they are gloated upon by Sir Francis Macnaghten.

But, if it were true, that by the operation of these acts nineteen-twentieths of the people of England were deprived of the liberty of the press; what execration ought to fall on the heads of the wretches who framed them, and the Legislature by which they were passed! Can any man, who is able to perform the common operations of life for himself, be so weak as not to see what a grave accusation he is preferring against the government of his country by such assertions as these? Truly, Sir Francis, you have hit on an admirable expedient for preserving social order. You say these restrictions are absolutely necessary to preserve the Indian Government from insult; and in the very act of giving them force, you offer one of the grossest insults to the fountain from which that government springs, that it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive: you are fortunate in being protected by your privilege, or you might have to answer for “uttering words with intent to bring into contempt and hatred the constitution of these realms as by law established.”

I little thought it would ever fall to my lot to defend one of the Six
Orient, Herald, Vol. 1.

Acts; but certainly you might as well accuse this law of preventing the sun from shining, as of destroying the liberty of the press. It is justly remarked in the excellent comments on your speech by the editor of the Calcutta Journal, that "It may as well be said, that nineteen-twentieths of the people of England cannot drink champagne, and therefore Government may select, among its richest functionaries, and others, whom it may think fit to indulge with licences to drink that precious vintage."*

For inserting this article you thought you had the power of committing the printer to prison: perhaps you had; but most assuredly you had not the power of *answering* him. This, however, is a defect in your patent of office, to which much greater men than yourself have been obliged to submit. Belial, whom I take to be the more especial guardian and friend of our profession (for I too am a lawyer), does not dispense to all his adorers his peculiar gift, to

Make the worse appear
The better reason.

And, although you may be among the most *zealous*, I should hardly suppose, from what I have seen, that you are among the most *favoured* of his followers. There is an old proverb, which says that "curses are like chickens, they always come home to roost." If the same could be predicated of "restrictions," you might be a sufferer. Suppose, for instance, no person were allowed to talk nonsense (at least not in the genuineness of your speech) without a licence; and suppose you were out of favour at court; how should you bear the restraint of perpetual silence? In vain would you protest in dumb show against such an infraction of natural freedom. You would be answered thus—"You, Sir, thought the liberty of the press was gone when it could be claimed by only a twentieth part of the people; now what becomes of your claim to talk unadulterated nonsense, when not one man in ten thousand either would or could use the privilege?"

Mr. Editor, I find I must compress; I have still a long array of topics which this extraordinary oration has suggested to my mind, but I will be merciful.—Still I must be allowed to notice one or two passages of surpassing merit. The first is that in which his lordship offers as one argument for the regulation, the dilatoriness of his own court!

If no summary means (says he) were to be had for putting an end to inflammatory papers against the Government; if they have no remedy against those not subject to this power, but a prosecution in this Court; a man may publish an attack upon them this very day, and no indictment could be presented till the next session, which will not be holden for three months to come. It could then be traversed to the following one, and four more would elapse, making altogether seven months before the offender could be brought to punishment: during the whole of which time he was at large, and at liberty to insult and abuse the Government with impunity.

To a plain man, the question naturally suggests itself, on reading the foregoing paragraph, "Why, since the Indian Government is armed with such extensive powers of legislation, do they not use them to expedite the proceedings of the courts of law?" A lawyer would ask why,

since his Lordship seems to be so enamoured of the Six Acts, he forgot that one of them is expressly for the purpose of expediting trials for misdemeanours? He would also inquire if it has been found, in practice, that libellers have not been silenced by convictions? How would he be surprised to learn that during the whole time that elapsed between the removal of the censorship and the establishment of the restrictions, there were only two prosecutions for libel, and not a single conviction!

It is now five years (says Mr. Fergusson) since the censorship, which never had the semblance of lawful authority to support it, has been withdrawn from the press. During that period, there has been one prosecution by indictment, and another by information; neither of them for publications levelled against the Government. The first, indeed, was alleged to be a libel against some of its public officers. The publisher, my then and present client, Mr. Buckingham, was acquitted by a jury on that indictment; and I confess I never could but wonder how it should have been considered possible that a conviction could follow. The other prosecution by information, which has not been tried, was against the same person, and it grew out of the former prosecution. The publication in the last instance, had relation to, and was, I believe, at the instance of the same prosecutors; but there was nothing in the matter of any of those publications which could be considered as directed against the Government itself.

This distinct assertion is never contradicted, or alluded to by his lordship! It must, therefore, have been notoriously true. And yet, so instant and alarming did Sir Francis think the abuses of the press, that he says,

It was the bounden duty of the Government, by one method or another, to have prevented it; and rather than have submitted to such insufferable insolence, they ought, instead of waiting for the slow operation of the law, to have exercised the power vested in them, as *power alone*, without reference to any other consideration.

How sore the learned judge is at the "law's delay." I dare say the suitors in his court will join with him, heart and voice, in this chorus. And that splendid *orientalism*, about "*power as power*"! How little our northern imaginations are capable of such a flight! I doubt whether it may not be above even the soarings of the Holy Alliance. One other extract and I have done:

If any person (says his lordship) connected with an existing Paper, be apprehensive of not obtaining a licence, I will guarantee it. The regulation is certainly loosely worded; and I would wish any lawyer to take it in hand, and say, whether the fine of four hundred rupees, if once levied, can ever be repeated to the end of time. With respect to licensing the Papers at present in existence, I shall delay giving this regulation the force of law, until a licence shall be granted to them all. With this avowal, I shall order it to be registered.

Sir Francis, you perceive, understands enough of rhetoric to know the value of a climax: and more than that, he has attained it; which, considering the profusion of beauties scattered up and down the speech, was by no means an easy task. Let any person of a suspicious turn should imagine the Government might injure him by means of the regulation, his lordship guarantees him a licence. That is to say, guarantees him the power of proceeding till the Government choose to bid him stop! But why all this anxiety to guard the rights of existing Papers? It was their misconduct which had rendered the regulation necessary! Papers not yet in existence could not have offended, and yet these innocents are

left undefended, while the sinners are so effectually protected! This is visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children with a vengeance!

But what are we to think of that passage about the wording of the regulation? especially when his Lordship has told us at the outset that the decree was sent to him to be purged of technical errors. Is not this "trifling with the Government" Sir Francis? What! may any man, who chooses to pay 400 rupees, or 40*l.* sterling, again put the state into that horrible danger, from which nothing but the regulation could save it? Gracious heaven! on what a thread does our Indian empire depend! What are the Directors about? Do they know that their trusty servant, Sir Francis Macnaghten, shaking with horror at the perils into which the press had thrown their vast possessions, had, in the confusion of mind so natural in such a calamity, actually betrayed the secret, that a printer and 400 rupees, might set the united wisdom of the Council and the Supreme Court at defiance!

Really, Mr. Editor, one cannot write of such things without agitation. With a trembling hand, therefore, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

A BARRISTER.

Temple, March 5, 1824.

[Being of the same opinion with the Historian of India, from whom the BARRISTER has taken the motto of his letter, we have felt it our duty to give insertion to his strictures on the public conduct of the Indian Judge, to whose judicial decisions the British and Native inhabitants of India owe the fetters that at present bind the press of that country. We entertain the highest esteem for the private character of Sir Francis Macnaghten; but his public character, like that of all other public men, must be open to the scrutiny of the world, and meet the praise or censure to which such scrutiny may prove it to deserve.—*Ed.*]

THE POETICAL CHARACTER.

POETS are not very well understood by the rest of mankind. They are represented as a weak and fickle race, feeding upon injudicious and unfounded hopes, and withering away before disappointment like a flower. But were the tale of their trials unfolded, as it has been in a few instances, so far would be the poetical character from appearing tainted with weakness, that the imagination, its peculiar attribute, would alone appear capable of pillowing the head in affliction and sorrow. Various events may concur to cause poetry to be dismissed with slight reputation or neglect; but nothing short of the grave can take away from the poet the inexpressible delight attendant upon the exercise of his art. The moment he retires to the calm solitude of his study, or wanders away into the early fields, or along some unfrequented shore, a curtain seems to descend between him and the actual world, which drops below the level of his memory, and another universe, more splendid and beautiful, arises at the evocation of fancy. In this the poet revels, as in his own domain; he builds, he disposes, he makes happy, as oft and as intensely as he pleases. Creative power is his attribute, and he seems to enjoy a participation of the ineffable happiness of

the divinity, while this power is passing forth among the elements of thought. His mind shuts out for the time all actual perceptions of the things that be, and erects its own ideas into beings cast in the mould of the utmost conceivable perfection. His remembrances of nature seem to undergo purification in some celestial fire, and to rise out of the flames clothed with new brilliancy and beauty. This is the state of mind, as near as it can be communicated in words, which accompanies the act of invention. The imagination rushes over nature, shedding the light of her countenance on every thing as she passes, and breathing the breath of life into dead and inanimate things. But this, her influence, is neither constant, nor altogether voluntary; and though exceeding all other earthly delight while it lasts, in passing away it leaves the mind flagging and spiritless. In this state, the poet may be wayward and "irritabilis," according to the characteristic of Horace, and should fly the importunities of society.

Of all men, critics, as we understand the word, are least able to penetrate behind the folds of the poet's mind. They may make some estimate of his poems, and compare them with other poems, but they can never know nor trace the footsteps of his fancy, now cradled in the clouds, and now shooting through the storm. This *vivida vis animi*, they declare to be incompatible with tranquil wisdom, knowledge of principles, and fortitude and tranquillity in the affairs of life. Politics and philosophy they consider something repugnant to the poet's sensibility, incommunicably the possession of dry calculating minds, and built upon a basis too narrow to permit imagination also to make it her resting place: but this is inconsistent with history, with experience, with common sense. Poets have not only known how to reconcile a knowledge of the principles of legislation with their more divine art, but they have been the birds who have carried about, and dropped the seeds of that and all other sciences upon the face of the earth. It may be regarded as intolerable pedantry to mention the estimation in which Homer was held throughout all Greece, for his political wisdom; but Euripides also made verse the vehicle of high philosophical and political truths. Of the French I will say nothing; but were Shakespeare and Milton, not to enumerate more recent poets, ignorant of the elements and nicest equilibrium of society? Was the latter, in very trying times, carried about by every wind of doctrine? Have there been many statesmen better versed in the *arcana imperii*? Has there ever been a man of more unshaken integrity? Milton, indeed, seems to have united the imagination of Homer and the beauty of Alcibiades, to the virtue and steadiness of Cato. He is the best illustration our country affords of the majesty of the poetical character; and an everlasting refutation of the doctrine that poets are mere gossamers, floating about between earth and sky.

As to the knowledge of life and manners, there is no dispute; the poet is allowed to be the keenest observer and best expounder of these things. But it is the riddle of the sphinx, how he can thus unite an intimacy with the rude traffic of life, to the nice expression of the juice of the innermost kernel of nature. For what analogy does there exist between reducing experience into aphorism and adage, fitted for the mouth of the philosopher or the peasant, and weaving the fine texture of the imagination?—That of continuity and comparison. The same mind that can follow the slender chain of successive events, until it obtain some general and constant result, is also best fitted for catching the almost imperceptible resemblances of ideas, from the union, and, if I may so speak, fermentation of which arise the creations of poetry. In all great poets, the scattered rays of wisdom and experience are condensed, as by a burning-glass, into brilliant points of light, which are visible to every eye. These fasten upon the mind, pass into the calendar of the reader's thoughts, and become confounded with his original conclusions. They are indeed the ideas of every man, disencumbered of the rubbish which conceals them in ordinary minds, melted down into unity, and stamped with the superscription of superior intellect.

These aphorisms and watchwords, as it were, of genius, sparkle like the stars of the firmament, over the face of poetry. They throw a dazzling lustre over it, which conceals the immense depth from which they send their fires. The poet piles up in his granary nothing of the stalk or stubble of reasoning, but the golden ear or well sifted grain. This is the reason, perhaps, why it is sometimes believed that he has no depth or coherence with the foundation of anything, but is like an anchorless galley, the sport of accident and the tide and fluctuation of things. But to gather the uppermost fruit you must ascend the whole height of the tree. A man will hardly be capable, therefore, of making lofty and unusual truths the familiar and staple commodity in his commerce with his reader, unless he have ascended higher than ordinary the ladder of knowledge. The territory of invention is like the ocean; it surrounds the domain of knowledge on all sides, and has its creeks and streams that pierce it in a thousand places. The great poet resorts to this ocean—the lesser one fills his urn at the rivers; but both must travel painfully and far, before they find the uncontaminated wave.

The difficulty of poetical composition is not in the art of writing, for in that case nothing but crabbedness, or, at best, cold good sense would be the result; but in the nourishing a creative and harmonious predisposition of mind—in the constant bending and shaping our thoughts and musings to the production of new ideas—in preserving the early and earnest simplicity of the soul from the infection of trite maxims, and the torpor of a too rigid

prudence. The wisdom of the true poet is naked. It has never tasted the forbidden tree of worldly cunning; it grows up mature, and falls into the lap of nature, with all its happy ignorance about it. True wisdom is ignorant of many things; but it knows how to exist in solitude. It knows the charms of woods and rivers—but can find its account likewise in cities, in man's busy and full resorts. But the poetical character is especially like a stream; it is tinged and too often tainted by the soil of its channel. It should flow through a crystal bed; for nothing is of so much consequence to it as simplicity. Much business mars it: converse with the world gives it a bias. The best preservative of its purity is a long youth—a putting off, as it were, of manhood, and its ways; a keeping of the passions in a state of fusion, in their moulds or matrices, and not suffering them to be too quickly cooled, or cracked by sudden exposure to the air of the world. This management is in every true poet's power. The Greeks especially, and the Romans, practised it. They prolonged their youth to 35 or 40, in words, at least, generally; and words are much:—for no one was ashamed to be a youth at that age among them. We are poetically dead long before that time. But nothing is so mischievous as being wise and old too soon; for when we perceive that at a certain age men expect us to be versed in every thing, we become artificial and quackish, and diffuse our energies over so many things, that they become absorbed and lost in them, and leave us like a withered tree whose roots have been bared to the sun. This is a melancholy and general truth, and the primary defect of modern education; or of that education which men give themselves in the latter period of youth. The poet, however, should hedge in and husband his forces, for they cannot be wide and deep, and will not suffice to bear up the weight of great designs unless their channel be narrow. The mind, nevertheless, is equal to all knowledge that is congruous, and useful to be found together, and the poet stands no more in need of geometrical than he does of anatomical knowledge. Many other things, likewise, should be neglected; for the crowding of too many kinds of knowledge together is like planting forest trees too closely, they hinder each other's growth, and either the weakest die, or they all remain dwarfs and pigmies to the end of their duration.

The poet's knowledge differs very little from that of the ancient philosophers. Ethics, general physics, and those subtle and delicate notices of man and nature which are his own peculiar science, make up the sum of his important acquisitions. The manners and customs of his country force the rest upon him; but they act as hindrances. He should leave the shreds and parings of wisdom to stuff inferior heads, and be satisfied with possessing the body of it. Poets are the "optimates" of the republic of letters, and should affect choice in the ideas with which they associate their minds.

Yet the difference between poetry and prose does not arise so much from dissimilarity of ideas, as from the superior richness and expansion they reach in the soil of the former. As trees which remain stunted and dwarfish upon a stony soil, shoot up with vigour and attain loftiness and amplitude in a deep and genial mould. The plants are the same: from their different situations they derive the variety of their characters. The poetical mind, when it is nourished as it ought to be, makes every thing it receives into it seem indigenous, and more pure than it would have appeared elsewhere; as the venerableness of a temple makes the very weeds that climb over its ruins appear sacred. But how does the poet invent?—By artfully adding foreign links to the chain of his perceptions, and by that means letting himself further down into the depths of truth. Whoever can combine ideas, may invent if he pleases. It is by constantly using the same ladder that men continue to reach the same results. There are certain ideas that always seem to go together, and as they have been beaten out to their utmost tenuity, in order to reach as far as possible: whoever is tied down by these, like the ox in the meadow, is circumscribed by the length of his rope. To allow himself more scope, he must melt down two of these series into one, and even when the repugnant particles which refuse to unite, are separated, he will find himself in a range vastly wider than before. It is by this means that a poet may become original in the midst of an apparent exhaustion of images and thoughts. For it would indeed be singular if the arithmetician should be able to produce infinite combinations with his nine figures and a cipher, and the poet fail in marshalling the inexhaustible riches of nature and his own mind. It is for want of industry that we are poor; and our inertia is the effect of our poetical heresy. Critics repeat, and men believe, that genius is every thing. But what is genius? Is it an idle, dreaming thing that throws its unbaited hook into the river while it goes to sleep upon the bank? The story of Euripides, of Demosthenes, seems to contradict this. The former would never have outwatched the night in his cave of Salamis, or the latter in his dungeon on the shores of Attica, if Grecian genius could have been nourished or ripened without labour. In Milton's little Tractate on Education, the reader may see the march of that great genius's mind—may note down its daily articles of food—the corks and bladders which supported it till it could swim alone. He may see the extent of the seas out of which he fetched those pearls, which now seem so much his own that they might have grown in the fishpond of his garden. And, to use his own nervous words—"This would make him soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and playwrights be, and show him, what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things."

BION.

**PRESENT STATE OF THE TURCOMAN TRIBES IN THE IMMEDIATE
VICINITY OF THE CASPIAN SEA.**

AN interesting work in the Russian language has been published at Moscow, containing an account of a Journey to Turcomania and Chiwa, in 1820, by Captain N. Murawjew : and, as the original volumes are not accessible to many even in England, and to none perhaps in India, we have thought it would be acceptable to our readers in both countries to possess the following abstract of one of the most interesting portions of the work in question.

The author was sent, together with Major Ponomarew, by the Governor of Grusia, for the purpose of disposing the Turcomans to enter into relations of friendship with Russia. The ultimate object of the expedition, we are told, however, was to accomplish the plan of Peter the Great, which tended to establish a permanent trade between Russia and India, by way of the immense steppes known to us under the name of Tartary. This gigantic plan was frustrated during the time by the slaughter of Prince Bekowitch, with his party, by the people of Chiwa, (to whom he had been sent on a mission,) against the faith of treaties and the most solemn oaths. Since that period, no attempt to renew the connexion with this faithless nation was made till the year 1813, when the Governor General of Grusia despatched some emissaries to treat with the Turcomans. This measure was indispensable before any attempt could be made with the Government of Chiwa. The Turcomans, a nomadic people, without industry or morality, inhabit the steppes bordering on part of the southern shores of the Caspian, and have been for ages the implacable enemies of Persia.

The proposals of the Governor General were well received by one Sultan Khan, who was then the chief of the Turcoman tribes, and who hoped, by the powerful support of Russia, to erect for himself a settled throne among his lawless countrymen. He therefore immediately despatched an embassy from among the most influential of his people to Grusia. Unfortunately for him, they found the Governor General in the camp of Gulistan, where he was just concluding a peace with the Persian ambassador. The latter, dreading the mischief that might result to his country if the Turcomans should form an alliance with the Russians, insisted that their Ambassadors should be dismissed. The Turcomans, and being thus left to themselves, were obliged to submit to the Persians, and give hostages. Some of them, however, unwilling to bear an enemy's yoke, retired towards the gulf of Balkan, out of the reach of the Persians ; whilst others, and with them Sultan Khan, went to Chiwa, where they were kindly received by Mahmed Rahim Khan, the present ruler of the country, and the most inveterate enemy of the reigning family of Persia. The following is a sketch of the author's diary :

On the 18th of June he set out from Teflis, and arrived on the 20th at Yelissawetpol (called by the natives Gansha), a very pretty town, full of gardens, the hedges of which line the streets and market-places. Here he stayed till the first of July. In describing the ruins of an ancient castle, he mentions a tree, standing in the midst of them, measuring 26 feet in circumference. The travellers crossed the Kur near Mingitsbaur,

by a ferry. The country, which hitherto formed only a naked steppe, with some salt-springs, now assumed a more favourable appearance. The banks of the Kur were beautiful, being covered with forests and gardens, and inhabited by Armenians. On the opposite side of the Kur the travellers saw, to the left, a range of naked hills, and to the right a fertile, well-peopled and cultivated plain, in which they found the ruins of the ancient city of Arewsh.

On the 3d of July they arrived at New-Shamachan, the capital of Mustapha, Khan of Shirwan, which, however, he had again abandoned, the greater part of his subjects having removed to Fitaga. After having traversed a plain seven wersts long, they arrived, on the 4th, at the foot of some steep hills, which separate New-Shamachan from Old-Shamachan. This fertile and well-cultivated district, which is inhabited by Armenians, furnishes the well-known Shamachan silk. Old-Shamachan, or Kognashar (Old Town), offers an imposing sight: near it are found some stupendous ruins of baths, mosques, &c. Above those ruins rises on a hill the palace of the Khan.

On the 6th of July they reached Baku, a fortress with a double wall, lined with towers. The neighbouring country is mountainous and naked, the fortress is deficient in wood and water, and its position altogether disadvantageous. The streets of this town are narrow, the houses high, and tolerably clean; there is a regular bazaar, together with a number of good caravanserais. Baku carries on a considerable trade with Astrakhan; but the ships which are built in its harbour only go as far as the coast of Giuljan. Close to the shore is a building called the Virgin's Tower. According to an ancient tradition, one of the earlier Khans of Baku having fallen in love with his own daughter, wished to marry her. After a long resistance to the importunities of her unnatural father, the princess offered to comply with his wishes, on condition that he would previously build a high tower near the sea-shore, in which she might bury her shame. This edifice having been raised, she led her father to the top of it, whence she precipitated him into the surf below, and threw herself after him.

The mission here embarked on board the corvette Kasan, of eighteen guns, attended by the provision-ship St. Polycarpus. On the 18th they sailed by the ruins of a caravanserai, which had sunk into the sea, probably in consequence of an earthquake; the sea being three fathoms deep on this spot. It has been observed, that the sea here changes its shores in the course of every thirty years. The whole district is covered with naphtha-springs and ruins.

On the 18th they again weighed anchor, and steered towards the island of Ssara. This island, which bears the shape of a crescent, is nearly eight wersts long, and is almost entirely covered with reeds. It is fifteen wersts distant from the fortress of Lenkoran. The progress of the vessels having been prevented by calms, it was not till the 28th that the party reached the Turcoman shore.

On the 29th the author was rowed ashore in the long-boat, and saw the White Hill at a distance of about ten wersts. The party then proceeded towards the south, in search of a kultuk or bay, where the Turcomans keep their kirahims (a species of flat boat); the long-boat following them along the shore. After a useless march of fifteen wersts, Capt. M. next morning, on seeing what he supposed to be a range of hills, where he hoped to

meet with Turcomans, proceeded towards it; but, after a march of four wersts, he discovered that what had appeared as hills, was nothing but an optical illusion, produced by the exhalations issuing from a dried salt-lake. All the wells dug by the party during three days yielded a brackish water. On the 31st they returned to the corvette.

On the 1st of August they discovered from the corvette ten kirshims sailing towards the north; and it was with difficulty that one of them was overtaken by a boat sent in pursuit of them. The Turcomans in it, amounting to five men and three women, landed hastily, and took to their heels. The Russians followed them, and Capt. M.'s interpreter at length succeeded in overtaking one of the fugitives, and dissipating his fears; upon which the others also came forward, praying for their lives. They were speedily assured that they had nothing to fear, and the owner of the kirshim, Devlet Ali, an old man of sixty, was taken on board the corvette. He told the Russians that the mountain they saw before them was actually the White Hill, and that the Silver Hill, of the situation of which they had been perfectly ignorant, was farther south. He further informed them, that the camp of his horde was situated between those two mountains, and that Kiat Aga, who had been in the last embassy to Russia, was among them; that the river Gurgén disembogued into the sea near the Silver Hill, at a distance of one day's journey from Astrabad; before reaching which another small river, named Kodshe-Nefes (Holy Breath) was to be crossed. He also said that there were many ruins of large cities about Turcomania; and that the Turcomans had at that time no general chief, but that each tribe obeyed its own elder. He only knew five of these tribes; he, however, said that there were a great many more about the country.

On the 3d of August they arrived opposite the Silver Hill, when they fell in with the store-ship; the captain of which brought the elder of the adjoining camp, Nasar Mergen, on board the corvette. This man had a very prepossessing exterior, and told them that he had nearly two hundred kibitkes (felt tents, synonymous with families) in his aid or village, who were all settled, and applied themselves to agriculture.

On the 4th Captain M. examined the Gurgén Tshai (Tshai, a river), the mouth of which is three miles south of the Silver Hill. The river is so shallow, that the party was obliged to go up in a kulass (a canoe, made of a hollow tree). The river is surrounded with marshes, and its low banks are covered with very high grass. The water, which in the summer season is nearly dried up, is of a brackish taste and smell. Ruins of towns and fortresses are seen scattered along its banks.

On the 6th of August, they were visited by Kiat Aga, a man of considerable influence among his nation. He advised the Russians to build a fort on Tshéle-keni, (or the Naphtha island, from Tshélek, a barrel, probably alluding to the barrels in which the naphtha is exported).

The kibitkes of the Turcomans resemble those of the Tartars in *Grusia*, the poles being wound round with reeds, and covered with felt. The women did not conceal themselves; their features are delicate and rather pleasing. Their dress consists of wide, coloured trowsers, a long red shirt, and a head-dress similar to the Russian *kokoshnieks*, only being twice or three times as high. This cap is ornamented with gold or silver, according to the wealth of the individual; and the hair, which is

visible above the forehead, is neatly combed back on both sides, and plaited behind.

The power of the Turcoman Khans is not hereditary; they are appointed by the Persians, and the people obey them if their conduct or wisdom entitles them to respect. The Turcomans have no native slaves, the land being cultivated by such as they can purchase or kidnap. The power of the Arch-Sachkales (white-beards) or elders, who are chosen by the people, is greater than that of the Khans, and is hereditary in the family of the individual, if they conduct themselves in such a manner as to deserve the confidence of the horde. The Turcomans in general do not possess that openness and rectitude of morals which distinguish the Caucasian nations; they have no conception of hospitality, are exceedingly covetous, and ready, for a trifle, to commit the greatest atrocities. If a prudent and brave man shows himself among them (such as Sultan Khan), they will obey him, without questioning his authority; which would render it easy for a Russian to place himself at the head of this lawless race. One may be in the midst of them, even unarmed, and insult or beat them with impunity. They have no idea of propriety or of shame; whoever wishes to get anything of another, styles himself an elder, when the other will, perhaps, claim this title for himself, calling him a pretender.

The Turcomans speak the Turkish language, as it is spoken at Kasan. The Mullahs only can read and write. They are of the sect of Omar, are very strict in the performance of all the tenets of their religion, without having a clear idea respecting its dogmas. They are tall and robust; their beards are short, their faces of the Calmuc cast, and their dress is like the Persian. Such is the description of the Turcomans near the Silver Hill, where they have adopted some of the customs of the Persians; for which reason those that live further north probably differ from them in many particulars.

On the 26th of August, the corvette anchored opposite Hassan Kuli, where Captain M. and Major P. were hospitably received by Kiat Aga. Hassan Kuli (we are told), contains one hundred and fifty kibitkes. The inhabitants build many kirshims, for which they fetch the wood from the Silver Hill. The district was formerly an island, but is now a peninsula, which on the north side is connected with the adjoining continent, and on the east is separated from it by a gulf. The river Atrek, on the banks of which a horde of nomadic Turcomans is encamped, falls into the sea, on the other side of the gulf. The inhabitants of Hassan Kuli lead rather an idle life, a proof that the trade of naphtha and salt carried on by them with Persia, is a profitable one. But properly speaking, this trade belongs to the inhabitants of Balkan, who obtain these two articles from the Naphtha island, and sell it to those of Hassan Kuli. The latter also manufacture good carpets, and other objects of luxury, among which are silver medals for ornaments in the women's dress. Their instrumental music consists of a two-stringed balalaika, similar to that of the Russians, and which is tuned by 4ths. The corn which they grow is not sufficient for their consumption, which compels them to purchase the remainder from the Persians. The peninsula only produces arbutuses. Fishing is now not so productive as it used to be. In the winter season swans are caught here, the down of which forms an article

of trade. Snipes are found throughout the whole year. The wild animals found in the steppes and on the reedy banks of the Atrek, are wolves, foxes, dsheirans (a species of goat), hogs, jackals, &c. The winds prevailing here are those blowing from the sea, which render the communication with the shores difficult. Several elders of the Turcomans having met in Hassan Kuli, they all consented to nominate Kiat Aga their ambassador to Russia.

On the 31st the corvette steered for the Naphtha-island. Kiat Aga, who remained on board, informed the Russians, that the Turcomans, living to the south of the gulf of Balkan, towards the sea-shores as well as in the interior of the steppes, were divided into three tribes, Yomud, Teke, and Keklen. The latter, he said, were the fiercest, and often attacked the first. It was only during the reign of Sultan Khan that the two tribes lived at peace with each other. The tribe of Teke was defeated by the Khan of Chiwa in the war he carried on against the Persians in 1813.

The tribe of Yomud is subdivided into four branches, amounting together to 52,000 families. Every branch has an elder and a kasi. During the summer season this tribe resides near the rivers Atrek and Gurgun; and in winter, about the White Hill. They can send 30,000 horsemen into the field, but of these only 1,000 are well armed, and properly skilled for warfare.

On the 1st of October, the corvette cast anchor opposite the Green Hill. This hill is of a conical shape, and has, like the White Hill, a pond with boiling salt-water, which emits a powerful smell. A little to the north of this hill, close to the sea-shore, are the ruins of an old mosque, called *Mania Kus*, or the *Virgin's Bosom*. The distance from the Silver Hill to Hassan Kuli is 23 geographical miles; thence to the White Hill, 14 miles; and thence to the Green Hill, 18 miles.

On the 2d, they reached the Naphtha island, which Captain M. places in lat. $39^{\circ} 10' 20''$ N. On the south coast of this island is an aul of fifteen kibitkes, the inhabitants of which trade in naphtha and salt. The naphtha-springs are on the other side of the mountains. The island contains altogether about one hundred tents, inhabited by Turcomans of the tribe of Shereb. The water for drinking is tolerably good, although a little brackish, and is found in four wells about the centre of the island, which contains some pastures, where the natives keep goats and sheep. The winter is said to be very cold. There is a secure anchoring-ground near the aul, even for ships of a larger size. Want of time prevented a closer examination of this island.

Between the 3d and the 10th of September, the Russian emissaries landed on several points of the coast, where nothing remarkable occurred. They were every where well received by the Turcomans, who seemed desirous of an alliance with Russia, to protect them against the oppressions of the Persians; and Kiat Aga was unanimously appointed their ambassador.

Abdallah; an Oriental Poem in Three Cantos, with other Pieces. By Horace Gwynne. 8vo. pp. 172. London 1824. J. M. Richardson.

It does not come within the plan of our Review to direct so much of its attention to the modern literature of England, as to offer a critical examination of *all* its productions. Yet, when a work of decided genius appears—whether in prose or poetry—and that, either in its object or localities, having some connexion with the remote country, which it is the grand aim of our Journal to benefit, we shall then deem it our duty to give our readers in the eastern and western worlds, some notice of its merits. Such a work, we apprehend, is the volume before us. It has genius in its construction, and is Oriental in its scene and subject. There have been many of our modern poets who have chosen the luxuriant climate of the east for their imaginations to revel in, and body forth their shapes of light; but it is no less observable that they have generally failed, and the cause we believe to be this: that the partial conception and confined knowledge which they naturally possessed of a country, so opposed in the character of its inhabitants and the aspect of its scenery to their own, occasioned them, after the manner of all imperfect apprehenders, to seize upon its prominent features and obvious characteristics, without entering more deeply into its spirit, or catching its retired and less palpable beauties. The sudden transplantation of an European mind into Asiatic scenes can seldom be favourable to its well-being and progress; at least, none but those of the first order would be enabled to keep their imaginations from degenerating into inconsistency and bombast, amid the swarms of novelties which start up at every step. Thus it is that in nearly all the oriental poems, hitherto written, we have the same monotonous assemblage of insipid images, drawn from the peculiar phenomena and natural appearances of the country. Thus the bulbul's melting notes are for ever heard in the languid sing-song of these poets' verses; thus the nightingale is always making love, and singing amorous airs to the modest rose; thus the banks of coral are constantly sleeping in the moonlight (where their describers had better perhaps have been); and thus the endless comparison of objects to Indian trees, plants, and flowers, that being indigenous to the climate, are sure to have something wonderful in their properties. Authors find these things in books of travels, and eagerly seize upon them as adapted for powerful effect. Their poems are consequently like May-poles, where flowers of every kind and hue are brought together; which look well enough at a distance, but, on closer inspection, discover their own strange medley, and the want of taste in their contrivers. We would not be here understood to mean that a poet is wrong in drawing his imagery and colouring from the country he is describing, but it is the superfluity of which we complain. These circumstances have had the effect of bringing the name of an oriental poem into some disrepute, in as far as it now conveys nothing else to the reader's mind than the idea of a baseless superstructure of unnatural imagery and false taste.

Had we not been of opinion that the present poem was divested of this affectation and bad taste, and that it stood as distinct, alone, and "proudly eminent," by its entire freedom from such vices, as by the superior talent displayed, we should not have been induced to draw the

attention of the public to its claims. We have always considered that Asia was naturally the home of poetry, and the creator of poets. What makes Greece so poetical a country is, that at every step we stumble over recollections of departed grandeur, and behold the scenes where the human mind has glorified itself for ever, and played a part, the records of which can never die! But in Asia, to the same charm of viewing the places of former power—of comparing the present with the past—there is added a luxuriance of climate, and an unrivalled beauty of external nature, which, ever according with the poet's soul,

“Temper, and do befit him to obey
High inspiration.”

We therefore hail the appearance of a work that is likely to redeem the character of oriental poetry;—whether, agreeably to our anticipation, this will prove to be the case, remains to be seen in the judgment pronounced upon it by the public.

But we hasten to the poem itself: we discover from the preface that it is the first published poem of its author, and that by the reception it may meet with, he is determined to decide whether or not his future days shall be devoted to the “building of the lofty rhyme.” We understand that the name he has affixed to the volume is fictitious; but we believe also that he has not yet appeared before the public as an author, which may probably account for the assumption of a feigned signature. The chief design of the poem, he states, is to give as good a picture as possible of the manners of Arabia about the time of Mohammed. The main subject is a contest between that prophet and two of those numerous religions which, abounding in Asia at the time of his appearance, were finally overwhelmed, or partially destroyed by the fire-like devouring spirit of his own. The Sabæans, or Star Worshipers, and the Ghebers, or Adorers of the element of fire, are the two sects against whom the arms of the victorious Prophet are directed. We shall develop the story in the course of our extracts. It opens at the end of a battle, and the defeated, “drooping band” of troops, with their martial chief Abdallah at their head, are thus described:

Defeat had marked the morn; and now the day
Shed its slant beams along the western way,
When, some short way from Mecca, where you meet
A sweet spot, in the desert doubly sweet,
Graced by th' acacia and the lofty palm,
And the fair plant which yields the Meccan balm,
Shading the autelope,—along the sand
Drew near a weary, silent, drooping band.
And one there was amongst them, in whose eye
Sate hate and rage enthroned; upon the sky
He proudly looked, as every thing below
Unfit to entertain a thought did show.
Of regal race he seemed, for on his head
Nodded the heron-plume, which, garnished
With sparkling gems, became the noble brow
It overshadowed: gracefully did flow
His dark locks in the breeze; his countenance
Received the dazzling sunbeams that did dance
Up from the burning sand, and fierce and dark
Betrayed severe proportion; you might mark
His curling lip, his ebony eye of fire
Flashing at intervals a smothered ire.

His thoughts were dark : the crescent had been shorn
 Of the bright rays of glory it had borne
 On earth for many an age ; the Moslem sword
 Had pierced the sign by Tayef's sons adored ;
 Had struck and triumphed : but could heaven look down
 On that pure faith, peculiarly its own,
 And see it perish ? Could the Queen of Night
 See from her censers dashed the sacred light
 Unmoved and careless ? Could the glorious sun
 Breathe life from heaven this lower world upon
 After so foul a deed ? Already dim,
 Or far less bright, its beamings seem'd to him
 Since the dire sacrilege !—yet the impious man
 His harden'd race of proud dominion ran
 With matchless daring !—but that day had seen
 His last proud triumph on this earthly scene ;
 “ For ere to-morrow's dawn,” Abdallah said,
 “ His hated blood shall reek upon this blade,—
 “ So please the Gods !”

Thus writhing under the mortification of defeat, and spurred on by a reckless enthusiasm, he meditates Mohammed's assassination ; and after informing his followers of his intention, and disguising himself as a pilgrim, he sets out for Mecca, the residence of the Prophet, and in his way stops upon the field of battle he had so lately left. Whilst gazing upon the thrilling and awful scene around him, whose

Sleeping waste, in midnight's mystic garb
 Lay wide outstretched—

the following reflections arise in his mind, bodied forth in the grandest and most nervous language, and the latter part of which, we will venture to say, has never been surpassed by any poetry of the same deep and philosophic cast :

Those who have trod the field of war, and stained
 Their hands in blood, and steel'd their hearts to woe,
 And stanch'd compassion, yet may, haply, know
 That there are moments when the pallid corse
 Death has just triumphed o'er will wake remorse
 Even in an innocent breast, innocent at least
 Of that which wakes its feelings ; every breast,
 Calm though it seem, and free from guile and pain,
 Counting its virtuous deeds alone as gain,
 Has many recollections, which were best
 Buried in Lethe's waves. The soothing rest,
 Which lives in Virtue's peaceful path, can ne'er
 Tranquil the warrior's soul ; and, though nor fear
 Nor trepidation, when the stream of fight
 Rolls wild before his agitated sight,
 Could chill his courage ; yet the godlike form
 Of man subjected to the crawling worm
 For food, for habitation, will awake
 Desperate contention in the soul, and make
 The stoutest shudder, 'cause the picture brings
 Stern, cruel reminiscences of things
 We've thought on oft, but which we would forget,
 Home to the heart. To see destruction set
 Her seal upon the fairest imagery
 Of God this world affords, in sooth, to see
 God's masterpiece annulled, may well give birth
 To strange forebodings. 'Round the spacious earth
 Stretches her dumb immensity, nor gives
 Answer to man's wild question, why he lives !

To his interrogations nought returns
But mystic silence ; 'tis in vain he mourns
His dark mysterious fate ; Time urges on
His swift successive moments,—one by one
They come and go like waves upon the sea,
Rise, glitter, vanish! so eternally
The interminable flood, duration, rolls
Absorbing all.

Morning now rose upon him, and soon the sun “frolicked in golden clouds.” He resumes his journey and his purpose, in a short time enters the city, and immediately seeks the Prophet's palace. Upon arriving there he directs one of the guards to go and inform Mohammed that a stranger wishes to see him; but whilst waiting without, he is suspiciously observed by one of the Prophet's most devoted and powerful followers, and who was afterwards one of his successors, young Omar, who, upon the return of the guard requesting him to follow, stepped forward and desired that he himself might conduct the stranger. He is then introduced to Mohammed, and the scene which follows, whilst it advances the action and interest of the story, conveys a most beautiful idea, as well as, we believe, a perfectly just picture of the Prophet's character and life. It is much too long, however for quotation, which we the more regret, as it might tend to show his real mind in a somewhat better light than it is generally viewed, and banish those absurd prejudices against him, which we believe now to exist in as great a degree as they did in Abdallah's own breast when he meditated his assassination, to whom

He seem'd
One of those monster forms with which earth teem'd
In elder time, when God's own children came
From heaven to mingle with the mortal frame.
Vice and deformity, he thought, must dwell
In this incarnate minister of hell;
And from his withering eyes must shoot a ray
Worse than the basilisk's.

The effect might certainly not be so great as upon Abdallah's mind, who now felt his resolution and firmness fade from him, like sun-pierced mists, at the appearance and behaviour of the Prophet. Instead of the eyes of the basilisk, he beholds the mild spirit of benevolence beaming from his heaven-communing countenance; and instead of a demon, sees before him,

A form as bright
As Eblis in his pristine robe of light,
When ministering in heaven with holy grace,
Ere yet the angel faded from his face.

He is represented

Reclined, his head supported on his hand,
In meditative mood,—the clbing sand
Stealing through crystal, that the lapse of time
Silently told, beside the page sublime.

He supposes that Abdallah has come to demand the rights of hospitality, and accordingly offers him anything that his palace might afford; but when he comes accidentally to relate his having known his father (the Prophet being quite unconscious to whom he is speaking,) and the circum-

stance of his having so often fondled in his arms the son of that friend (the very youth before him), Abdallah throws himself at his feet, and inwardly renounces his deadly purpose. The daughter of Mohammed is shortly after introduced upon the scene, with whom, he falls desperately in love. Spell-bound through the influence of his growing affection, he lingers day after day in the palace, and hourly feels the diminution of his religious impulses before the advancing tide of sense.

Days passed, and saw the Arab still
 Mohammed's guest. His haughty will—
 He once had deemed his only law
 Save heaven's—was fettered, and he saw
 Suns rise and set, and day by day
 Some specious cause prolonged his stay.
 Night saw him wander forth, and then
 His ardent zeal returned again,
 While gazing in ecstatic mood
 On heaven's bright wandering fires; he stood
 Nightly on Arafat's high peak
 Rapt, till he heard Morn's whisperings break
 The holy silence.

On one of these nights, whilst standing upon the mountain, he perceives at some distance upon the vast plain beneath, an immense light, which appeared to move onwards whilst it shot up into the heavens its stars of flame. The season was tempestuous and dark, and the thunder and lightning swept through the convulsed firmament like the world-destroying artillery of some avenging God! Urged on however by curiosity, he descends and hastens towards it. Upon approaching nearer he finds it to be borne along on a massive pillar by a troop of Ghebers, who after the custom of their religion, are bearing a dead body to one of their catacombs in the rocks. He follows them unobserved into a spacious cavern, of which

Each lofty column's base displayed
 A rattling skeleton—arrayed
 In horrid files.

And then views the performance of their religious rites, which it is death for an uninitiated to behold. He is afterwards detected, and when their glittering sabres are drawn upon him, he is only saved by the timely interference of the chief, who consents to withhold the punishment until he has given an account of himself, and his unhallowed intrusion. The discovery is then made that he is Al Meleck's son, who, it appears, since Abdallah's defeat, had entered into a treaty with the Ghebers to aid each other against their common enemy, Mohammed. Passing the remainder of the night in the cave, they set out in the morning for Tayef, the city of the Sabæans, and in the way are joined by Al Meleck himself and part of his troops. The father and son then meet, and as they journey on towards their home, relate to each other all that had occurred to them since their separation; and Al Meleck recounts with what intense fear and anxiety he had looked out for his return on the day of the battle. They at last arrive at their destination, and there then follows one of the most exquisite pieces of affecting nature. It is the truest poetry, inasmuch as it must ever find a response in every mind, however high or low in the scales of human comparison—whether rich or poor—learned or ignorant—in whatever age or country.

And it was Tayef—and the smiles
Of home have many thousand wiles
That words can ne'er embody—there
Dwell all the joys of everywhere !
The trees, the mossy banks whereon
We loved to sit, do every one
Claim their particular greeting, when
We view the hallowed spot again
After long absence. Even the brook,
The ever-flowing waters look
A seeming welcome.—Oh ! this life
Has few such moments, as the strife
Of feelings then creates. 'Tis sweet
Even to regret them ; and they fleet
So swiftly by, that in the mind
Nought, save regret, is left behind.

Quickly gathered round,
Distinction lost, the happy, proud,
Domestic circle—no one bowed
To greet his coming, but each eye
Was moist with joy ; the buoyancy
Of generous feeling gave to each
The boldness of familiar speech.
They questioned of his stay, and where,
And how prolonged ; and of the share
Which each bore in the common grief,
Spoke frequently. The sweet relief
Of tears, too, mingled with the swell
Of happy breasts that could not tell
Their joy. Abdallah felt for all,
And round the joyous busy hall
Bounded with smiling eyes, to give
The purest bliss for which we live.

The preparations for the approaching battle which is to decide the fate of the different parties, are now going rapidly forward in Al Meleck's castle, and, after a few days, the whole strength of the country being assembled, they set out towards Mecca. This is the sublime and beautiful of poetry.

All day they journeyed on, till, in the west,
Nearing his gold and sapphire tent, to rest
Leaned nodding from the sky the flaming sun.
Forth from the deepening azure, one by one,
Stole the faint stars, and, as his slumber grew
Deep and more deep, more fearlessly they threw
Around their brightness of intenser hue ;
'Till all the endless way of heaven grew bright
With countless lamps of everlasting light.
Thought gathers in that hour a sweeter zest,
As forth from its terrestrial sleeping nest
Light unperceived it steals ; and as it mounts,
Beams impalpable from million founts,
With purifying influence, compress
Its creatures strange to shapes of loveliness.

Upon the army stopping for the night, Abdallah, whose mind, rent by the contending passions of love and duty, hovered on the verge of madness, stole unperceived from the camp, and sped to Mecca to warn Leilah (Mohammed's daughter) of the approaching danger. A grand night-scene then follows, which for the spirit of its execution, and the powerful interest it excites, we regret we cannot give entire. He arrives at her favourite

bower; to which she had been drawn by the calmness of the hour, and a wish to indulge, without interruption, the love-lorn melancholy of her soul. We have only room for one short extract, but the description which it conveys of the scene is perfectly delicious:—

The hours

Devotion claimed, she passed amid the bowers
Of incense-breathing shrubs, where oft the dove
Cooed to the rising moon her faithful love;
And where, when every other note was mute,
The bulbul, leader of the choral suite
Of night, gave Echo such a melting strain
To whisper to the breezes on the plain,
From her lone hiding-place, that in despair
She overturned her shell,—the musicked air
Breathed over its mute round; no answer came
To the impassioned songster, yet the same
Exhaustless fount of music, flowing free,
Melted on night's cold ear incessantly.

We must now hasten to the conclusion of the story, for we find that our pleasure in the poem has beguiled us into a prolixity of narration of which our limits will not allow. Whilst the lovers are pledging fidelity to each other, and even meditating flight, they are discovered by young Omar, who it seems had also nourished sentiments of affection for Mohammed's daughter, and whom the beauty of the night had also drawn out to muse and meditate. A wild and terrific scene ensues, which, in the imperfect description we shall be compelled to give of it, may perhaps appear forced and unnatural;—but viewed in the entire connexion, it is otherwise. The incidents are these:—Young Omar, worked up to a phrenzy, by the passions of enthusiasm and love, plunges a dagger into Leilah's bosom, just when she is expressing her willingness to renounce every thing for her lover. Abdallah then engages and disarms him; but when about to sheath his weapon in his body, he is rescued by the servants and guards of the palace, who rush with fury upon Abdallah. After valiantly defending himself for some time, he is in his turn finally rescued by the Gheber chief; who, discovering his absence, had traced him thither, and had just come in time to save his life. They then return to the camp together, and the next day the battle is fought, which terminates in the death of Al Meleck, and the "pride of Araby," his son; in the total defeat of the Sabæan army, after a long and doubtful engagement; and the final triumph and erection of the Prophet's standard over the ruins of the opposing faiths.

Such is the tale of "Abdallah"—a story of considerable interest in its plot—of powerful excitement in its wealth of poetry, and display of original feeling—and taken altogether as a whole, a production of decided genius. In our admiration, however, of its striking beauties, we are far from being insensible to its equally obvious faults. But taking into account its being the author's first production, we do not think that they are so numerous as might reasonably be expected. Among them could be urged an occasional obscurity in the story, and which we conceive to arise from a want of more *detail*. The outline is preserved with correctness, but it is so bare that too much is left for the imagination of the reader to supply. Slight suggestions are merely given where a greater length of narration is frequently required. Added to this, the shifting of the scenes is often too sudden, and the incidents follow each other

with too great rapidity, as well as being perhaps too numerous and crowded. The events sometimes do not seem to arise spontaneously and naturally, but rather to be forced into their coincidences by the absolute requisition of the author, in order to be subservient to a pre-formed plot.

There are several very beautiful small pieces at the end of the volume, and among the most worthy of quotation are "Passages from the unfinished tragedy of *Ægeus*;" we have only room, however, for a short extract. The story of Theseus and Ariadne is well known: the scene occurs partly on ship-board, and partly on the island of Naxos, where we are told that he deserted her when stopping there on his way from Crete. We do not conceive that anything could be more delicately imagined or beautifully expressed. It shows that the author understands the true spirit of the mythology; and this is not saying a little, at a time like the present, when classical raving is the fashion, and an ignorance of the proper mode of treating mythological subjects almost universal. It shows how well he would be calculated to redeem them from the scandal which has attached to them, through the failures of many of our modern poets; and how, in considering Greek and Roman fictions, he would write of them as a Greek or a Roman would.

Theseus. But see, my Ariadne.

Ariadne.

Theseus,
What beauteous isle is that which, from the waves
Which stretch their heaving silver bosom round,
Rears its green head? The trim and mossy turf,
Embossed with many a flower, comes sloping down
To meet the circling ocean. On the right;
Lo! there are lovely trees, which, as we sail
Nearer and nearer land, do seem to grow
From dwarfs to giants. 'Tis some sacred grove!
For, see, the very children, as they skip
Like fawns along its margin, if perchance
By inadvertent frolic they too near
Approach, seem awed, and fly away with dread.

Theseus. 'Tis Naxos, love; and, in its peaceful bowers,
The night that hastening comes we mean to pass.
Yon grove,—the murmuring rivulets that glide
Hushed when they meet its shade,—the neighbouring sea,—
The cooing of innumerable doves
Nestling amid the boughs,—and the deep song
Of the sweet nightingale, when these are mute,
Charming the ear of night,—all make this shore
The fit sojourn of love. Ho! mariners,
Draw in the sails, slacken the busy oars,
That we may make yon elevated point
Slowly and solemnly.

Pandion.

My gallant prince,

I'll render them assistance, fare you well.

[Exit.

SCENE III.—*A grove near the temple of Bacchus—The moonlight dimly falling through the thick foliage—THESEUS and ARIADNE asleep on a bed of leaves and flowers—THESEUS suddenly starts up.*

Theseus. Immortal Gods! this hated vision still,
And clad in ten-fold horror!—Be it so!
I tear me from her arms,—but, from my heart,
Not heaven itself can rend her beauteous image.
There it shall flourish green, while yet the tide,
The purple tide of being, ebbs and flows.
Ill-fated maid! thou sleepest, and thy love
Now warmly eddies round thy youthful heart

To be with morn frozen for ever! Gods,
 Ye rule the world like tyrants. Gentle love
 Your partial hatred never fails to rouse.
 O let me take one last, one parting kiss,
 While yet she sleeps! How fragile is her form!
 Not she of Heaven, with mystic arc and dart,
 More pale—no, nor more beautiful.

[*He kisses her.*]

She sleeps
 As sound as if the grave had laid its hand
 On all life's functions. Sweetest maid, adieu!
 May the best part of heaven o'er canopy
 Thy lovely head, and shelter thee from harm.
 By over-ruling Fate, the hand that should
 And would protect thee, from thy side is driven.
 Thou'lt think me treacherous, base, deceitful, dark,
 And mutable as hell; wilt loath my name,
 And future ages, should our tale survive,
 Will quote me as a monument of guilt!
 Yet, oh! the hell that steeps my senses now
 Is worse than all. Methinks, that I could brave
 The thought of future infamy, the pang
 Of hateful and keen-racking recollection;
 But, oh! to see thee *here*, and *there* the path
 Which when I tread will steal thee from my eyes,
 Is such a concentration, such an essence
 Of keen, absorbing, intellectual pain,
 That many an age of Sisyphus's hell
 Seem crowded in one moment:—fare thee well,
 Brightest of all earth's daughters, fare thee well!

[*Erit.*]

We must hastily close our notice of this volume; and in doing so we cannot forbear observing that unless it shortly attracts considerable notice, our opinion of the public taste will not be improved. We are the more inclined to remark this, because we have been given to understand that it has not received any of those adventitious aids which too often raise mediocrity into the notice that excellence alone should claim. The book has not been *pushed*, and consequently, if it fails of success, it must furnish a proof that merit has little to do with literary reputation, unless when assisted by interest and power,—or raised aloft to the gazing multitude upon the shoulders of faction and party. We trust that this may not be the case. Our own opinion unhesitatingly places the author in the ranks of our best living poets; and we think that if the public have a fair opportunity of forming a judgment, by a perusal of his Poem, they will concur with us in this estimate of his first labours. We leave him, however, in the hands of those who must finally decide his fate, sincerely hoping that that justice which we ourselves have felt it our duty to bestow on his merits, may be as freely and fully awarded him by others.

THE LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

SIR,

March 8, 1824.

It seems no very easy task to propose a reasonable objection to such remarks as those which you have quoted from the Calcutta Journal (p. 504.), if we reverence that maxim so conducive to human improvement, *de mortuis nil nisi verum*. The living justly claim as an inheritance the authentic story of the dead.

"Their tears, their little triumphs o'er,
 Their human passions move no more."

Yet a record, undisguised by panegyric or detraction, of the virtues or defects to which those passions have given occasion, may prove to survivors a legacy more valuable, in the occupation of wisdom, than any legacy registered at the tax-office. But I must confine myself to the strictures of EPISCOPETER, in whose judgment Sir Charles Grey appears to be an adventurous knight, while inviting the public to draw a parallel between the late "Lord Bishop of Calcutta" and the eminently disinterested Berkeley, with whom it would, indeed, be hazardous to bring into comparison any modern bishop of any national church.

"Dr. Middleton," we are informed, "was in the quiet enjoyment of all, if not more than all, that to ordinary minds appears desirable." It might have been added, that he was also enjoying a high reputation in the *Trinitarian* church, for his learned exertations on the Greek article. He was, at the same time, sufficiently in favour at court (for the ecclesiastical, like the civil and military *iter ad astra*, lies in that direction), to receive an offer of being appointed the first Lord Bishop of Calcutta, with an annual revenue of several thousands, and a rank commanding not a little dignity and splendour, among the representatives of church and state in the metropolis of British India. He was indeed obliged to reside "at a greater distance from his country" than Berkeley's remote Bermuda, "and in the burning climate of Bengal;" evils which no churchman, no more than any lawyer, would be likely to encounter, had he the expectation of court patronage, powerful enough to seat him on the bench of his profession, in a milder climate, and amidst the endeared associations of his native land. Yet, what climate, burning or frozen, what land, distant or desolate, has been left untrodden by persevering ambition?

Nor can Sir C. Grey, who appears not to have been "acquainted with him," afford the public any satisfactory assurance, that Dr. Middleton was so indifferent to preferment, as to have been an ecclesiastical *rara avis*—so enamoured of "quiet enjoyment," as to utter from the heart the *noli episcopari*, while compelled by a sense of incumbent duty to accept a mitre, which I am not disposed to doubt that he deserved, by performing, with becoming correctness, the prescribed duties of his station. I would, however, inquire more fully than EPISCOPETER has done, into the story of the earlier churchman, whose "contemplated sacrifice" is supposed not to have been "greater than that which was made by the other." Nor can such an inquiry fail to interest and edify, whatever may be the fate of Sir Charles Grey's comparison. It is also not unconnected with the colonial department of your work.

In 1724, at the age of 40, Dr. Berkeley was "promoted by his patron, the Duke of Grafton, to the deanery of Derry, worth 1100*l.* per annum." He had scarcely enjoyed this preferment three months, when he determined to resign it, for the accomplishment of his benevolent projects. In a letter to Lord Carteret, dated September 3d, 1724, Dean Swift thus describes the projector's character, purpose, and perseverance:—"He is an absolute philosopher, with regard to money, titles, and power; and, for three years past, hath been struck with a notion of founding, at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown, a college for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself. His heart will break, if his deanry be not taken from him. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision; but nothing will do." It should be added, "that three junior fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, consented to take their fortunes with the author of the project, and to exchange, for a settlement in the Atlantic Ocean, at 40*l.* per annum, all their prospects at home."

In 1728, Berkeley married the daughter of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, a lady fully prepared to share his fortunes in the new world. The same year, they sailed to Rhode Island, whither Berkeley "directed his course, with a view of purchasing lands on the adjoining continent, as estates for the support of his college, having a positive promise from those in power, that

the parliamentary grant should be paid him, as soon as ever such lands should be agreed for." At Newport, Rhode Island, he preached every Sunday, to assist "a clergyman of the church of England, and was indefatigable in pastoral labours, during the whole time of his stay there, which was near two years."

Having procured estates of an adequate value, "it was fully expected that the public money would, according to the grant, be immediately paid; but the minister had never heartily embraced the project, and parliamentary influence had by this time interposed, in order to divert the grant into another channel." On this occasion, Sir Robert Walpole availed himself of the distinction between a man and a minister, which has been adopted by his successors. To Bishop Gibson's inquiries on Berkeley's behalf, he replied, "If you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid, as soon as suits with public convenience: but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of 20,000*l.*, I advise him, by all means, to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations."

Hopeless of accomplishing a project "whereon he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than seven years of the prime of his life," the projector now "returned to Europe. Before he left Rhode Island, he distributed what books he had brought with him among the clergy of that province; and immediately after his arrival in London, he returned all the private subscriptions that had been advanced for the support of his undertaking."

There remains a record, which may serve to show how Berkeley's philanthropy extended beyond the narrow limits of patriotism, and with what enlarged and generous anticipations of human improvement, he would have devoted his life to this uncommon object of ambition for a dignified churchman. I refer to his "Verses on the prospect of planting Arts and Learning in America," "in which," says his biographer, the late Bishop Stock, to whom I am indebted for the previous quotations, "another age perhaps will acknowledge the old conjunction of the prophetic character with that of the poet to have again taken place." You will, I dare say, allow me here to add the verses, as published by the author, in "A Miscellany by the Bishop of Cloyne," 1752.

"The muse, disgusted at an age and clime
 Barren of every glorious theme,
 In distant lands now waits a better time,
 Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
 And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
 The force of art by nature seems outdone,
 And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
 Where nature guides, and virtue rules,
 Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
 The pedantry of courts and schools:

There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of empire and of arts,
 The good and great inspiring epic rage,
 The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
 By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
 The four first acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
 Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Thus, half a century before the folly of Britain had begun to alienate the provinces of America, did Berkeley seem, as in prophetic vision, while denouncing "the pedantry of courts and schools," to behold the rising republic, where men are not rocked into legislators and rulers in the cradle of hereditary right; but "where nature guides and virtue rules." The late Lord Bishop of Calcutta probably never rendered himself liable to an accusation of indulging sentiments or anticipations so uncourtly or democratic.

If, however, Sir Charles Grey have failed in his attempted parallel, it must be acknowledged that he might have borrowed names better suited to his design, from the episcopal bench of the present age.—A Bishop Porteus (who yet lived and died in the odour of sanctity) solemnly undertaking a paramount cure of souls throughout Chester's extensive diocese; and charging himself, at the same time, with the spiritual duties, as he continued to receive the temporal emoluments of the deanry of the chapel royal, the mastership of St. Cross, Winchester, and a living in Kent; till a translation to London brought wealth in sufficient abundance for a childless churchman, and gave the quondam pluralist a decent opportunity to inculcate on the clergy of his new diocese, at a primary visitation, the high crime and misdemeanour of non-residence.—A Bishop Watson, ably exposing the secularizing influence of episcopal translations; and yet when his vacillating policy had failed to elevate him above lowly Landaff, migrating into Westmoreland, there, "from Landaff's duties far," employed in planting a forest for the emolument of his family, though he had derived from a grateful pupil, a fortune ample enough to portion the offspring of a Christian bishop, if not of a *Lord Spiritual*. With such prelates, for anything which I ever heard, the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta might have been compared, to the advantage of his memory. The eloquence of his panegyrist, however, took a higher flight, and the public are invited to institute a very different comparison.

Leaving then the name of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta to its fair station in a catalogue of modern bishops, and to "the chisel's slender help to fame," I cannot satisfy myself to leave the name of Berkeley, without quoting, as sentiments which appear to have been practically applied in the occupations of his life, the following conclusion of his *Siris*.—"Truth is the cry of all, but the game of a few. Certainly where it is the chief passion, it doth not give way to vulgar cares and views; nor is it contented with a little ardour in the early time of life, active perhaps to pursue, but not so fit to weigh and revise. He that would make a real progress in knowledge, must dedicate his age as well as youth, the latter growth as well as first-fruits, at the altar of truth." The last sentence, as many of your readers will recollect, gave occasion to the following elegant and appropriate amplification:—

"Before thy mystic altar, heav'nly Truth,
 I kneel in manhood as I knelt in youth:
 Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
 And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray.
 Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
 Soar without bound, without consuming glow."

Lord Teignmouth has quoted these lines, as "written by Sir William Jones, in Berkeley's *Siris*."
 QUOAD VERUM.

P. S. Just after I had concluded this letter, I discovered a precursor of Berkeley, in the self-denying purpose of expatriation on a mission of benevolence. He was indeed a priest of the elder establishment, but virtue is of no, or rather of every, church, colour, or climate.

Mr. Charles Butler, in his interesting biography of Fenelon, relates that, "in the fervour of his zeal, he once intended to transport himself to Canada, and devote his life to the conversion of the savages: and that afterwards on finding his constitution would not endure the cold of that climate, he changed his resolution, and determined to dedicate himself to the missions of the East." How this design, formed in 1676, at the age of 25, was frustrated, does not appear. The biographer of Fenelon, in 1803, M. de Bausset, has however given, from the family papers in his possession, a letter, in which, mentioning his "return to Paris," Fenelon thus pours forth the effusions of "a mind saturated," as Mr. Butler justly remarks, "with religious and classical enthusiasm."

"With this voyage in my thoughts, I have a greater voyage in contemplation. Old Greece opens herself to me; the Sultan retires in a fright; the Peloponnesus already begins to breathe in freedom. Again will the church of Corinth flourish; again will she hear the voice of her apostle; I feel myself transported into these delightful regions; and while I am collecting the precious monuments of antiquity, I seem to inhale her true spirit; I search for the Areopagus, where St. Paul preached the unknown God to the wise of the world. But after the sacred, the profane comes for her turn, and I do not disdain to enter the Pyreum, where Socrates unfolded the plan of his republic. I ascend the double summit of Parnassus; I pluck the laurels of Delphos; I breathe the sweets of Tempe."

He then exclaims, as if constrained to admit (for I can suppose no less than such a struggle in the mind of such a Christian as Fenelon) that there might be a dire necessity for human destruction, yet looking beyond it to the most happy results: "When shall the blood of the Turks be mingled with the blood of the Persians on the plains of Marathon, and leave Greece to religion, to philosophy, and to the fine arts, which regard her as their natural soil?"

'Arva beata,
Pctamus Arva divites, et insulae!'

I offer no apology for this quotation, now that Britons are interesting themselves in the cause of Greece, as the cause of freedom and of human happiness; a Byron earning in that honourable service the reputation of true nobility, by exemplary self-denial and persevering toils; a Leicester Stanhope, unperverted by an acquaintance with courts and camps, advocating the rights of all with a plebeian ardour; a fearless soldier, yet preferring every argument to the argument of force, and fixing, wherever a spot can be found on which to place them, the press and the school—an artillery which must, at length, be irresistible against tyranny and vice.

Q. V.

BREVET COMMISSION FOR THE INDIAN ARMY.

SIR,

North Britain, Feb. 10, 1824.

PROBABLY it may be in the power of some of your military readers to inform me whether the Honourable East India Company have yet applied to Government to issue a brevet commission for the promotion of their colonels to the rank of major-general; and of their senior lieutenant-colonels to that of colonel, from the date of the recent new modelling of their army in India.

Adverting to the present very reduced number of major-generals in the Company's army, able or willing to serve on the staff, and who have not already enjoyed their tour of command and emoluments; it is obviously no less essential to the good of the service, than an act of justice

towards the senior officers of the Indian army (below the rank of major-general), that an immediate promotion should take place.

Nearly twenty lieutenant-colonels (independent of the full colonels) now standing at the top of the Bengal army list, have been in the army for more than FORTY YEARS; a period of service (being in a tropical climate, subject to separation from friends and relatives, and to privations and sufferings unknown in Europe,) surely long and arduous enough to entitle them to the favour and consideration which the interest of the service requires.

BREVETICUS.

ENGINEER CORPS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, March 9, 1824.

I FEEL confident you will act as impartially in the West as you did in the East towards the Indian army; and therefore venture to hope you will allow a place in your disinterested publication for the following observations upon a letter in your last Number, under the signature of CATO.

The writer of that letter presumes to censure the plan for reorganizing the Indian army; and absurdly insinuates, that what he reprobates may some time or other be the cause of our losing that country.

The observations I am about to offer will more immediately relate to Bengal, but most of them will also be applicable to the Madras and Bombay armies.

CATO would have acted wisely had he consulted and examined minutely a Calcutta Directory, previously to publishing remarks totally erroneous, and tending to mislead many of your readers; for he would have found, on a perusal of that book, that the Bengal engineer corps, so far from being worse off than the other branches of the service, is quite the reverse, having appointments in their favour of at least ten to one, and being further advanced in promotion, as will be shown.

It is really amusing to observe CATO's method of laying down the law for confining certain appointments, which he avoids naming, but which he pretends to say belong exclusively to the engineer corps; whilst he at the same time carefully abstains from even hinting that many officers of that corps, whose importance he blazons forth, have been appointed to situations entirely foreign to their own branch of the service; that the duties of which he *modestly* estimates from the vague assertion, that some branches of the service have been doubled, and others trebled since that *dreadful* year, 1796, and, therefore, the duties of the engineer corps *must* have increased in a corresponding ratio.

CATO does not openly inform your readers what station he himself holds in life; but let it be what it may, he will not obtain the thanks of those officers; for if his ill-judged interference and suggestions should ever be acted upon, by confining them to their own line of duty, several would be deprived of their present situations, whilst others probably would be left without any whatever.

The writer of the letter is wrong in asserting that the cavalry, infantry, and artillery, have been repeatedly increased; and that by this and

other causes, omitting to name what those causes are, the engineers have had gross injustice done them by being superseded in *every* rank. Now if CATO is correct in his statements, how does it happen that in the rank of captain in the Indian army, there are in the regiments of cavalry and infantry a vast number of brevet captains, whilst in the engineer corps there are regimental captains who have not been in the service much more than half the time of those unfortunate brevet officers, and who even entered the service several years after many of the artillery lieutenants, some of whom will be only brevet captains this year?

When CATO slightly mentions that an alteration is to be made by additions to the engineers, he makes use of a term peculiar to himself, viz. that of "inferior ranks," from which we might suppose he meant non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, instead of junior commissioned officers; who in one sense may be inferior, but not in the most material point, that of ability: even the modern CATO would find himself in the background by a comparison. CATO seems entirely to have forgotten, that by the new arrangements another colonel is to be added to the engineer corps to share those emoluments he mentions; and which, be it known, will come out of a fund entirely belonging to the other branches of the service, and from which the present colonel has received his, although the corps did not contribute towards it till of late, and then only about one fourth of what the other branches do; it therefore is evident that the "gross injustice" which CATO states to exist, is only to be found in his own grasping disposition, and that his own arguments condemn him—for the very way to make the different branches of the army more equal in promotion, and in consonance with the equitable regulations of 1796, will be effected by the present judicious arrangement for reorganizing it.

CATO first accuses the Court of Directors of gross injustice, and then speaks of them individually as most worthy and honourable men, but immediately afterwards asserts that the Military Secretary transacts all the military business; or in other words that the Directors do not attend to the duties of the situations they solemnly engage to perform, previously to their several elections. How does CATO reconcile all these inconsistencies?

He pretends to point out what qualifications are requisite for those gentlemen who conduct the military business in the Direction; but he may rest satisfied, from his evident partiality and incorrect knowledge of army affairs, that his opinion will not be regarded; and if he is a military man, he has clearly shown there exists, at least, one exception to a person of that class being chosen to conduct the military affairs of the Direction.

Your readers will no doubt be highly amused should CATO hereafter carry his threat into execution, by giving a survey of every branch of the East India service, particularly if written in the same style as his letter of the 12th ult.; but he had better first consult some of those gentlemen whose importance he has noised abroad, as if they were most transcendent, compared with those of the other branches of the service; we may then look for some candid and correct statements, and your readers will then be informed that the Bengal engineer corps only differs from every other part of that army by being generally more favoured in promotion, possessing advantages far superior, and numerous appoint-

ments quite in disproportion to any other branch of that army, and even quite out of their line of duty ; consequently enjoying that which justly belongs to others.

I have to add, that if CATO is not a military man, he had better not interfere with what he is not correctly informed of ; and on the other hand, if he hold a situation in the military service, before he attempts to set others right, he should make himself thoroughly acquainted with all the particulars of that service ; the first principles of which are, subordination and respect to superiors ; and if he wishes to merit reward, he should follow the examples of a Fletcher and a Jones, a Pasley or a Colley, but not that of a Cato.

I now take my leave, having I trust, so far as my humble abilities will allow, set this subject in its proper light before the public. I am not fond of writing, and shall therefore decline engaging in further controversy ; and should CATO persevere in arguing on the matter he has selected for discussion, I must leave the defence of the subject to more able hands.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

CANDIDUS.

QUALIFICATIONS OF EAST INDIA DIRECTORS ; AND REMARKS ON
THE MISGOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

March 4, 1824.

A WORK, conducted on the principles of your valuable Monthly Review, giving place more particularly to Indian affairs, and open at all times to temperate discussions on the merits or demerits of our Indian Governors in Leadenhall-street, the policy or impolicy of their measures, whether regarding their affairs abroad or at home ; a Work with such an object in view, had long been a desideratum, and is hailed by many as a token for good to our Indian subjects. I trust a few observations from one who has passed many years of his life in India, and is conversant with the language, manners, customs, and generally prevailing opinions of the natives of that fine country, from personal intercourse with them, will not be deemed unworthy the attention of your readers.

It has long been a matter of much surprise to the Company's servants in India, and not unfrequently remarked upon by the Native public servants in the several offices of Government, that the despatches from England, relative to the internal administration of affairs, should evince such very defective and erroneous knowledge of the genius, as well as character of the people to whom they relate ; and indicating an unsettled and *vacillating* system of policy,* at times at variance with the soundest principles of political economy, now generally acknowledged and acted upon by every enlightened statesman.

The vast dominions now under the government of the Honourable East India Company, the energy, talent, vigilance, and superior endowments, requisite to govern a nation so remote, and a people so very different in their opinions and character from those of European states, one would suppose would of itself have been sufficient to have called for

* See Mill's History of India.

more attention and caution from the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock and the nation at large, in the selection of Directors, than, in fact, has been the case. Such men only should have been placed in the Direction, as were duly qualified for their important duties, by their education, and subsequent *personal acquaintances* with the people of India, obtained by a residence among them, when acting in a civil capacity. These, being conversant with the peculiar habits and prejudices of the people, for whom they were called upon to legislate, would be ready at all times to adopt such measures as could not fail eventually of rendering India a happier and more exalted nation; whereas, on the contrary, the class of men who of late years have obtained a seat in the Direction, will be found to be that of bankers, or wealthy tradesmen, who can know but little of India but by report; naval officers of the Company; or merchants who may have resided in India, but are, generally speaking, unacquainted with the customs and opinions of the Hindoos, ignorant of the Eastern languages, as well as of the measures of Government. On looking over the list of the thirty Directors of East India affairs, we shall find the names of not more than *six or seven men who have been in India*, and of that number, if I mistake not, but *three* formerly civilians, who can be supposed to know anything of the character of the Hindoos. Let it be supposed, for the sake of illustration, that this country was about to be governed by a prince sent from Asia, whose measures were to be controlled, and in a great measure directed by men resident in a foreign land;—I ask, should such a ruler be selected from among those who had never been here; or who, having visited the country, had resided but a few years in the metropolis, unacquainted with the language, and therefore conducting their business by means of agents and interpreters? or from among those who had merely visited our seaports? Surely not, but from among such men only as were acquainted with our language, manners, and peculiarities as a nation, by a residence amongst us of ten, twenty, or thirty years.

The foregoing remarks are dictated solely by a sincere desire for the welfare of our Indian subjects, as much as from a regard and concern for the character of the Directors, as rulers and statesmen in whom are vested all the functions of royalty and power, and who are at present distinguished for many characteristic marks of liberality, honourable integrity, and upright intentions.

It were, I fear, almost vain at present to look for any very enlightened views of policy issuing from the Secretary's office, in Leadenhall-street, purporting to be the sentiments of the East India Directors; because, from their connexions, it was necessary for them to enter early in life into business, consequently we shall find few of them who by their education and acquaintance with the first rudiments of political science, are calculated to originate or control measures of finance; few who have received an education at a university; and alas! a still smaller number who, were they so inclined, have time to give themselves to the study of such works, and to enter into such correspondence with persons in India, as together would probably qualify them to legislate for India; but it is notorious that we shall find the Directors generally men immersed in business, requiring their best time and all the attention and talents they can contribute to their respective employments, whether as bankers, merchants, wholesale tradesmen, underwriters, or ship-agents, &c.

What would be thought of a cabinet thus composed, were all the ministers of the crown thus trammelled with business sufficient to engross their thoughts and time to the prejudice of their more important ministerial duties? And shall it be said that India, with a starving population of a hundred millions, with an extent of territory equal to that of Europe, and, therefore, capable of feeding and supporting in comparative affluence, a population to a much greater extent under a politic and wise government,—shall it be said that such a country requires not the same talent and political sagacity as Great Britain, to raise and exalt her from her present low, abject, and degraded state? While other parts of the world of far less value to England have advocates to stand up in the House of Commons to insist upon their rights, British India, alas! is scarcely thought of. She has not, it is notorious, had that share of the attention of the Legislature which she so well deserves, and would so amply repay. The welfare of the inhabitants of India is sacrificed and overlooked for want of men in the Direction and Court of Proprietors to assert the paramount importance of encouraging the exports of her produce by creating a demand for it in this country, from which she has a right, in justice, and as some reparation, to expect more than ordinary assistance.

It is contended that India is at this present time suffering from the effects of short-sighted policy, and from a system of finance altogether at variance with just and sound principles. She is, it is notorious, groaning under *heavy exactions* and *over-assessments*, imposed by the several successive governments, in consequence of continued and reiterated calls for money from the three Presidencies. A system of taxation has been continued and adhered to, militating against the most obvious and established principles: as, for instance, in the present state of India, what can be so impolitic and unwise as discouraging the *increase of the manufacturing and mercantile classes*, and the *capital* they necessarily must employ and circulate throughout the country! which is effectually accomplished, for the sake of the revenue derived from the taxes denominated "*Sayer and Mohturfâ*," as also by the tax on looms. Again, the general complaint of the revenue defaulters, and of every one else, is that of the markets being overstocked with grain, for want of consumers, to the great discouragement of agriculture and tillage; and, would it be believed, there is a tax on the transit of grain into the adjoining states of the native powers, where it would naturally find a market again. No person travelling in the interior but must observe vast tracts of uncultivated land, lying waste, and therefore useless to the Government: instead of encouraging the increase of sheep or cattle to feed on such plains, there is a tax on shepherds and herdsmen! From this it might be justly inferred, that it was the wish of the possessors of this fine country to keep it always impoverished and unproductive. Many more instances of the extraordinary system of taxation in India might be given, were it necessary to adduce further proofs of what has been asserted. Now, under such a system, is it much a matter of surprise that the eight hundred millions of acres in India yield to the Company the paltry revenue of twenty millions sterling annually? whereas the same extent of territory in Europe, because better governed, yields to the different governments no less than *three hundred millions sterling*!

The government of a country like India requires in its subordinate

officers, for the discharge of their arduous and complicated duties, more than ordinary endowments, integrity, and firmness of character, and proof against all temptation, however indirectly offered. Now, it is not to be expected that the Company will obtain for their service, and retain men so endowed, without adequate remuneration for the sacrifice they make at an early period of life, in voluntarily banishing themselves perhaps for life. What then will be said of the narrow policy which very lately has been indicated in the despatches from Leadenhall-street? For the sake of a pitiful and paltry saving, such deductions have been made from time to time in the well-earned salaries of their civil servants, as will, if it has not already, eventually lower the scale of rank and ability of which the service can at present boast; and in place of that honour, integrity, independence, and general intelligence, which now characterize their servants generally, meanness, ignorant prejudice, bigotry, and indolence will succeed. Even at present the salaries of the officers of government, compared with other states, (for it should be remembered the civil servants of the Company are no longer clerks, factors, or writers, as at first,) are very much too limited, more especially when we consider the style of living which the climate of India, as well as the customs and opinions of its inhabitants, impose upon them.

In bringing these few remarks to a close, I would merely add, I trust the subject may be taken up again by some of your able correspondents, and that the notice of the Legislature, as also that of the Court of Proprietors will be attracted to what it is presumed is worthy their best attention; and I would merely suggest whether the past mal-administration of Indian affairs, as respects Leadenhall-street, would not justify the appointment of a Committee by the Court of Proprietors, to inquire into and report upon the apparent cause of the tardy progress in civilization and general improvement of the resources of the Indian empire; also, what class of persons should be selected as Directors; and the most advisable mode of remunerating them, so as to preclude the necessity or possibility of their being engaged in any other business by which they should derive emolument.

I am Sir, yours, &c.

A FRIEND TO THE PROPRIETORS.

Notes of the Editor.—We are disposed to believe that the writer of the preceding letter is really interested in the welfare of India; and therefore readily give insertion to his suggestions. We are persuaded, however, that he attaches infinitely too much importance to "residence in India," as a qualification for the duties of a Director. If he will turn to the preface of Mr. Mill's admirable History, which he refers to as if he had read it, he will see unanswerable reasons for believing that a residence in India is in general unfavourable to clear and unbiased views on Indian affairs: and Mr. Mill is himself a brilliant example of the extensive as well as accurate knowledge that may be acquired of every thing relating to Indian history and Indian administration, without residing in the country, or even setting foot on its soil. We are satisfied, indeed, that good general understanding, correct principles, and habits of application for business, are all that is necessary to form an Indian Director; and that these combined, would better qualify a man for that office, than a residence of a century in Hindoostan. Neither is an education at a university of so much importance as the writer supposes in fitting men for financiers. The late lamented Mr. Ricardo—unquestionably the most profound political economist of his day—acquired his whole knowledge by the very mode which the writer seems to consider an obstacle to such information, namely, by entering early in life into business, and applying all his time and talents to its successful pursuit.

On these points we feel it our duty to express our dissent from the positions of the writer; but there are others in which we agree with him. The Directors of the East India Company ought certainly to be men free from every other engagement; they should have no other object of business, at least, to draw them from their duties as statesmen and legislators for India. They should be compelled also, when elected, to attend regularly to all their duties, on pain of removal by the voice of the Proprietors: and the whole system of idleness and corruption, which supports these sinecures of influence and patronage, should be reformed. But this will never happen till the Proprietors become honest enough to purify themselves, and give their votes from higher motives than those which now almost invariably actuate them.

The indifference manifested towards India in Parliament is easily accounted for, nor will it be otherwise till reform takes place there also. The same causes produce the same effects—both in St. Stephen's Chapel and the Proprietor's Court—men visit each with some fixed purpose to accomplish; if that is attained, they care but little for the general interests of either the English or the Indian people: and until Members of Parliament are sent to the House by the real and unbought suffrages of the people, and Directors placed in their seats by the unbribed votes of the holders of India Stock, we shall see little change in the conduct of either the one or the other.

The taxation of the people of India is, we admit, monstrous; but the writer seems entirely to have overlooked the fact that the taxation of the people of England, to support that very power which taxes India,—the monopoly of the East India Company—is more grievous still. As long as this Company can make the rest of their unprivileged fellow subjects pay ten times the price they ought for tea,—and not only shut them out from the enjoyment of all the benefits which Colonization would give them in India, but obstruct the free and advantageous sale of their manufactures there,—it is in vain to hope for any extensive improvement of that oppressed and ill-governed country. The whole system must be altered; and every thing short of abolition of the monopoly will be mere temporary expedient.

We do not think that an increase of pay to the governors of any country is a sure mode of securing either greater talents, greater integrity, or greater industry. The history of past and present times teaches a different lesson. The functionaries of America are among the least amply remunerated of all public men: and yet they do their duty more effectually than the functionaries of countries where ten times the amount of salary is given. Compare the President of the United States on his 5,000*l.* a year, with the King of England on upwards of a million—both servants of the public, and both paid from the public purse, but the one responsible, and the other shifting his responsibility on the shoulders of others. This is the secret which explains all. Let public servants of every class be sufficiently, but not extravagantly paid; let their continuance in office be dependent on the will of those over whom they rule; let their responsibility to those who pay them be never lost sight of;—and let the press be free to distinguish the active, intelligent, and faithful servant, from the indolent, the ignorant, and the corrupt one. There would then be no need of committees of inquiry; for the vigilance of the public and the press, if their voices were really permitted to be freely heard, would never sleep; misgovernment would never last long enough to effect any serious evil; and errors would be seen and remedied before they could produce the mischief which now inevitably springs from them.

We must conclude by recommending these hints to the serious consideration of the writer of the letter, and to all others interested in the welfare of India.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE COMPANY'S ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND that the propriety of my addressing you has been questioned. It has been asked, Why this publicity? why was not a representation of these facts made directly to the Court of Directors, instead of blazoning them forth to public view? I was well aware that I was laying

myself open to such censures; but as I care not for the *aura popularis*, the gale of favour, from whatever quarter it may blow, I determined to tread that path which appeared to me most likely to lead to a happy termination, and many and weighty were the reasons which induced me to address you. Had I, an humble individual, not personally known to a single functionary of the India House, sent my letter to the Court instead of requesting you to insert it in your excellent Journal, it would most probably never have been read by a member of the Court; it would have gone into the archives of the Military Secretary's office, and not altogether meeting with approbation, not in every part flattering the judgment of the promoters of the new organization of the Company's army, it would have been laid up with heaps of other representations now mouldering on the shelves, or it might have been *lost*, as many other papers have been, never afterwards to be found. Besides, repeated representations of the facts stated by me *have* been made to the Court, as I observed in my former letter; and what has been the result? The new organization of the Indian army will best answer this question. Publicly, therefore, was the only course left to me, it being my principal object to induce the members of the Court to see and examine for themselves, and not to be guided by the misrepresentations of any individual in or out of office. I am certain, indeed, that the evils complained of will be found to exist in the fullest extent, and so flagrant in their nature, that they will, I trust, speedily lead to remedy.

Can it for a moment be imagined that the Court of Directors, governing an immense empire of from 80 to 100 millions of souls, with an army of between 200,000 and 300,000 men under their control, should, year after year, attend the public examination of their Ordnance Cadets, and in the face of the assembled multitude distribute prizes to those cadets who have distinguished themselves in their studies, telling them that they will be posted to the Engineer corps as a *reward* for their talents and industry, if the Court did not conscientiously believe they *were* conferring a reward by so doing? If they do *not* believe it, after such a preparation, and such an examination, they are guilty of a deliberate cruelty towards those whom they thus deceive! But I am convinced that they *do* think they are conferring the highest reward in their power to bestow; and yet is it undeniable, that many of those very cadets, on their arrival in India, have petitioned to be posted to any *other* branch of the military service rather than to the Engineer corps!

The details of these and other facts I shall hereafter relate, as I am determined that the Court shall know how they have been deceived, as well as those parents who make interest to get their sons into the Company's Engineer corps, besides undergoing the anxiety and expense attendant on their education, training, and public examinations, in the fallacious belief that the Company's, like the Royal, Engineers, have very superior pay, emoluments, and advantages to the rest of the army. As a proof of their melancholy error, I need only mention, that the captain of the Bengal Engineers, promoted by the Marquess of Hastings to a majority, which has not been confirmed by the new organization of the army, is a cadet of 1783; the next captain is a cadet of 1793; and the third a cadet of 1794: the three senior captains of the Madras Engineers are cadets of 1793, 1795, and 1796; and the three senior captains of the Bombay Engineers are cadets of 1796 and 1797. Now, Sir, in the Infantry the oldest captain in the three Presidencies is but a cadet of 1801, and many of the senior captains of regiments are cadets of 1803 and 1804! And yet, with these facts before him, the promoter of the present measures, to use his own words, "doubles the chances of promotion in the Infantry," and retards the promotion of the Engineer corps! No other inference can be drawn from what I have stated, than either that the Court have not had the whole of the facts laid before them, or that they have been deceived by those who have advised them. What documents were laid before the Court, and what was said to them, it is impos-

sible for me to know, entrenched as the promoter of the New Organization is with the words "No Admittance" over his door; but I do happen to know much that he has said on the subject to others, and though I shall not in mercy mention *all*, two or three things I cannot in justice allow to remain unnoticed.

I remarked in my last letter that the proportion of field officers of the Infantry to the officers of the inferior ranks was as one to eight, and in the Engineers, as one to five; but that, nevertheless, the Engineer corps had always been superseded; and further, that by the new system of organization, the proportion of the field to the inferior officers is to be the same in the Infantry and the Engineers, viz. one field officer to seven officers of the inferior ranks. The reason assigned for making this new arrangement, and altering the ratio of one to eight in the Infantry, and one to five in the Engineers, to one to seven in both corps, is, "that their promotion may be the same." What a lamentable fact is it that the military adviser of the Court should have fallen into such an unaccountable error, and still more lamentable that he should have had both the inclination and means of deceiving the Court into a belief that the promotion in the Engineers has been *more* rapid than in the Infantry; for upon no other supposition can the observation be accounted for, or the arrangement be justified; and yet it is a fact beyond all doubt, that the Engineer corps, with a greater number of field officers in proportion than the Infantry, have always been vastly superseded. Could not the military adviser take his eyes off the ratios one to eight and one to five? or was he determined to have an organization numerically just in defiance of the experience of the last thirty years? He must have known this fact, and knowing it, ought with unprejudiced eyes to have looked for the *cause*. Had he done so, he would have discovered that there had been two causes continually acting; one, the constant and great augmentation of the Infantry, which has been trebled, whilst the Engineers have received little or no increase; the other, the operation of the line step, which may be thus explained: In the Infantry the officers rise by seniority in their respective regiments up to the senior captains; but the field officers rise by seniority in the line, consequently the wheel of promotion continually revolves—the promotion of the field officers of no one regiment can stand still for any length of time; in the Engineer corps there is no line step, the officers rise by seniority up to the colonel of the corps; consequently should the colonel remain twenty years or upwards at the head of the corps, it is evident that there could be no promotion in the higher ranks during that period. If, therefore, the Military Secretary makes the proportion of field officers to the officers of the inferior ranks the same in the Infantry and the Engineer corps, he ought in common justice to make the operation of the line step affect the promotion of the Engineer corps in the same way as it does the Infantry. If that were done, and it may be effected in more ways than one, and the field officers of the Engineer corps were increased in the same proportion as those of the Infantry have been, then the Engineer corps would be fairly treated, inasmuch as regards their rank; but if something of this sort be not effected, the old proportion of one field officer to five officers of the inferior ranks, ought in justice to be restored, otherwise those unfortunate youths, who at the Military Seminary have obtained, and may hereafter obtain, the reward of merit, will have to curse the hour when their talents were so distinguished.

A second reason assigned (by the author of the New System) for not augmenting the Engineers in proportion to the rest of the army, is, "that the corps is of no use"! "that the Infantry are equal to all the duties performed by the Engineers; and that the public buildings, and other architectural works, ought to be intrusted to civil engineers sent from England." Really we have arrived at a new era in the military science if this be the case; and the experience of the past, the opinion of the greatest generals in Europe,

and the course so long pursued by the French, and so successfully by ourselves, must be held to be of no weight. But it would be a waste of time to stop to inquire into the *utility* of the Engineer corps. The Court of Directors, by establishing an academy exclusively for the education and training of their Ordnance officers, by selecting the Engineers from those who pass the best public examination, by placing their young Engineer officers for some months on the survey of Great Britain, and by having them instructed in sapping and mining with the Royal Engineers under Colonel Pasley, have given unequivocal proofs that *they* do, in this point at least, differ in opinion with their Military Secretary; but, since "No Admittance" is written over the door of that apartment in which the lucubrations of this adviser have so enriched the military world with new discoveries, I must beg leave to ask him *publicly*, why, if the Engineer corps be of no use, did he not disband them, and incorporate the officers with the Infantry, according to the dates of their appointments as cadets? I have the pleasure of knowing some of the Engineer officers, and I can venture to affirm that they would have welcomed the measure with uplifted hands, they would have hailed it as a beginning of that bright reward which they had long considered a gilded bauble hung before their youthful eyes only to deceive. I might also ask, why, if the Engineer corps be of no use, are the Engineer officers alone to be employed in future surveys? Why are the Sappers and Miners, formerly commanded by officers lent from the Infantry, to be officered in *future* by the Engineers? and, why are the barrack departments, gaols, and all other public buildings, to be transferred to the Engineer officers, who are said to be of *no use*? It is strange that these *drums* should have all these duties thrown upon them, without a corresponding increase of pay or emolument, and without a fair increase of their numbers in common with the rest of the service.

A third reason assigned by the Military Secretary for not augmenting the Engineer corps, is, "that as Engineer officers are scattered over Hindostan in charge of and superintending fortifications, roads, military buildings, &c. within the precincts of their stations, they can also, without an increase of numbers, take charge of the gaols, the civil buildings, the barrack departments, and likewise of a company of Sappers and Miners." The author of the New System here pays the *useless* Engineer a high compliment without meaning it, and as unwittingly censures the Infantry officers, by asserting that one *useless* Engineer can perform his own duties and those of *three* Infantry officers in addition; for the corps of Sappers and Miners has that number of Infantry officers at present attached to it. What is to be done, however, when this *useless* Engineer is called into the field? What, when the Sappers and Miners are detached, as they often are, to make roads, or on other services? Is he to go with one or the other? and who is to take charge of his military and civil buildings in his absence? "I pause for a reply."

If I did not know, Sir, that your chief object is to render yourself serviceable to your country, by promoting inquiry on all subjects of public utility, I should apologize to you for occupying so much of your space with a subject that may be considered interesting to one class of readers only. The condition of the Indian army is, however, of such importance to the good government of India itself, that I rely on your impartiality to give my *later* insertion.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

CATO.

P. S.—Should any officer of either of the three Engineer corps think my exertions may be useful in procuring a restitution of their equitable claims, I shall be happy to receive any communication from him, as it may possibly put me in possession of facts of which at present I am ignorant. Letters, post paid, are requested to be directed to "CATO, Post-office, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk."

IMPRISONMENT OF AN ENGLISH EDITOR IN INDIA, BY ORDER OF LORD AMHERST.

(From the Calcutta Journal.)

CASE OF MR. ARNOT.

Order for his Transmission—Arrest by the Police—Imprisonment in Fort William—and Release on a Writ of Habeas Corpus.

The proceedings which have taken place, with regard to Mr. Arnot, late Assistant Editor of the Calcutta Journal, in consequence of the order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council for his removal to the United Kingdom, have been noticed in this paper, from time to time, as they occurred; but in giving an account of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, on his being brought up and discharged on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*,—which are of infinite interest both in a legal and constitutional point of view,—we think it necessary to preface it with a brief recapitulation of the different previous steps which led to this event.

Sept. 4.—About mid-day, Mr. Arnot received an intimation from the magistrates of Calcutta, in a note signed by their clerk, requesting him to call at the Police Office, which he accordingly did immediately. Messrs. Alsop, Paton, and Birch having taken their seats on the bench, gave him to understand that they had received certain instructions from the Government respecting him, with which it was their duty to make him acquainted. Mr. Paton then proceeded to read a letter from W. B. Bayley, Esq. the chief secretary to the Government, to the magistrates, dated the 3d of September, directing them to call Mr. Arnot before them, and apprise him that Government had adopted the resolution of removing him from India; as communicated in a letter to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard of the same date thereto annexed.

Mr. Paton also read the letter addressed to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard, in which it was stated that the ground of the above resolution was the following passage in the Calcutta Journal of the 30th of August, page 833.

Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument; and we hope we may speak of it as a matter of history without offence, as we shall express no opinion on it either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary, we should not even allude to it; but in doing so, we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established laws

and government of the country. The article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce, as clerk to the Stationary Committee; [*and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government, as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce's being the author of those letters, placed in connexion with his appointment to his secular office. Thus, it appears, Dr. Bryce's reputed authorship and pluralities, were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal; and of the new laws which are in consequence established for the press.] But for him this society might have continued in the enjoyment of all its former privileges, nor have been deprived of one of its members. When those who watch with anxious expectation the progress of improvement in this country, and the spread of that Gospel, which Dr. Bryce is commissioned to preach, consider the effects of these measures; it will be for them to award him the praise, or censure, which they think he has deserved.

The letter to the magistrates stated, that holding Mr. Sandys and Mr. Arnot responsible for this article quoted, as Mr. Sandys could not be subjected to any direct mark of the displeasure of the Government, suitable to the occasion and the nature of the offence, which would not equally injure the interest of the shareholders in the property†; but Mr. Arnot being a native of Great Britain residing in India without licence, the Governor General in Council had accordingly resolved that Mr. Arnot should be sent to England. In pursuance of this resolution, the magistrates were directed to inform Mr. Arnot, that if he should voluntarily engage to proceed to England and to embark on board a ship for that purpose, within one month from the date of the letter, and should enter into such security to do so as might appear to the magistrates sufficient for that purpose, then the Governor General in Council would not subject him to the privations and inconveniences

* The passages printed between crochets are those marked by double lines in the official letter of the Government to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard as offensive.

† The meaning of this is, that Mr. Sandys, being a native of India by birth, could not be punished without a trial, unless it were by withdrawing the licence from the Journal, which would affect others even more deeply than himself; but Mr. Arnot being of British birth, could be removed from India by the mere will of the Governor, without a trial, this being the distinguishing privilege of the class to which he belonged.

which would necessarily follow the enforcement of the process authorized in the 104th section of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, for arresting or sending to England persons found in the East Indies without a licence; and if he failed to give such securities, then the usual warrant would be prepared and sent to them without delay.

These documents having been read over, Mr. Arnot observed, that this being the first intimation he had received of the intention of the Government to send him to the United Kingdom, he was of course not provided with any securities, nor prepared to say whether or not he should offer any; not knowing what might be the effect of his thus binding himself to leave the country. For instance, if it could be construed into a voluntary departure, he might then be considered as acting dishonourably towards those with whom he had contracted obligations with the view of his permanently residing in India; and rather than incur such a supposition, he would willingly submit to any hardship that might be imposed upon him. He desired, however, to know the amount in which securities would be required, and requested that time might be given him to consult his friends on the subject. The magistrates having deliberated for some time, informed him, that he would be required to bind himself under a penalty of sicca rupees 10,000, with two sureties in sicca rupees 5,000 each, to leave the country; or to take the alternative of a charter-party passage. On his again requesting to be allowed an opportunity of consulting with his friends, they consented to permit him to depart on his giving his own personal recognizances to return and surrender himself in the course of the afternoon, under a penalty of sicca rupees 20,000; which he did accordingly. Mr. Arnot returned in the evening, agreeably to stipulation: but the magistrates having left the office, he was directed to be in attendance at eleven o'clock next morning.

Sept. 5.—Mr. Arnot, having again appeared this forenoon before Mr. Paton, the only magistrate on duty, stated that he had made a representation to the Government on the subject of his transmission, which he hoped would be successful; and he therefore requested that the magistrate would postpone the matter till the result was known. He, at the same time, requested to be furnished with authenticated copies of the documents containing the resolution and directions of the Government concerning

his removal; which, he said, would be necessary previous to his giving the securities required on the preceding day, as above stated, for his quitting the country; since, without some authentic document to show the precise nature of the charge against him, for which this order had been passed, he could not ask any of his friends to stand security on his account; as it might be supposed to be something of a very criminal and disgraceful nature; in which case, of course, no one would allow his name to be associated with his in any shape; and without some proof to show whether the charge was of this nature or not: at present, it could only be estimated from the amount of the punishment. On this representation, Mr. Paton intimated that the copies should be granted, and allowed Mr. Arnot to depart on the same recognizances as before, on condition of again surrendering himself the next day.

Same Day.—Mr. Arnot, feeling considerable anxiety to peruse the documents which contained the orders respecting him, returned to the Police Office in the afternoon, for the purpose of ascertaining if the copies were yet prepared, as he had been led to expect; and in that case to receive them. At the time of going into the office, there happened to be a full bench of magistrates—(Messrs. Shakespeare, Patou, and Birch, we think, were those present), who entered into a new discussion of the subject. Mr. Shakespeare thought Mr. Arnot had no right to make his obtaining a copy of the papers, a preliminary to his granting the securities required for his quitting the country. Mr. Arnot submitted, that it was a reasonable request to be furnished with copies of papers so deeply affecting his interest; and endeavoured to show, on the grounds already stated, that the possession of such copies must facilitate the procuring of the sureties required, by enabling him to satisfy his friends as to the true nature of his offence. Mr. Shakespeare thought they might take that upon his own word; Mr. Arnot rejoined, that persons knowing the favourable light in which every one regards his own conduct, would not perhaps suppose him destitute of that partiality more than others; and would therefore act unwarrantably were they to rely entirely on his ideas for a correct view of the case. In fine, that his conscience would not permit him to ask any one to stand security for him, until he could adduce some unquestionable proof, such as the above documents afforded, of the

nature and amount of his offence. Mr. Shakespeare asking, if Mr. Arnot meant by not giving security, to resist the orders of the Government: the latter replied, that he had no idea of anything like resistance; but as his sudden removal would blast all his prospects—prevent the fulfilment of his engagements depending on his continuance here—and in a word, involve him in immediate ruin—he should do all he could by a representation to the Government, to arrest his fate: but if this failed, he had no remedy, and was at its disposal. Although, under such circumstances, he could not, voluntarily, become accessory to his own removal from the country—he would, of course, submit to necessity. The magistrates decided that they were not warranted to give Mr. Arnot the copies required; and allowed him to depart on his personal recognizances, as before, on condition that he should appear there again next forenoon. Mr. Arnot being refused copies from the magistrates, addressed a letter to the chief secretary of the Government, through whose office the papers had passed, requesting to be furnished with official copies.

Sept. 6.—Mr. Arnot having again appeared at the Police Office this forenoon, was informed by Mr. Paton the sitting magistrate, as the result of the representation above mentioned, that the Government had resolved to admit of no modification of the orders respecting his removal from the country, as notified in their letter of the 3d instant. The magistrate also informed Mr. Arnot, that he was authorized by the Government to furnish him with copies of the documents required by him. On the subject of the sureties, Mr. Arnot stated, that he was precisely in the same predicament as before. On being refused copies yesterday afternoon at the Police, he had made an application to the chief secretary, but he had not yet received them. Mr. Paton allowed Mr. Arnot to depart till the evening, when he promised that official copies of the documents required should be ready for him. Reference being incidentally made to Mr. Arnot's being in the country without a licence, Mr. Arnot observed, that, from the practice of many years past, no notice being taken whether persons have licences or not, about which no one seemed to care anything, and the little security a licence affords, provided the Government be resolved to remove an individual from the country,—he laid no stress whatever upon the possession of one. However, as towards the close

of the Marquess of Hastings' administration, some surmised the possibility of different rules being acted upon at some future period—he being desirous to comply with whatever regulations or practices might become current, availed himself of the opportunity of a gentleman of influence proceeding to England, who promised to use his interest to procure him the formal sanction of the authorities at home for his residence in the country. This he was therefore in hopes of shortly receiving, had his residence here been prolonged.

Same Day.—Mr. Arnot returned to get the copies which had been promised him in the morning; and was given to understand that the copies intended to be given him were mere transcripts,—not in any manner authenticated. This not being what he had expected, he declined receiving them, as they would not answer his purpose. He informed the sitting magistrates, Messrs. Paton and Alsop, that he had prepared another representation to the Government, which he hoped would be more successful than the former, and requested they would postpone matters until the result should be known. He was then allowed to depart on his personal recognizances, as before.

Sept. 8.—Mr. Arnot informed the magistrates, that his second representation to the Government, of date the 6th inst., had been given in, and in order to allow time for the resolution thereon being known, they allowed him to depart on his former recognizance till Wednesday afternoon (Sept. 10.)

Sept. 10.—Mr. Arnot attended in conformity with his promise, when Mr. Paton furnished him with official copies of the documents, signed and sealed by him as a magistrate of Calcutta, and at the same time informed Mr. Arnot, that he was authorized to intimate to him that the representations addressed to the Government, had produced no change in their resolution respecting his immediate removal. He informed the magistrates that no securities had been brought forward for the reasons above stated; viz. not having been in possession of the copies *just then granted*. Mr. Arnot having received this intelligence, then asked if he was at liberty to depart? which question being answered by Mr. Paton in the affirmative, Mr. Arnot left the office without being required to enter into any further recognizances to return. A warrant for Mr. Arnot's apprehension being by that time granted, orders were immediately after issued for his being taken into custody.

Sept. 11.—Mr. Arnot addressed a letter to Mr. Paton, asking, whether, being now at last in possession of the documents he had required, securities would be accepted; and received for answer, that the warrant had been issued for his apprehension, and the securities would not be accepted till he was in custody.

Sept. 12.—This day, about noon, Mr. Arnot was taken into custody at the entrance of the Calcutta Journal office, by two serjeants of Police, and conducted before Mr. Paton the magistrate who served him with the warrant of the Governor General for his apprehension. When asked, whether he was yet ready to give securities to quit the country; Mr. Arnot answered, that being now deprived of his personal liberty, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of such an act. He was then conducted by the officers of police to the Fort, where he was transferred to the custody of Lieut. Col. Vaughan the town-major of Fort William, who lodged him in the strong room, Royal Barracks.

THE WARRANT.

The Right Honourable William Pitt Lord Amherst, Governor General of Fort William in Bengal—to John Vaughan, Esq. Town Major of Fort William in Bengal.

It being duly certified and proved to me the Right Honourable William Pitt Lord Amherst, Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, that Sandford Arnot, a subject of our Lord, the now King, of and belonging to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, hath been and resided in Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal in the East Indies, and is now at Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, in the East Indies, within the limits of the exclusive trade of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, without the licence of the said United Company, and without being otherwise thereunto lawfully authorized, and contrary to the statute, in that case made and provided, and which said Sandford Arnot having been found in the province of Bengal, in the East Indies aforesaid, without such licence or other lawful authority, has been duly arrested and seized, for the purpose of being dealt with according to law, I therefore, by virtue of the powers and authorities in that behalf committed to me, the said Governor General, by statute in such case made and provided, hereby authorize, charge, and require you, the said John Vaughan, Esq. Town Major aforesaid, to receive, and safely to keep and detain in your custody, the body of the said Sandford Arnot, in Fort William in Bengal, aforesaid, until he shall be remitted and sent to England, on board some one of the ships belonging to, or in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, which shall next

after the date hereof be despatched to the United Kingdom, that the said Sandford Arnot may be there landed and discharged at such port or ports of the United Kingdom, where such ships shall be moored in safety, at the termination of the said voyage, as the said Sandford Arnot may think fit, pursuant to the statute in such case made and provided. In the due execution whereof, all justices of the peace, constables, and others whom it may concern, are to be aiding and assisting, and for so doing, this shall be yours and their warrant.—Given under my hand and seal, at Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal, the twelfth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

(Signed) AMHERST.
(Wafer and paper seal).

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE,
BENGAL,

In the matter of Sandford Arnot.

Sept. 14.—Application was made in chambers to Sir Anthony Buller for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, ordering that Mr. Arnot confined in Fort William, under a warrant of the Right Hon. the Governor General, in the custody of Lieut. Col. Vaughan, be brought up and disposed of as the court should direct: Sir Anthony Buller granted the writ, which was served that evening on Lieut. Col. Vaughan, and made returnable on Thursday the 18th at noon.

PETITION.

To the Honourable Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten, Knight, Senior Justice, and his companion Justices of the said Supreme Court.

The humble Petition of the above-named Sandford Arnot

SHOWETH,

That your petitioner was, on the 12th day of the present month of September, while proceeding from this honourable Court to the office of the Calcutta Journal, seized in the public street, by two persons, representing themselves to be constables; who forcibly conveyed your petitioner to the police-office, where he was taken before Charles Paton, Esq., one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the town of Calcutta.

That your petitioner was, shortly afterwards, taken by the direction and order of the said Charles Paton, Esq., from the said police-office into the Fort, at Fort William; where he was delivered into the custody of Lieutenant Colonel John Vaughan, Town and Fort-major of Fort William.

That your petitioner was, by the order of the said Lieutenant Colonel John Vaughan, conveyed to the Royal Barracks, in the said Fort, where he was forcibly, and against his will, placed in confinement, and imprisoned in a room, the windows of which are secured by iron bars; and your petitioner is not permitted to leave the said

room, unless accompanied and attended by a military sentry.

That your petitioner is still confined as a prisoner in Fort William aforesaid, under custody of, and by order of the said Lieutenant Colonel John Vaughan.

That your petitioner is ignorant of any cause for which he is, or can be imprisoned.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays your Lordships will be pleased to order, that his Majesty's writ of *Habeas Corpus* do issue, directed to the said Lieutenant Colonel John Vaughan, commanding him to have the body of your petitioner, together with the cause of detaining your petitioner, before your Lordships, at your Lordships' chambers in the Court-house, at Calcutta, on the 18th day of September instant, at the hour of 11 o'clock, in the forenoon of that day, to do, and receive, and be subjected to, what your Lordships shall then and there he pleased to consider of your petitioner in that behalf.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.
(Signed) T. TURTON.

An affidavit of an individual, who witnessed the arrest and imprisonment in the Fort, was annexed; but as it merely repeats the circumstances stated in the Petition, rather more in detail, it is unnecessary to publish it.

Sept. 18.—The return was postponed till to-morrow at the request of Mr. Poe, the Company's attorney—which was acceded to on the other side.

SUPREME COURT.—CHAMBERS.

Before the Hon. Sir F. Macnaghten and Sir A. Butler.

Friday, Sept. 19.—About mid-day Mr. Arnot was brought up from the Fort, in custody of a seicant, and agreeably to the summons on the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, produced before the judges. As it had been announced in the newspapers, that the business was to be done in chambers, not in open court, a general impression prevailed, that the proceedings would be entirely private, and no person admitted to hear them unless personally concerned. This, however, did not prevent a great concourse of persons being in attendance, who were anxious to hear the result; and when it was afterwards found that the public were not excluded, as had been anticipated, many regretted deeply the erroneous impression which had kept them away from these interesting proceedings.

The judges having taken their seats in the large hall, appropriated to the Grand Jury, when doing business, the barristers and attorneys connected with the case, and some others also, took their seats at the table placed about the

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centre; and the numerous audience of the inhabitants of Calcutta assembled, and ranged themselves around in the room in the most convenient situation they could obtain for hearing the proceedings.

Mr. TURTON appeared as Counsel for Mr. Arnot; and proceeded to state the grounds on which he would claim his discharge. The learned Counsel began by intimating, that he had nothing to say as to the power of the Government to transmit to England British subjects found in India without a licence; his business being solely with the right of imprisoning such persons, in the intermediate time between the order for their removal and their embarkation. Before entering further into the question, he would observe that, although he had many objections to the return made by Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan to the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, yet, as he considered himself to stand upon other and stronger grounds, he would not adduce these objections unless he was driven to it: and therefore, in the meantime, he waived them entirely, reserving, however, the right of having recourse to them in case of necessity. He would, in the first instance, confine himself to the question of, whether the Government have a right, by Act of Parliament, to confine an individual whom they are about to send home? He would first state it as a principle fully recognised in English Courts of Justice, that as personal liberty was the natural right of every man, and not to be abridged, except for what the common law of the land has distinctly declared to be a sufficient cause; therefore no British subject could be deprived of his liberty, without the express warrant of an Act of Parliament. A high legal authority (Mr. Justice Blackstone) had (Com. i. 135.) stated the grounds on which the subject could be deprived of his liberty; and in the great Charter itself, (or if he might be allowed to call it so, the greatest Charter) of English liberty, it was declared that "no freeman should be taken or imprisoned but by the lawful judgment of his equals, or by the law of the land." "The glory of the English law (said Sir William Blackstone,) consists in clearly defining the times, the causes, and the extent—when, wherefore, and to what degree, the imprisonment of the subject may be lawful." (Comment. iii. 134.) He lays it down as a rule, that the personal liberty of the subject so jealously guarded, being "a natural inherent right which could not be surrendered or forfeited, unless by the

commission of some great and atrocious crime, and ought not to be abridged in any case without the special permission of the law." Now to apply these principles to the 104th section of the 53rd Geo. III. on which the commitment of Mr. Arnot is grounded by the Government, we find that it simply gives them the power "to take, seize, arrest, and send on board a ship bound for England." There is no word about imprisonment: there is no warrant—no "special permission"—for his confinement. Therefore all the confinement the Government had a right to inflict, was, that which was necessary while conveying the individual on board the ship: and no more. The learned Counsel had heard, (for things of this kind in such cases as the present, would get abroad sometimes,) that he was to be met on the ground that, although the Act did not distinctly give to the Governor General the power of imprisonment; yet, it was only natural to suppose it contained within itself the power of its own enforcement; and that this was a power, therefore, necessarily arising from the Act itself, in which such imprisonment, it would be argued, is necessarily implied. But in opposition to such a doctrine, he would maintain, that such a power ought to be clearly and expressly given; otherwise, it cannot be assumed. There was no such power even hinted at in the Act: and no one had a right to suppose and supply what was not to be found there. At the time it was passed, the country was at war with France; consequently, fleets could only sail under convoy probably twice a year; and from the delay thus occasioned, there could seldom be opportunities of transmitting persons to England: perhaps once in six months. The legislature knowing this, and that if the power of imprisonment were given, individuals might be subjected to a long confinement, did not introduce such a power into the Act: they, therefore, did not intend the persons to be treated with such severity; thinking their removal to England hard-ship enough, without such an aggravation as suffering five or six months' imprisonment.

That such was the view of the legislature in passing this Act, is clearly proved by contrasting it with another of a similar nature; the Act respecting foreigners. In this they did contemplate such imprisonment; and the manner in which a foreigner shall be treated, is distinctly pointed out. Now, if the right of intermediate imprisonment was necessarily implied in the power to re-

move, why did they take the trouble to give it expressly in the case of foreigners? Does the English Government, with the advice and assistance of its law officers, pass acts for mere waste paper; stuffing them with superfluous and useless clauses, giving people powers which they must have possessed without them? An extract from the act referred to (55 Geo. III. c. 84. s. 6.) was then read.

Was it possible (asked Mr. Turton) to imagine, that the legislature, having made such careful provision for the confinement of foreigners, with due attention to their comforts, would have been utterly regardless about the treatment of British-born subjects? If it had meant the latter to be imprisoned, when found in India without a licence, would it have made no provision for their good treatment? Would it not, in some manner, have mitigated or restrained the exercise of the power it granted over them? Or, was the English Government, in consenting that its own natural subjects should be deprived of their liberty—to assign no limits to the exercise of this power, but leave them entirely to their fate, without any hope of relief?

Mr. Turton also argued that Mr. Arnot could not be imprisoned in the fort, unless the Act expressly authorized it; as it was an illegal place of confinement. If the Governor General had the power of committing to a private prison and not to a public prison, the benefit of the 3. § 7. c. 3. (certifying commitments) would be lost. He referred to acts passed against confining people to private houses or dungeons, to which persons might be hurried away, and shut up without an opportunity of communicating with their friends; and also as the keepers made no reports of their proceedings to any legal authority, a person might be immured, in this way, without any means of legal redress. He referred to a case decided in England, in which Mr. Fergusson, the present Advocate General at this presidency, had adduced a very able and learned argument to prove, that a person was illegally confined in Cold-bath fields, on the ground that it was not a public prison. The judges admitted the validity of the argument, and only decided against him on the particular grounds; that a certain Act of Parliament had rendered this a public prison; otherwise, the person must have been illegally confined.

Returning to the act on which Mr. Arnot had been committed—he observed, that as it gave extraordinary powers,

it must be strictly interpreted—its meaning not arbitrarily extended. It appeared, by its preamble, that transmission was intended for cases where no other punishment was required; a circumstance which alone suggested its being used leniently; the Government were authorized to proceed against individuals here without a licence for a misdemeanour; and they might be punished by a fine not exceeding sicca rupees 2,000, or imprisonment not exceeding two months. But, observed the learned Counsel, as there may be cases when removal to England is enough, without any further punishment, the Government is then authorized to apprehend individuals in this predicament, and send them to England, when no further punishment is deemed necessary, not even two months' imprisonment deserved. Could the Act at the same time intend to inflict seven or eight months' imprisonment, or more, (for such it might amount to,) over and above the banishment to England? On the grounds stated, and others which, if necessary, might be adduced from the return, the learned Counsel concluded that Mr. Arnot was entitled to his discharge.

Mr. FERGUSON the Advocate General then stated, that he appeared officially, in support of the return made to this writ of *Habeas Corpus*. From the first mention of it, he had never entertained any doubt that the Government possessed the power to imprison. If it had not this power, the person must be set at large, at once; and the Governor General would be left without the means necessary for exercising the authority vested in him by the Act for sending to the United Kingdom, British subjects found here without a licence. It would be absurd to suppose, that the legislature meant to give him such a power, without giving also the means necessary for carrying it into effect. The analogy drawn between this case and that of aliens and foreigners, was inapplicable; because aliens were guilty of no offence by being in the country; whereas British subjects residing here, without a licence, were declared by the Act of Parliament to be committing a high crime and misdemeanour every day. The Government was authorized to arrest and send them to England; and the power of detention, till they could be put on board a ship, was clearly necessary for the exercise of that power. The learned Counsel then referred to a manuscript book, containing accounts of the proceedings in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, extracted and copied (he

stated) under the superintendence of a gentleman very competent to the task, (Mr. Mactier, clerk of the papers.) From this he cited a case decided in this court, when Sir Robert Chambers was Chief Justice—than whom, he thought, an abler judge had not sat on that bench. Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Leslie, (and others whom he named,) all men of considerable abilities, were counsel in the case; and although all the arguments on both sides were not given, it appeared to have been fully canvassed, affording the greater security for a mature and just decision. This was the case of Duhan in 1791, when a writ of *Habeas Corpus* was applied for; and a return being made that he had been confined in the fort by order of the Governor General, the court decided that it could not release him.

(The book contained a copy of the return in that case: which return Sir Francis Macnaghten pronounced to be manifestly bad, and not supportable in law. It bore, we believe, that the person was to be kept in prison, unless he entered into security to quit the country.)

The Advocate General then quoted the 5th Geo. I. c. 21, which confirmed the 9th and 10th of William III. forbidding people to trade to the East Indies without licence under penalty of forfeiting the effects embarked in such trade, and double the value thereof; and it was settled that residence, without licence, should be construed into unlawful trafficking. In none of the Acts till the 53rd Geo. III. was there any mention of the individual unlawfully trading or residing being put "on board a ship bound to England." The words did not occur previous to this Act. It gave to the Governor General, the Governor of any of the presidencies, the chief officer of the company resident at any British Settlement, the company's council of supercargoes at the factory of Canton, &c. the power "to take, arrest, seize, and cause to be taken, arrested and seized," persons without a licence, and to remit and send them to the United Kingdom "on board of any ship or ships of or belonging to or in the service of the Company." The power of confining them until they could be sent on board such ship, was, the learned Counsel contended, necessarily implied. If not, how could the Act be carried into effect? When a person is ordered to be arrested and committed to jail; after the officers have laid hold of him, there must necessarily be some detention before he can be put into the prison. If it be at a great distance, perhaps twenty

or thirty miles, they may find it necessary to stop somewhere on the road all night. This is imprisonment, but not unlawful; because necessary for the person being lodged ultimately in the place destined for his confinement. In the present case, such intermediate confinement was obviously necessary for carrying the purpose of the Act into effect. In the custody of his (the Advocate General's) friend Col. Vaughan, a gentleman distinguished for the urbanity of his manners, he was confident Mr. Arnot would receive every indulgence, consistent with his safe detention. The clause of the act (§ 104) which the Government had gone upon, was that which enabled them to send persons home without adopting any further proceedings against them, and was evidently meant as a comparatively lenient measure. And the manner in which it was put in practice was favourable to the individual; for if they did not lodge him in the fort, then they must put him on board a ship where he would be less comfortably situated. Now, if the Act conferred no power to detain, what was to be done during the S. W. Monsoon when none of the company's ships were ever despatched? *

Suppose Mr. Arnot had been put on board of the *Ogle Castle* (lately obliged to put back,) must he have remained there till she was again able to put to sea? And if the ship was condemned, what is to become of him? Must he not be lodged somewhere in safe custody? But if he can only be kept on board a ship bound for England, a ship may be bound for England, though in Kyd's dock; † must Mr. Arnot go there too, and have his head hammered to pieces until the carpenters are able to make her sea worthy? Would he not be very glad to exchange the smell of pitch and tar, with the noise of workmen, for a quiet lodging in Fort William with Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan? In this view of the case, the learned Counsel considered the mode pursued towards Mr. Arnot, not only necessary for his removal, but the best for himself. The question was whether Government were bound to put him immediately on board a ship. He thought they were not, by the terms of the Act; which he main-

tained contemplated intermediate imprisonment. For in the 123d § it expressly mentioned the word imprisoning. It said—

That if any suit of action shall be brought or commenced against the said United Company, or any of their servants, or any person or persons acting by their authority, for the recovery of any costs or damages for the unlawful taking, arresting, seizing, *imprisoning*, sending or bringing into the United Kingdom, of any person, or persons found in the *East Indies* or other parts aforesaid, within the limits of the said Company's charter, or as not being authorized to reside or traffic there, &c.

The words, "imprisoning, sending," he contended, could not apply to the captain of the vessel; and must therefore refer to the Governor General or any others acting on the same authority, instrumental in the individual's being sent out of the country. He was ready to go as far as Mr. Turton in saying, that there should be no imprisonment unless necessary for Mr. Arnot's conveyance on board ship; that there should be no superfluous delay on the way: but some detention was obviously necessary; and no attempt had been made to prove that, in this case, more had taken place than was necessary. No ship of the description required had sailed since his arrest, and he was entitled to be sent by the first. If it had not been the intention of the Act that he should be detained in custody till a ship be prepared for his reception, it would have said, he shall be "taken, arrested, and seized," &c. provided only a ship of the proper description be ready to receive him on board and convey him to England. On these grounds the learned Counsel concluded that Mr. Arnot's detention was agreeable to the Act of Parliament, and legal; and that he must therefore be remanded to the fort in custody of the Town Major.

MR. TURTON.—My learned friend has told us he never entertained any doubt of the legality of Mr. Arnot's imprisonment. Well, perhaps not. For I have observed, that starting on a cause, he has a wonderful facility in getting rid of his doubts: the moment he embarks in it, he immediately heaves all his doubts overboard, to render his argument the safer. Nay, he does not even leave enough of doubts to serve for ballast. He has also been less courteous than he usually is; for he told me my argument was absurd.

THE ADVOCATE GENERAL explained that he did not mean to say that: for his learned friend, as usual, argued very

* Note.—This is a mistake of the learned Advocate, for the Company's ships are despatched even in the height of the Monsoon: it is not material, however; for the argument, if well founded, would ent both ways.

† This is not quite correct, because a ship cannot properly be said to be bound for a port, until she has actually entered the customs for that place.

well; but in this case, his arguments led to an absurd conclusion.

MR. TURTON resumed.—It is very easy for my learned friend to say that such a conclusion is absurd; or that the power of imprisonment is necessarily implied in the Act of Parliament. But I go upon the well-known principle of the law of England, known to every one who has ever passed the threshold of an English Court of Justice,—that all penal statutes must be construed strictly; and that no man must be deprived of his liberty without an express authority from an Act of Parliament. In interpreting the sense of an Act, there must be no stretching of the meaning,—no supplying of supposed omissions, in order to trench on the liberty of the subject, further than is expressly authorized. The Advocate General says, that the power of imprisoning is necessarily implied. But where is the authority for saying so? On what acknowledged principle of law is such a construction put upon the Act? What legal dictum is there in favour of this latitude of interpretation? We have heard of none. He has indeed cited a case decided in this Court in 1791. I do not care what was decided, unless I know the grounds and the principles upon which that judgment was pronounced. Not being made acquainted with these, I must still rest the question on the broad ground of the law of England; according to the principles of which, I maintain this imprisonment to be illegal, and not warranted. With all due respect to the authority of precedents, judges are not infallible; or wherefore the number of new trials we see granted in England? After decision, the judges see reason to deliberate further on the subject, and the judgments are not unfrequently reversed. Notwithstanding, therefore, the high encomiums passed by my learned friend on Sir R. Chambers, he was by no means infallible. My learned friend, indeed, always has a very high admiration for those judges and lawyers who entertain the same opinions with himself. But I have no doubt that in examining that book (in *Mss.*) he has found many things to astonish him; and that he could put his finger on many passages, in the propriety of which he is very far from coinciding. I do not know what particular notions Sir R. Chambers may have entertained as to the liberty of the subject, or the power of the Government. Sir William Jones, who also sat on the bench, was a great Oriental scholar.

SIR F. MACNAUGHTEN.—And a great stickler for liberty.

MR. TURTON.—Yes, my Lord: but apt to be fascinated by talent. Now, all the learning and eloquence of the bar might have been in favour of the imprisonment. I do not know what arguments were used on the other side: this I know, that the decision was contrary to the law of England, as here established. The Advocate General considers the confinement of my client in the Fort a *lenient* way of proceeding.

ADVOCATE GENERAL.—I expressed no opinion at all on the present case, further than that his imprisonment, in such a case, was legal; and that in granting a power of sending him home without any further prosecution, the Act intended to be comparatively lenient; and that he may be more comfortable in the Fort than on board a ship, until the time that the latter is ready to proceed to sea.

MR. TURTON.—Well, admitting that in the custody of my learned brother's friend, Col. Vaughan, my client may be more comfortable than on board a ship; nevertheless, as in the case of a person taken up by a bailiff, who may be willing to detain him in his own house instead of taking him to prison, the person in custody may say, "It is true you have a commodious house, with agreeable company and a pleasant prospect; yet I don't choose to remain in it. Take me to my legal prison, for there only will I be confined, however much it may be inferior to your house." So my client may say, "I do not choose to remain in the Fort, I am willing to go on board a ship bound for England, and there only you are authorized to confine me." The intermediate confinement, unwarranted by the Act, is by no means necessary to enable the Government to send persons on board a ship. But even if it were, the Court could not authorize what was not warranted in the Act; since they sit as judges, and not as legislators. If a magistrate were empowered by the statute to fine a person for a certain offence, but it did not go on to say, that in case of the offender failing to pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned until he do so—then the magistrate would not have been warranted to inflict imprisonment upon him; and must content himself with awarding the pecuniary penalty, leaving it to be recovered in the best way it can.

MR. TURTON thought it unnecessary to take up their Lordships' time by stating the many fatal objections which lay against the return, and rested satisfied that on the grounds already stated, on the principles laid down by Sir William Blackstone, and the greatest law author-

rites, that penal statutes must be construed strictly, that the personal liberty of the subject must not be abridged, unless there is an express warrant for it from the words of a statute or the common law of the land, the Court would order Mr. Arnot's release.

SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN began by regretting that there was little hope of a concurrence of opinion, between him and his colleague in office, on the subject before them. But (said his Lordship) I think there must be something plain and distinct—something clear and express in the Act of Parliament—something which admits of no other construction, before the subject can be deprived of his liberty. If this principle be not adhered to, and preserved without any reservation or admixture of anything else whatever, then I know of no security from the laws on which the subject can place reliance. I am well aware that, if the Governor General, acting under the 33d or the 53d of George III. send to England British subjects found here without a licence, we have no right to interfere. He is authorized to do so by Act of Parliament; and whether that be a constitutional or unconstitutional act, with that—sitting here as judges—we have no concern. Nor have we anything to do with the discretion or indiscretion, with which he may exercise that authority; nor with his regard to liberty or his regard to tyranny. Therefore, I put this entirely out of the question. But the Act of Parliament, conferring such authority, gives no power of imprisonment. The word is not found, nor the idea conveyed in it at all. If the word "*detain*" even had been used, it might have afforded some shadow of an argument for this imprisonment, but we do not find even such a word in the act. Therefore the obvious and necessary conclusion is, that the act has only one object: it gives the power to seize and remit to England persons found here without a licence, but confers no power whatever of imprisoning them. Many things have been introduced which were not necessary for the argument; as the 104th section of the 53d of George III. (on which the warrant of commitment is founded) is alone necessary, and must by itself decide the question. I do not deny that other acts may be referred to for illustration or analogy; but on this the question depends.

It may be said, that if the Government has not a right to imprison until a ship be ready, then a dangerous man may go abroad and do mischief in the interme-

diate time. So he may; and, supposing the worst case, that he has the means and the desire of doing mischief, I say he may do all the mischief he can, subject always to the control of the laws, and to be punished for every illegal Act he may commit; but no person has a right to prevent him by any precautionary measure. Such, I say, was the intention of the legislature in passing the act. For although, sitting here as judges, we have no right to inquire whether an Act be constitutional or unconstitutional; yet we are bound, as British judges, to put upon it a constitutional rather than an unconstitutional interpretation; and were it liable to two constructions, where the right of the subject is concerned, we are bound to give it an interpretation in favour of liberty.

On this point I wish to be clearly understood. To say that we enjoy here the full privileges of the British constitution, is absurd. We enjoy no such thing. The idea of such liberty is absurd—is ridiculous. How can any man in his senses say, I will act as I choose, subject only to the laws, when he knows that he may be told, "You shall do nothing, you have no right to be here at all." To speak of British liberty then existing here as at home, would be little less than frenzy. But the fewer the privileges we do enjoy—the more numerous and heavy the restraints imposed upon us—the more our liberty is narrowed, the more, I say, does it become incumbent on the judges to guard, with greater strictness, that portion of liberty which remains to us; for we have the less to spare.

With regard to the pretended necessity of guarding against the mischief a party may do, before a vessel is ready for his conveyance to England, let us see what the legislature has done in another case very nearly related to this. When a person is residing in the country with a licence, it can of course only be recalled on account of his own misconduct. Therefore in such case, it is to be presumed, that there must be some cause which renders his removal a matter of public expedience. But even then, did the legislature empower the Governor General to seize and immediately imprison this public enemy, to keep him from doing more extensive mischief until he could be conveyed out of the country? No such thing:—He is allowed to roam at large for two months! Then in the other case, if any idle person happen to have come here about that time from England, without thinking the matter, or not knowing perhaps

a licence was necessary, and thus he caught in the trap, and ordered out of the country, without, perhaps, having committed any offence, or what is a mere *parliamentary* offence; can it be contended, with any shadow of reason, that he is to be imprisoned without any express authority? I say, without having committed any offence,—not with reference to the particular circumstances of this case, which have induced the Government to order Mr. Arnot's removal from the country; for I declare, I know nothing about them, and have nothing to do with them. But the Government, by this mode of proceeding, have declined prosecuting him for a misdemeanour, and rested satisfied with his being removed. It is to be presumed, therefore, that he has committed no offence which calls for prosecution, and is removed merely for not having a licence. In such a case, are we justified in considering him a dangerous man, who must be secured right or wrong, legally or illegally? Am I sitting here as a British Judge to put words in an Act of Parliament, and supply its supposed deficiencies? and for what? why, to invade the liberties of the subject. Am I to say that such an expression was inadvertently omitted, or such a power was *meant* to be given; and, on such grounds, agree to this person's being imprisoned, without any express authority from the statute? * Sitting here as a British Judge, (and I hope I am not obliged to lay aside my feelings as a man), and viewing the case, as I hope I do, both as an English lawyer and as a gentleman,—I declare that my understanding and my conscience, will not suffer me to send back this person to the cell, or prison, or whatever it may be, in the Fort, where they have confined him. I hope Judges of this court will never be swayed in their decisions, by any respect of persons: nor, if in construing the laws they find two roads, pursue that most agreeable or convenient to men in power, merely because they know it to be so. I trust they will never, in any case, truckle to the Government, as, I fear, those judges have done. [As his Lordship pronounced these words in a very emphatic manner, he laid his hand upon the MS. book of cases from which the Advocate General had quoted that of Mr. Duhan.] If such ever were the case, it would afford a

cloak for every species of oppression. I would infinitely rather see the Court abolished, for it would then be a nuisance rather than a protection to the subject. I declare I should hope, in such a case, to see a public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta to join in a petition to Parliament, to recall its charter and put an end to it at once. This court is supreme, and the moment one particle of this supremacy is forfeited, I trust the court will be annihilated.

Suppose we were to remand this gentleman again to the Fort, I should like to know how long he is to be kept in custody? By this Return, on the extraordinary nature of which I must now remark, the Government assumes a power to act as it pleases—to imprison him with any one it likes; and by what authority? I know of none. The words “to detain or imprison” are not once used in the Act; and am I to put a word into the Act to construe it by implication? I confess it would be some comfort, some sort of satisfaction to me, to find it stated in this Return, how long he is to be kept in durance, and whether for weeks, or months? But the Return does not favour us with any information on this subject; it does not say *when* he is to be put on board a ship, or how long he is to remain confined in the Fort. Lord Holt refused to know that the city of London returned members to Parliament; and on the same grounds, the judges of this court have no right to know that a ship will *ever* sail to England, and thus he may be confined for any indefinite length of time. Good God! is it to be tolerated that a British subject, after being shut up in this manner without any authority, is to be kept all this time, and as long as the Government may think proper to keep him, in prison, without bail or mainprize? Can this be done under English laws, for anything but felony or treason? But the Act which is assumed as the warrant for this, applies equally to Bombay, whence the Company never have a ship bound directly to England. Then are we to put a forced and unwarranted construction upon the Act, by which a British subject, for merely being in India without a licence, is to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment? The idea is monstrous.—But if the Governor General ever had the power to imprison him, I should say, that he might be bailed; because if they prosecuted him, even at home, then he is to be committed, only if NOT BAILED.

I do not know what feeling this person's release may excite, but if a general feeling of satisfaction or congratulation

* Yet this is precisely what the same learned judge actually did himself, in his celebrated “argument” for putting new restrictions on the Indian Press. This speech deserves to be compared with his former one; a task we shall perhaps perform in a succeeding Number.

should prevail at his release, I see no reason why the Government should not participate in it.—The Governor General himself, in my opinion will not be offended at not meeting with unlimited submission to his will, knowing that such blind compliance must necessarily impart weakness and instability to his own power.—Convinced, by experience, of living under a constitutional government, of the eminent advantage of every one being secured in the full enjoyment of his rights; he must rather be pleased at seeing the liberty of the subject protected. I am not intimately acquainted with his Lordship, who has lately arrived amongst us; but I naturally ascribe these sentiments to him as a British nobleman.

My principle is, that, if the words of the Act of Parliament are not clear beyond a doubt in conveying the power to *imprison*, then we ought not, by so stretching its meaning, to curtail the liberty of any man.—We ought, (though I do not speak of this as a constitutional act: I care not whether it is or no—but this I do say)—we are bound to give it a constitutional, rather than an unconstitutional, construction. It does not empower the Government to imprison; and although it may be said that in the Fort, in the care of such a gentleman as Col. Vaughan, this individual will experience all the indulgence which that officer can extend to him, and no one who knows him can doubt; yet, in depriving a man of his liberty, you take away that from him which is necessary for his happiness. It is in vain to talk of the pleasantness of this place or the other; he is no longer master of himself: and this alone is enough to make him miserable. What more, I ask, can any tyrant do, than make his victims miserable? It is true you may put him on board ship, and keep him there in charge of the captain, but I should think the wooden walls of the vessel a sufficient prison. They could not confine him to his cabin, or keep him in fetters. Nay, I think him entitled, by the terms of the Act which provides for him a good and sufficient vessel—to one of the Company's ships—to the best treatment and accommodations. And when the ship reaches England, this gentleman is immediately entitled to his discharge from the vessel at the first place where she is safely moored; and is at liberty to go where he chooses. No conditional term of imprisonment is to be tacked to the end of the voyage. And is imprisonment less a hardship in the East Indies, than in England? Is it of less consequence to a British subject here?

Is the society in this country less consoling to his feelings, or less necessary to his happiness, than in Europe, that we should thus trifle with his liberty? On every principle of law, of reason, and of justice then, I declare it to be my decided opinion, that Mr. Arnot be discharged.

Sir ANTHONY BULLER then delivered his judgment, as nearly as could be collected, to the following effect. He set out by expressing his concurrence in the regret expressed by the senior judge, at the difference of opinion that had arisen between them; but he deemed it necessary to state the grounds of his dissent from his colleague, that they might not be hereafter misconstrued. He had, when he first heard of this matter, been of opinion, that the Government had acted wrong; but after material doubt, and a reference to the case of *Duhan*, cited by the Advocate General, he had come to the opposite conclusion. He had some doubt whether the judges had power in this case, to bail the party; but that was not a question now before the court. If the Government had the power in 1791, they had it, his Lordship thought, now. In the Act of the 53d of Geo. III. there were the words "Company's ship bound to England," which were not in the Act of the 33d; but he did not think that this introduced any loss of privilege, though it might unintentionally have done so. Unfortunately the legislature had not recollected that no such ship might sail for some time after the removal of an individual from the country had been decided on. He thought that the object of the Acts was to give the power of exercising such authority to send home persons, circumstanced as the party in this case was. The governments of India, had the power under former Acts of seizing, taking, and detaining for the purpose of sending to England, British subjects residing here without a licence, in order to prosecute them for a misdemeanour: and it was not contended that they had not the power now, for the purpose of conveying to England when the ship was ready, a British subject so circumstanced—for it was admitted that they might arrest, and seize him, and carry him on board of her. He, Sir A. Buller, thought therefore, that this authority necessarily implied the power to detain till the ship was so ready; and that, consequently, Mr. Arnot was not entitled to his discharge.

Mr. TURTON then applied for the decision of the Court, when Sir Francis Macnaghten ordered Mr. Arnot's immediate release.

DEBATES AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

If the only object of our Publication were to report every word that should be uttered within the walls of the India House, we might easily attain it, as some of the best Reporters in London are at our command; but, it would be vain to hope that such a practice could produce either profit or pleasure to our readers. When three or four days of every month are entirely consumed in a war of words, at the Court of Proprietors, no Monthly Publication could report the whole of such proceedings without excluding every thing else from its pages. Compression is therefore indispensable; and the only question is, as to the extent to which it should be carried. Our own idea is, that the general reader will be satisfied with such reports as shall contain the substance of all the arguments urged, though given in a more condensed form, and cleared of all that does not strictly bear upon the question in dispute; so that the perusal may be not only more expeditious and more agreeable, but leave such clear impressions of the arguments on each side, as rarely follow by the fatiguing task of wading through a wordy and wearisome debate. It is by this practice only, that we can ensure the pleasing variety for which we hope to make our Publication distinguished. The general reader will therefore gain largely by this arrangement; and even those who like to review themselves again in print, after they have spoken in public assemblies, will not, we believe, lose anything of real value or importance by the manner in which their facts and arguments will be stated.

WEDNESDAY, February 25th.—This day a General Court of Proprietors was held.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

The Hon. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD, after a long speech (the substance of which was given in our last Number), proposed the following Resolution for the adoption of the Court:—

“That application be made to Parliament for the repeal of the 46th clause of the Act of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, by which the Court of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the capacity of a writer, any person who shall not have resided during four terms at the Haileybury College.” — The hon. Proprietor stated, that if that Resolution were carried, he intended to propose another to the following effect:—“That it shall not be lawful for the Court of Directors to nominate, appoint, or send to India, in the capacity of writer, any person who has not submitted his qualifications to one or more public examination, as they shall, from time to time, appoint.”

Mr. CARRUTHERS was of opinion that the arguments which the hon. mover had advanced in support of his proposition, were quite inconclusive, whilst at the same time they possessed no claim to novelty, having been used before in 1817, when they were triumphantly refuted. He contended, that the opposition which had been raised against the College, was in a great measure groundless, and proceeded chiefly from disappointed youths, and their parents or

guardians. That the institution had its defects he would not deny; but they bore no proportion to its merits. There was, in his opinion, no collegiate or scholastic institution existing which was so well calculated to furnish the peculiar education which was requisite for young men destined for the civil service in India, as Haileybury College. He saw that the institution had, under the existing regulations, exercised a most beneficial influence on the Indian population, by promoting their well-being and happiness; and he was, therefore, unwilling that any change should take place. For those reasons he would oppose the motion.

Mr. POYNTER was of opinion, that the hon. Proprietor who had brought forward the question, had not succeeded in establishing either of the two positions which, he apprehended, he must do before he could expect the Court to agree to his proposition, namely, that the present system of education at Haileybury College was inefficient; and that the substitute which was proposed was better. (*Hear!*) He referred to the opinions of the Marquesses Wellesley and Cornwallis to show, that previous to the institution of the College, the civil servants were generally badly educated, and unequal to the performance of their important duties. Since the establishment of the College, the general state of the civil service had improved in a surprising degree, and he believed that the improvement which had taken place, could only be ascribed

to the institution at Haileybury. He thought that the course of study pursued at that institution was infinitely better calculated to prepare young men for their appointments in the Company's service, than the course followed at either Oxford or Cambridge. He would vote against the motion.

Mr. RIOSY approved of the motion. He said that the two gentlemen who had preceded him, appeared to have mistaken the object of the hon. mover's proposition. The hon. mover did not propose that the Haileybury College should be destroyed, but only that another avenue should be opened to the public, by which individuals might enter into the Company's service.

Mr. WEEDING was decidedly of opinion, that individuals might be as well qualified for entering the civil service in India, by a university education, as by going through the course of study at Haileybury College, which was prescribed by Act of Parliament. He objected to many of the statutes for the regulation of the College, and particularly to that which deprived the Court of Directors of the power of dismissing any of the professors. In the first nine years, from 1805 to 1814, while the Directors had the entire control of the professors, twelve pupils were expelled, of whom five were restored. In the latter period of nine years, from 1814 to 1823, when the professors were vested with unlimited authority to expel, twenty-three were expelled, and only nine of these restored. (*Hear!*) So that when the professors exercised the power, the expulsions were increased two-fold; and the restorations were not in the same proportion as they had been before. He cordially concurred in the motion.

Mr. TWINING was of opinion that immense benefits had resulted to the Company's service from the institution of the College. The testimony of their Governors General, and Members of Councils, proved that the Company had never been more ably or zealously served than by students from the College. Upon the best consideration which he could give to the subject, he was adverse to the proposed innovation.

Mr. S. DIXON thought that the appointments in the Company's service ought to be thrown open to competition, and not exclusively bestowed on the students of Haileybury College. He supported the motion.

Mr. CHALMERS also spoke in favour of the motion.

Mr. IMPEY condemned the introduction of the question, as being calculated

to cherish a feeling of insubordination amongst the students at the College. He then proceeded to address the Court at considerable length in support of the College. His arguments resolved themselves into three points. First, that the exigencies of the civil service in India required that not only a liberal but an appropriate education should be given to those who were to discharge its functions. Secondly, that under the old system, the state of the education of those appointed to the different offices was wholly inadequate to enable them effectually to discharge their duties. Thirdly, that the institution of Haileybury College was completely successful, as was manifested by the superior manner in which the functions of the civil service were performed. The hon. Director strongly disapproved of the proposed application to Parliament. He beseeched the Court to consider that the Company never appeared before Parliament without great danger, and seldom without great loss. It was not improbable that the secret enemies of the Company would avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by an application to Parliament, to strip them of some of their privileges. For these reasons he called upon the Court to reject the motion.

Mr. GAHAGAN approved of the motion.

Mr. R. JACKSON was convinced, that without some change of the nature proposed by his hon. friend, the College could effect no good. If such a qualification were introduced into the system, it would fully answer all the expectations of those who were desirous of seeing the College converted into an instrument of unmixed good.

Mr. IMPEY, at five o'clock, proposed an adjournment of the debate.

The Court divided on the question: the numbers were, for the adjournment 62; against it 32: majority 30.

The Court then adjourned to Friday next.

FRIDAY, FEB. 27.—This day the Court met, pursuant to adjournment, to take into consideration the subject of Haileybury College.

EXCLUSION OF THE REPORTERS.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK rose, and addressing the Chairman, observed, that he had read in a daily newspaper some observations on incivility alleged to have been shown to the reporters for the public press. They complained of having been excluded at the last meeting of the Court from the places which they

had formerly been permitted to occupy.* He now wished to ask the Chairman whether the exclusion complained of had taken place in pursuance of his orders, or had been sanctioned by his approbation. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN replied, that he had issued no orders except the usual one for securing the ingress of the Proprietors into their own Court, and where certainly none but Proprietors could be accommodated as a matter of right. He had ordered in the usual way that none but Proprietors should be admitted until 12 o'clock, and he was not aware until late last night that any inconvenience of the kind alluded to had been experienced.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK had been induced to notice the subject with the view of securing to the gentlemen who attended for the public press the indulgence which had hitherto been granted, and he wished to know whether it was to be continued.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the first persons entitled to accommodation were the Proprietors. With respect to the indulgence alluded to by the hon. Proprietor, he believed that the gentlemen belonging to the public press now experienced it. They were now in that part of the Court where by courtesy they were permitted to sit, and where he hoped they would find every accommodation; but that accommodation was granted them not as a matter of right, but of courtesy. (*Hear, hear.*)

HAILESBURY COLLEGE.

Mr. MONEY rose to resume the debate. He could assure the Court that his testimony upon the merits of the College was perfectly candid and impartial; for he was free to confess, that at the time of its establishment (he being then in India) he entertained some prejudices against it. When, however, he observed the great acquirements made by individuals who came to India from the College, and heard the expression of their gratitude to their alma-mater for the valuable education they had obtained, his opinion completely changed, and he became convinced of the great utility of the establishment. That defects might exist in it, as well as in every other human institution, he had not the folly to deny; but what he did deny was, that the motion before the Court was the proper way to remedy those defects. If the hon. mover's arguments were well founded, his motion

did not go far enough. For the sake of consistency, he ought to move for the abolition of the College, as an institution productive of no benefit capable of justifying the expense of maintaining it. The test of public examination proposed by the hon. mover as a substitute for education at the College was insufficient. In that way, it was true, the literary attainments of the candidate might be ascertained, but no judgment could be formed of his individual or moral character. Unhappily, it often occurred, that the most brilliant talents were combined with the strongest passions and the most ungovernable temper. It was obvious, however, that a character thus constituted would be very unfit for the management of affairs in a country like the Indian empire. In his opinion, no more effective means could be devised for training the civil servants of the Company to the difficult art of self-government, than that of subjecting them for two years to a course of college discipline. The power of expulsion was a powerful and salutary check to vicious and disordered inclinations, and without that power it would be impossible to govern the College. The question for the Court to consider then was, whether that establishment had answered the purposes of its institution, and whether the proposed change would be productive of better consequences? Was there ever a period when justice was so well administered, or government so well executed in India, as at the present time? Since the establishment of the present system of education, a great improvement had taken place in the acquirements of the civil servants of the Company. Sir John Malcolm, at once the historian of the Indian empire, and the greatest ornament of the Company's service, both as a soldier and a statesman, had given his testimony in favour of the College. The late Mr. Charles Grant was decidedly in favour of the institution. The hon. Director concluded by conjuring the Court to reject a motion which had for its object the destruction of an edifice they had themselves created for the noblest of purposes, and which, whatever imperfections might belong to it, was capable of receiving the highest improvement, and of being rendered a lasting monument of the Company's munificence and magnanimity. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. TRANT, from his own experience in India, could assert, that the compulsory clause was perfectly inefficient, as to the object of securing properly qualified servants for the civil departments

* See Oriental Herald for March, p. 537.

in India. In the progress of the debate great names had been quoted in support of the institution, and he begged leave to refer to one on the other side of the question. The hon. Proprietor then read an extract from a speech delivered by Lord Grenville in 1813, in a debate in the House of Lords on the renewal of the Company's charter, which expressed strong disapprobation of the discipline adopted at Haileybury College. An hon. Proprietor had quoted Lord Wellesley's opinion of the deplorable state of the civil service, previously to the establishment of the College. He could not allow that assertion to go forth to the world uncontradicted. He felt great respect for Lord Wellesley, but much greater respect for truth; and that compelled him to say, that Lord Wellesley, who, however, had put forth nothing to warrant the conclusion to which the hon. Proprietor had come, was under a temptation to highly colour the picture which he drew of the civil service, because he had to make out a case to justify the expenditure of half a million of money. Thus there was an inducement for his Lordship to magnify the imperfections, vices, and ignorance of the civil service. To prove that the civil service comprised amongst its officers many men eminent for their talents and acquirements before the College was instituted, he needed only to refer to the example of several gentlemen whom he would not name because they were present. But he would mention the name of an individual who had once sat in that Court, but whom, he was sorry to say, the Court would never see again. When he stated that he meant the late Mr. Grant, he was sure that every one present would be inclined to ejaculate

— sanctum et venerabile nomen.

He might also couple with the name of Mr. Grant that of Mr. Lumsden. (*Hear, hear.*) He contended that the College could not furnish a sufficient number of civil servants to meet the exigencies of the service. The whole number of students available for the civil service of the whole of India for the next year amounted only to 22. The hon. Proprietor then proceeded to contrast the East India College with the Universities, and expressed his opinion that the latter institutions afforded adequate means for educating young men for the civil service of India. With respect to the discipline of the College, he would again beg leave to quote the opinions of a gentleman, whose eloquence on a former discussion of the question procured him

more attention and weight than was acquired by any other person who took part in the debate. The hon. Proprietor then read the following passage:— "The generality of collegiate establishments have been founded in times of very imperfect illumination, and by an authority which was considered as paramount. They have, therefore, easily acquired an unresisted sway; and having begun by being strong in power, have ended with being strong in opinion, they have become interwoven with all our national prejudices, and may be said to have struck their roots into the perpetual rock of the Constitution. Hence they command the unqualified reverence of mankind; and any attempt to shake their authority, much more any attempt to endanger their existence, would be considered the last extreme of folly. The Indian College, on the other hand, has had to contend with something of those disadvantages that are experienced by a government established in times of light and liberty, in times when almost every man has an opinion, a voice, and a pen. It necessarily wants all that hold on the public mind, which is the growth of prescription and antiquity; that is, it wants one most important stay for the preservation of discipline, and the prevention of designs of tumult. A student of evil dispositions, and we must expect a mixture of such in every numerous assemblage of individuals, may be led to entertain the idea that even a project of overthrowing the establishment is not wholly out of reach: and, at all events, when a crisis of any kind arises, an institution like this is deficient in the means of overawing disturbance."

Nec mens hic sermo est, sed quæ præcepti Ofellus.

Of all the arguments which he had ever heard against the College, that was the strongest. It had been said, that the rate of expulsions had been reduced from about 4 per cent. to 2½ per cent.; but even that reduced rate was much higher than existed in other places of a similar nature. Parents might find good places of education, where the risk of expulsion would not be the fraction of a unit. Really, if the College were to continue, he should not be surprised to find an office like Lloyd's opened to underwrite the students against the risk of expulsion. (*Laughter.*) The Court of Directors had been censured for giving up the control of the College to the Professors. He thought that the Court of Directors had acted wisely in that respect. He was sure that if the College were to

be allowed to continue, the only means of preventing it from becoming a public nuisance, was to give full power to the College Council to rule it, if necessary, with a rod of iron. There was one point on which he wished to say a few words, namely, the much-talked-of morality of the College. He had inquired much, and anxiously, on that point, and he had hoped to find it as the happy valley which the poet had described, from which care and vice were shut out; that the seclusion of its situation might have guarded its inmates from the temptation to err. The Court had heard of the disorders which the streets of Oxford and Cambridge exhibited. He had hoped to find the sequestered spot in which Haileybury College stood, pure and free from any vice which could offend the most rigid moralist. He feared it was not so; but that, on the contrary, it sheltered some of those vices which were but too common to all young men. He would speak plainly upon this point. (*Hear, hear.*) He thought it his duty as a member of that Court to declare his opinions boldly, and without disguise, and he would do so, "come what come may." Unless he was much misinformed, the fashionable and destructive vice of gaming was carried on to some extent within the College. If that were the case, he hoped some inquiry would be made about it: he was not to be put down by, or rather he would not put up with (*a laugh*) general assertions of the morality and purity of the College. He was as much an advocate for morality and religious education as any man; but he was bound to declare, that he believed the College of Haileybury was not behind either of the Universities, bad as they were represented to be, in the practice of vice. After quoting from a speech delivered by Mr. R. Grant in 1813, and observing that the predictions which it contained had not been fulfilled, the Hon. Proprietor said he would conclude by expressing his hearty concurrence in the motion. The proposed change might effect some good; at all events it could not make matters worse. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. BABB next addressed the Court. The hon. Director traced the rise of the Company's power in India, and the history of their Government. The latter forty years of that period, compared with the former, were mere play and trifling. All the difficulties of the establishment of the empire in India had been encountered and overcome by men who had not received the supposed benefits of a peculiar education. When the College at Haileybury was first es-

tablished, about twenty years ago, he was one of the warmest advocates for the scheme—he was caught by the plausible and specious arguments which were adduced in support of it, but he would be a traitor to his duty and to his own sentiments, if he did not declare that the experience of the last eighteen years, during which time he had watched the proceedings of the College with a vigilant eye, had very much shaken the opinions he once held with respect to the benefits to be derived from that institution. The hon. Director then proceeded to show, that in respect to the proper distribution and employment of time, the institution at Haileybury was extremely deficient: the lectures occupied some of the professors four hours in the week, some five hours, and others nine hours. The assistant professors were occupied ten hours in the week. He understood that some of the lectures were over by one o'clock, others by two o'clock; from that time, until nine o'clock at night, with the exception of coming in to dinner, at which it was only necessary to appear for a moment, the students had all their hours at their own disposal. According to the College system it was expected that those youths should, like so many monks, retire to their cells to study, but it was more natural that young men of their age should seek to divert and amuse themselves in any way they could. The want of a proper employment of time was, in his opinion, a material defect in the College system. In consequence of the students having so much leisure time, they acquired habits of extravagance and dissipation, which materially influenced their future conduct. In order to show the results of the habits acquired at Haileybury College, he would read an extract of a letter from India, by a young man who had been educated at the College. The letter was written to the father of the young man, and the object was to obtain a loan of money to pay off the debts which he had contracted, for which he was obliged to ensure his life, and was paying for that and the interest of his debt, sixteen per cent. The young man told his father that his was by no means a singular case, and to prove that, he gave a description of the situation of forty writers, with whose private concerns he was acquainted. He (Mr. Babb) would not mention names, for the writer said to his father "mind this is between ourselves." (*Laughter.*) The hon. Director then read an extract from the letter to which he had alluded, in which the

young man divided the forty writers into four classes; the first, or deeply-involved class, contained those who were in debt from 3,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*; the second, or much-involved, from 1,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*; the third, or slightly-involved, from 100*l.* to 1,000*l.*; and the fourth, who were not at all involved, but entirely free from debt, and worth a little money. (*A laugh.*) In the first class there were eighteen, nearly a majority of the whole; in the second eleven, of which this writer was one; in the third eight; and in the fourth only three. (*Hear, hear.*) The consequence of young men being so much involved was, that they were led to commit acts which they would otherwise shrink from. The hon. Director expressed his decided disapprobation of the statute of selection; and after advertising to several passages from Mr. Malthus's pamphlet respecting the College, and expressing his dissent from the opinions of that writer, concluded by expressing his approbation of the motion; and by imploring the Court, if they wished well to the millions entrusted to their government in India, to remedy the evils which, having their origin here, led to danger and misery there. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. ROBERT GRANT commenced by bearing testimony to the great candour, fairness and temper with which the question had been introduced to the notice of the Court, and begged to add, that cordially concurring as he did in the opinion which had fallen from many gentlemen, that the effect of discussions upon such a subject, whether they were necessary or not, must be injurious to the well-being of the institution particularly concerned, he was bound to declare that there would be less reason to deprecate those discussions if they were always conducted in the spirit of which the hon. mover had set the example. He would in the outset declare his opposition to the motion. Even if he agreed with all that the hon. mover had said in disapprobation of the present system, still he could not concur in the motion for this simple reason, because he was perfectly satisfied, on grounds which appeared to his mind to be irrefragable, that the system which it was proposed to substitute for the present one, would be quite ineffectual. Whatever question, and in whatever terms, that Court might send to Parliament, the only point which Parliament would consider would not be a comparison between this and that system, but the general question. The clause being once repealed, it would be for Parliament to consider what to sub-

stitute. The question before the Court involved two considerations: first, had the institution, in any fair degree, answered the purposes for which it was founded; secondly, was there any probability that those purposes would be answered by the substitution proposed? If it should appear that the institution had answered the purposes for which it was founded, there arose a strong presumption against any change; if to this were superadded the proof that those purposes could not be answered by the change proposed, then, in addition to the strong presumption against any change, there existed the irresistible presumption against the particular change in question. It was only necessary to inquire, first, what was the purpose for which the institution was established? and, secondly, whether that purpose had been answered? The purpose for which the institution was founded, was to qualify persons to fulfil important functions in the East Indies. The question then was, what was the present state of the civil service? a question respecting which he apprehended there could not be two opinions. All persons must agree that in point of integrity, general ability, public spirit, and efficiency to discharge their various functions, the body of civil servants never was in so high a state of excellence as at the present moment. Though not unattended with some defects, it could not be denied that the civil servants constituted on the whole a very able set of public functionaries, which it would be difficult to rival throughout the world. (*Hear, hear.*) It became necessary to inquire whether the College at Hertford had any share in producing this improved state of the service. According to a calculation which was in every body's hands, he found that five-sevenths of the whole body of civil servants had proceeded from that institution. There was also this further mark of distinction between the present state of the civil service, and that in which it stood in former periods; that formerly the improvement had always descended from the higher to the lower branches of the service, but now it was rather on the ascent than the descent. The hon. Proprietor quoted the opinions of Lords Cornwallis, Wellesley, Minto, and Hastings, in support of the value of the imperative system of education, and said that on every occasion individuals so educated had been found, in all the presidencies, fit for the most arduous duties—an advantage not so frequently found on former occasions. He instanced

Mr. Greenway, of the Madras establishment; Mr. Stokes, Mr. Barish, and Mr. Babington; as eminent examples of the high intellectual attainments developed under their present system of education. So high was the estimation in which Mr. Babington was held in India, that when he lost his life by the effect of an accidental fire which he assisted in extinguishing, a native subscription was raised for erecting a statue to his memory. He also read an extract of a letter from Mr. Stirling in which he stated that the scenes of riot and extravagance formerly prevailing among the writers had disappeared, and that prudence and economy were becoming fashionable virtues. He next quoted several passages from an anonymous pamphlet which he designated as a very able work which had been written in defence of the College. He adverted to the subject of examinations; and after comparing the system of oral or *viduæ* examination with that by writing, declared his opinion in favour of the latter as the fairest mode of ascertaining the comparative merits of competitors. After citing the opinions of several members of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in approval of the College, the hon. Proprietor again enumerated several instances of the success which the students of that institution had met with when they proceeded to India. Of five civil secretaries of Calcutta, three were from Haileybury, the oldest of whom had not been there seventeen years. Of four at Madras, two were from Haileybury; and the same number at Bombay. There were three objects which it was hoped to attain by a collegiate education—literary instruction, the formation of good habits, and the acquisition of valuable friendships; and for each of these, he contended, no better place than the College at Haileybury could be devised. The hon. and learned Proprietor then proceeded to examine minutely in detail the system of education, which, he maintained, was as perfect as could be framed. The inherent evil of the institution was the value of the appointments, which would always seduce the friends of the expelled student to appeal to every tribunal from which they could hope for either justice or revenge. He concluded by exhorting the Court not to abandon a system of education so beneficial, on account of inconveniences not to be avoided, and in search of advantages that were unattainable. (*Cheers.*)

On the motion of Dr. PATTERSON, the debate was adjourned to the Friday following.

Wednesday, March 3d.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS' CONDUCT
IN INDIA.

This day a General Court of Proprietors was held.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at twelve o'clock, and stated, that the Court had been made Special in compliance with a requisition for taking into consideration the services of the late Governor General.

The Hon. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD then rose, and said, that it was usual for the person who introduced so important a subject as that which he intended to bring under the consideration of the Court, to take up some time in apologizing for having undertaken the task; he would not do so on the present occasion, because he was convinced that in the course of what he had to state, it would be sufficiently apparent that no apology was required from him, for having ventured to perform what he considered to be his duty. He would, therefore, without further preface, proceed at once *in medias res*. The hon. Proprietor then referred to the several votes of thanks which had been given to the Marquess of Hastings, by both Houses of Parliament, and by the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, on account of the Nepal and Pindarree wars (of the policy of which he, Mr. Kinnaird, approved), and also to the resolution of the Court of Directors in 1819, granting the sum of 60,000*l.* to the noble Marquess; and to another of the same Court and of the Court of Proprietors, passed in 1822, expressive of deep regret at hearing that domestic circumstances compelled his lordship to relinquish the Indian Government. Those repeated marks of approbation sufficiently proved the high sense which the Legislature and the East India Company entertained of the services of the Marquess of Hastings. Those splendid services, however, had never yet been adequately rewarded. He thought that the Court of Directors were bound to state the reasons why they had abstained from adopting any measure on the subject. It could not be said that the Court of Proprietors had exhibited any impatient desire to take the subject out of the hands in which it had hitherto remained. As far as the Marquess of Hastings was himself concerned, he was sure that the noble Lord would say "wait till the tomb has closed upon me, then record your sense of my merits, and reward my family." It was, however, their duty not to consult the feelings of the Marquess, but their own honour. Under

these circumstances, he had considered it imperative to bring the subject under the notice of the Court; and if the gentlemen behind the bar intended to oppose his proposition, which, however, he was far from supposing they would, he expected them, at least, to state upon what grounds they did so. He had no wish to be on bad terms with any one, and, although he might be impelled in a moment of irritation to express his feelings warmly, he bore malice to no one, so help him God. He always regretted having used unnecessary violence of language. (*Hear, hear!*) He therefore trusted to the candour of the Chairman, or any other gentleman, for pardon, if he had transgressed the rules of propriety in what he had said on a former day, although he should despise himself if he did not cherish the sentiments which were conveyed in his words. He had spoken in what he conceived to be the cause of justice. It would be idle to pretend to pass over the scene to which he alluded in silence; no man would give him credit for sincerity if he did so. He regretted from the bottom of his soul what had then occurred; it would never be forgotten by those who had witnessed it. He did not found his present proceeding upon that circumstance; but he did think that it rendered it impossible longer to delay doing justice to the Marquess of Hastings. On the part of the noble Marquess, he now said, that if any charge were to be made against that nobleman, he would postpone his proposition until that charge should be investigated and triumphantly refuted. (*Hear, hear!*) He would not enter into details of a pecuniary nature; but he asserted boldly, and he pledged himself to prove, that the Marquess of Hastings had been rewarded to only half the extent of the Marquess Wellesley, although, during the nine years of his administration, the noble Marquess had raised the stock of the Proprietors 100 per cent. higher than it had been during the time Lord Wellesley governed in India. The Court ought to give the noble Marquess some solid pudding as well as empty praise. They now had it in their power to contribute to the substantial comforts of the noble Marquess during the remainder of his life, who had enabled them to enrich themselves and their families. (*Hear!*) He did not mean to speak in the spirit of hostility to the Court of Directors when he said, that he regretted that they had not taken advantage of the singularly propitious state in which the administration of the Marquess of Hastings had left India to

challenge the Legislature to revise their opinion recorded about forty years ago, when India was no more like it was now than England at the present day resembled what it was in the days of King Arthur. The principle for which he contended was, that it was better for the native powers to be in alliance with us, than to be overrun by predatory powers. Within the last fifty years the Company had shown the native powers that they had no object in view but tranquillity, which enabled them (the native powers) to turn their attention to commerce, and thereby to pay the revenue which the Company required as the price of their protection. He had no doubt that the proposition which he intended to submit would be carried by a great majority; but, on the other hand, if any charge were made against the noble Marquess, he would expect to be informed of the reasons why it had not been brought forward sooner. It was not for him to challenge the truth of the idle stories which had been circulated respecting the Marquess of Hastings, and which he treated as he would a dung cart that passed him in the street, by averting his head. The hon. Proprietor concluded by moving the subjoined resolution:—

“Resolved, That this Court recurring with undiminished pride and gratification to the repeated occasions on which the distinguished services rendered to the East India Company by the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, have been under its consideration, and more especially to the 20th day of December, 1816, and to the 3d day of February, 1819, when the unanimous thanks of this Court were successively voted to his Lordship for the planning, conduct, and conclusion of two splendid military achievements: and which were again more especially acknowledged and rewarded by a grant of sixty thousand pounds, unanimously voted to the Marquess of Hastings and his family on the 5th of May, 1819; and further adverting to the unanimous expression on the 29th of May, 1822, of this Court's high sense of the political and military talents displayed by the Governor General during nine years' administration of the supreme power in India, as well of its deep regret at having then learnt his determination to return to Europe; is of opinion that the time is at length arrived when the splendid and glorious results of the Marquess of Hastings's government, to the financial prosperity, and to the permanent tranquillity of India, ought to be adequately rewarded, as they are fully appreciated by the Proprietors at

large, in common with their applauding countrymen, both in Europe and in Asia.

"That it be therefore referred to the Court of Directors forthwith, to take into their consideration, and to report to this Court the means and the measure of such a pecuniary grant, for the approval of this Court, as may be at once worthy of our gratitude for the benefits received, and of the illustrious personage who has so mainly contributed to the reigning tranquillity of their empire, and the financial prosperity of the Company."

Mr. RANDALL JACKSON seconded the motion.

Mr. JOHN SMITH next addressed the Court. A feeling of curiosity, rather than anything else, had led him to attend the Court upon this occasion. He was extremely curious to know the grounds upon which the Court of Proprietors could, under existing circumstances, be called upon to vote any large sum of money to the Marquess of Hastings. It might be, and it probably was so, that the noble Marquess had the strongest possible claim to the gratitude of the Company; it might be that he had achieved all those great and splendid services which had been so eloquently alluded to by his honourable friend; but still he, as a Proprietor, felt himself placed in such a difficult situation, that he could not bring his mind to form a judgment on the subject, and it appeared to him that all other Proprietors must find themselves in a similar difficulty. His hon. friend had, in the course of his speech, touched upon some points which were of great importance, because they were connected with the character of the English nation, which he (Mr. S.) wished to be maintained in all its purity; he alluded to the policy of the wars in which the noble Marquess had been so eminently successful. He was of opinion, that there were some duties which were paramount to our interests, and he did look with a little jealousy on the wars which had occurred in India. When he had heard his hon. friend defending those wars, he could not help thinking of that extraordinary man from whom Europe had been liberated, who had defended his conquests almost upon the same principle, namely, that they were for the advantage of the conquered. But to return to the motion which had been submitted by his hon. friend, the difficulty which he felt with regard to it was this: there were a number of gentlemen in whom they (the Court of Proprietors) reposed their confidence for the manage-

ment of their affairs. It was new to him, that those gentlemen had done any thing to forfeit the good opinion which the Proprietors had shown they entertained of them by selecting them to fill their situations; and yet it was quite evident, from a variety of circumstances, that the Court of Directors, who were the best judges of the conduct and merits of the Marquess of Hastings, did not participate in the sentiments of his hon. friend, because he was informed, that they had taken the question into consideration, and had determined that it was neither fit nor expedient to grant the sum of 5,000*l.* a year to the noble Lord. (*Hear, hear.*) Under these circumstances, he knew not how the Court of Proprietors could consistently with common sense vote for the motion. His hon. friend had said, that he hoped the Court of Directors would, if they opposed the motion, state their reasons for doing so. That was one way of arriving at the truth, but not the most convenient. It appeared to him that the gentlemen who managed their affairs did not concur in the high eulogiums which had been passed upon the Marquess of Hastings; and he therefore thought that, previously to the introduction of any proposition for granting more money to his Lordship, some gentlemen ought to move for papers which would elucidate his conduct, and show the Court whether his hon. friend or the Court of Directors were right in the opinion which each had formed of the noble Marquess. (*Hear.*) This was so obviously the most proper mode of proceeding, that he was surprised no Proprietor had adopted it. The Court of Directors must have in their possession every document necessary to throw light upon the subject. A variety of stories had been circulated respecting the noble Marquess; but he would beg distinctly to state, that he never heard one which reflected on the personal character of his Lordship. (*Hear.*) But he was desirous that some circumstances, which had recently reached his ear, respecting the Hyderabad loan, should be explained. One account represented those circumstances as extremely disgraceful to the Indian Government, whilst, on the other hand, an honourable and well-informed friend had informed him that the whole was an error, a mere delusion; and asserted, that if the reports which were in circulation were examined, they would prove to be utterly destitute of foundation. That might be the case; but he thought that the Court of Proprietors were bound in duty to themselves, and in respect to

the Chairman and those who acted with him, to reject the present motion. When he looked at the conduct of the gentlemen who sat behind the bar for some time back, he could not help feeling that they differed *in toto* from his hon. friend on the subject under discussion. The production of papers would enable the Court to decide which party was right. If nobody were disposed to move for the production of the papers, he would himself do so. (*Cries of "Move."*) The hon. Proprietor said, that in compliance with the wish of the Court he would move as an amendment, "That there be laid before this Court all such papers and documents as may enable the Court to decide upon the merits of any further claim which the Marquess of Hastings may have on the liberality of the East India Company." (*Applause.*)

Mr. POYNDER seconded the amendment.

Mr. J. SMITH, after conversing with a Proprietor near him, said, that he had been reminded that the Court of Directors had frequently approved of the Marquess of Hastings's conduct, and that it was only with respect to some recent transactions that they could be supposed to hold a different opinion from that which they had formerly expressed. To prevent trouble and inconvenience, therefore, he would frame his amendment so as to obtain information only upon that part of his Lordship's conduct respecting which there was any dispute. The hon. Proprietor then withdrew his former amendment, and substituted for it the following:—"That there be laid before this Court all such papers and documents respecting the loan by the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, to his Highness the Nizam, as may enable the Court to decide upon the merits of any claim which the Marquess of Hastings may have upon the further liberality of the Company."

Mr. POYNDER seconded the motion. He was of opinion that the hon. Proprietor who had introduced the question had made out only part of his case. Far would it be from him to impute to the hon. gent. a *suppressio veri*, which logicians averred to trench very nearly on the *suggestio falsi*; but still he could not help thinking that the hon. Proprietor had not made out a case sufficient to justify the Court in adopting the proceeding which he had proposed. He could not shut his eyes against the fact, that considerable difference of opinion existed behind the bar with respect to the Marquess of Hastings, (*hear,*) and it

was essential to the right understanding of the case, that before the Court of Proprietors were called upon to act, they should be put into possession of further information than they at present possessed.

The CHAIRMAN begged to say a few words at that moment, lest his silence might be construed into a want of personal attention to the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Kinnaird) who had expressed his regret for what he had said on a former occasion, calculated to be personally offensive to those within the bar. The explanation of that hon. Proprietor was such as naturally resulted from his considering, in a state of cool reflection, what had passed, and was only what he (the Chairman) expected from the hon. Proprietor's rank in society. He was sure that nothing said by that hon. Proprietor would be considered as meant to be disrespectful to the Court of Directors in his over-zeal in the cause of his noble friend; and there he begged to drop the subject. With respect to his own conduct as chairman on that occasion, he had yet to learn how he could have done either more or less than he had. Had he done otherwise, he should have laid the Court open to questions of every description, and from all parties, who, failing in obtaining the information they sought, might allege that imputations had been unfairly cast upon their characters; yet he had been represented as if he had wished to propagate or sanction reports injurious to the Marquess of Hastings. (*No, no.*) He regretted that on the former occasion the gallant General (Sir J. Doyle) had not observed the usual courtesy of privately communicating with the chair previous to propounding his questions in open court. He certainly considered the questions of the gallant General as a continuation of those contained in the letter of his gallant relative (Colonel Doyle); and as the Court of Directors had deemed it inexpedient to give an answer to those questions, he felt himself in duty bound, as their organ, to follow their example in respect of the gallant General's questions. (*Hear, hear.*) If it was thought that the Court of Directors had acted erroneously in declining to answer those questions, he was ready to take his fair share of responsibility in having voted for that resolution. At the worst he was but guilty of an error of judgment, but he was convinced that no other course ought to have been followed, or the practice would be endless, and most pernicious in its effects.

Mr. HUME was of opinion that the

Court would not be dealing fairly towards the Marquess of Hastings, if they adopted the amendment. If any inquiry were necessary, it should be one which comprehended the whole of the noble Marquess's official life, and not confined to one particular act. Suppose the Hyderabad papers were produced, and that a blot should be discovered in the noble Marquess's character respecting them, (which, however, he had not any reason to imagine would be the case,) ought the Court to confine their attention to that blot alone? Ought they not, on the contrary, to consider his great and important general services, with the view of ascertaining whether they would not countervail the blot and wipe it away? He trusted his hon. friend would alter the terms of his motion, so as to comprehend all papers calculated to elucidate the public conduct of the Marquess of Hastings.

Sir J. DOYLE thought a want of courtesy would have been the last fault with which he would have been charged. He had not been aware of the practice to which the hon. Chairman had alluded. If he had known one mode of proceeding more courteous than another, he would have resorted to it, in order to obtain an answer to the questions which he had proposed on a former day. The Chairman had refused to answer the questions when he was appealed to as Chairman, and as an individual Director; but he (Sir J. D.) thought he would have hit him, when he appealed to him as an honest man. (*Hear!*) With respect to the amendment which had been proposed, he must say, that the greatest enemy of the Marquess of Hastings could not have suggested a proposition which was better calculated to rivet and dove-tail the aspersions which had been cast upon that nobleman's character, than that which had been adopted by, perhaps, the most honest man in the country, for such he believed his hon. friend (Mr. Smith) to be. (*Hear!*) His hon. friend had adverted to the wars in which the Marquess of Hastings had engaged. Those wars were not only forced upon the noble Marquess, but were absolutely necessary for the salvation of the Indian empire. Even in this age of miracles, not a greater miracle could be referred to than the extirpation of the Pindarree power: that power consisted of 40,000 banditti, not acting like regular troops, having no baggage stores, looking for their commissariat in the undefended villages of the natives, and marking their progress by

rapine, rape, and murder. (*Hear!*) But to return to the question, at present more immediately before the Court, he, as the friend of the Marquess of Hastings, objected to the production of any particular set of papers. He wished for the production of the whole of the papers connected with the noble Marquess's administration. He wanted discussion in open day, and not in close conclave. (*Hear!*) If any persons should suppose that, because he objected to the amendment, the friends of the Marquess of Hastings wished to have a single document kept back, they were much mistaken. Let the Hyderabad papers be included in the others. He wanted "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." (*Hear!*)

Mr. R. JACKSON referred to some details, to show the benefits which the Company had derived from the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. In 1813, when the noble Lord went out to India, so low was their credit, that their bonds were at a discount of 12 per cent. When he left India, they bore a premium of 14 and 16 per cent. (*Hear! hear!*) In 1814, (30th of April), in their treasury they had six millions. In 1822, when the Marquess left India, they had 12 millions—exactly double, (*hear!*) The average of the 20 years' investments before the noble Marquess went to India was 450,000*l.*: on his return it was 1,300,000*l.* This improvement had been effected not by grinding taxation, for the Marquess of Hastings did not lay on a single impost, but by encouraging and protecting the industry of the inhabitants. (*Hear!*) He objected to the amendment, as calculated to give an appearance of consistency to the vague rumours of a contemptible newspaper.

Mr. J. SMITH said a few words in justification of the course of proceeding which he had adopted. He would have acted in precisely the same manner if his own brother had stood in the situation of the Marquess of Hastings.

Mr. ELPHINSTONE thought that all papers, which could throw light upon the whole of the Marquess of Hastings' administration, should be produced, and not those which referred to the Hyderabad transaction alone. He was convinced that the more the noble Marquess's character was made the subject of examination the brighter it would appear. As they were all merchants in that Court, he would put the case as it now stood, in a way which they would understand. There was half a million standing on the creditor side of the noble Lord's account, and a miserable

shilling on the other side. (*Hear! hear!*) He hoped that the Court would insist on the production of the whole body of papers.

Mr. IMPEY also desired the production of the whole of the papers. It had been mentioned that the Court of Directors had refused a grant of 5,000*l.* a year to the Marquess of Hastings. If that were the case, how could the Proprietors, in fairness to the Directors, now come to any decision upon the subject without referring to the papers on which the Court of Directors came to their decision? It was true that the character of the Marquess of Hastings stood very high, and deserved to be respected; but this Court should also have confidence in its own executive body; (*cries of hear! hear! hear!*) and if such a decision had been made they should not suppose it had been made lightly. With respect to the merits of the transaction, which had been so particularly alluded to in the course of that day, he was quite unacquainted with them. He had merely heard it reported that the Bengal Government had given its sanction to a loan to a native Prince in direct violation of an Act of Parliament.

Mr. P. MOORE opposed the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN here observed, that a motion had been put into his hand which would probably conciliate all parties, if the hon. Proprietor (Mr. J. Smith) would allow it to be substituted for his amendment. The motion to which he alluded was in the following terms:—

“That there be laid before the Court, all correspondence and other documents to be found in the public records of this House, which regard the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, and which may enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of any further grant to the noble Marquess.”

With the permission of Mr. J. Smith, the amendment submitted by that hon. Proprietor was withdrawn, and the proposition read by the Chairman became the amendment upon which the decision of the Court was to be taken.

Mr. PATTISON said a few words in support of the amendment as it now stood.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD shortly replied.

The question was then put on the amendment, which was declared to be carried by a show of hands in the affirmative.

Upon the suggestion of the Chairman, it was ordered, that the papers to be laid before the Court be printed.

The Court, which had continued ex-

ceedingly crowded during the discussion, then adjourned.

On Friday, March 5th, 1824, a special General Court was held, by adjournment, to consider the motion which had been submitted by the Hon. D. Kinnaird respecting Haileybury College.

INDIA BONDS.

The Minutes of the proceedings of the last Court having been read,

General THORNTON adverted to the high premium which India Bonds at present bore, and said that he wished to propose a question on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN informed the gallant General that he was not in order in proposing such a question at that time. The proper time to put the question to the Chair would be on the motion for adjourning the Court.

General THORNTON attempted several times to address the Court, but was as often put down by cries of “*Order!*”

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

The CHAIRMAN rose to resume the debate on this subject, and proceeded to state his reasons for intending to vote against the motion before the Court. He had observed that none of the gentlemen who had taken part in the debate, had denied that generally beneficial effects had resulted from the institution of the College. All persons seemed likewise to concur in thinking that education ought to be given to the civil functionaries of the Company. The real question, he apprehended, was whether that education should be of a collegiate or scholastic nature. He had originally viewed the College with no great prepossession, but he must confess that he was more prepossessed in favour of that institution at the present moment than at any former period, and he believed that if it had not been for the outcry raised on account of expulsions, the motion which had been submitted would never have been propounded. It was the value of the appointments in India which induced such an outcry to be raised when it was found necessary to resort to the measure of expulsion. He must confess that when he considered the peculiar character of the Indian Government, he thought it necessary that the individuals who were to hold offices under it should be subjected to a test of general good conduct, as well as of mental qualifications. He felt convinced that the test of good conduct could not be obtained by the system of public examination proposed by the hon. mover, and that was a powerful argument, in his opi-

nion, against the motion. With respect to the examinations which took place at the College, he might be allowed to say, that he had never heard it even whispered that the Professors did not act with strict impartiality in the distribution of honours to the students. He did not mean to say that he was satisfied with the College as it at present stood, but he thought that it ought to be left to the executive body to cure its defects. Above all, he advised the Court to refrain from applying to Parliament on the subject. What did the hon. mover propose?—To abrogate the compulsory clause, and to substitute public examinations in its place. It was very improbable, however, that the legislature would adopt the suggestion of the hon. mover. They would take the whole subject into consideration, and deal with it as they thought proper. Under these circumstances he trusted that the Court would negative the hon. mover's proposition, and leave the College to the care of the executive body, under control of his Majesty's ministers, and the advice of the reverend visitors. (*Hear.*)

Mr. ELPHINSTONE thought as highly of education as any gentleman in that Court, but he also thought that it might be obtained just as well in any other place as at Haileybury College. He thought that the Court, by agreeing to the motion, would not do away with the College, but would raise it. That institution possessed capabilities, talents, and learning, equal to any object, but he could not conceal from himself that it also contained many defects. Not the least of these defects was that the boys educated there were left from one o'clock in the forenoon until the next day entirely their own masters. It was supposed that they would go to their rooms to study, but he had not forgotten what his habits were at 17 or 18 years of age, and he therefore thought it was more probable that they would spend their time in amusements. (*Hear.*) He knew the time when the boys used to come up to London every night, and visit all the bad houses. It was the duty of the Professors to prevent such occurrences. —There was another circumstance to which he felt it necessary to advert. The system of the College was such as to make the students believe that they were hereafter to become very great men. —The boys encouraged each other with the idea that they were a set of young statesmen. (*A laugh.*) These high notions led them into the commission of acts of extravagance in which they would not otherwise have indulged. The con-

sequence was, that when they arrived in India, they rushed headlong into expense, and at the end of three years were ruined. The expense attendant upon placing a boy at the College prevented many persons from sending their sons there who were well entitled to that privilege. The hon. Director concluded by declaring that he would vote for the motion, for the reason which he had before stated, namely, because he thought it calculated not to hurt but to raise the College.

Mr. DANIEL wished that the object of the motion had been to convert the College into a school; as it was, however, he would give it his most cordial support, being convinced that if it were carried it would be productive only of benefit. He was not one of those who disapproved of the protracted discussion which had taken place on the subject, although he could not but remember that the Court had tried their hands at amending the College, with very little success. That he thought was to be ascribed to the independent situation in which the Professors were placed. The Professors were the only persons in the service of the Company, from the Governor General downward, who were placed beyond their control. The Professors were accountable only to the College Council, which was composed of themselves. Such a state of things ought not to be suffered to exist, and as one step towards its removal he would vote for the motion.

Mr. BROWN was of opinion that the Court of Directors had done wisely in divesting themselves of the immediate control of the College, but he did not think that they had acted quite so sagely in conferring that power on the College Council. In all cases of disturbance, the Professors naturally became the accusers. It would naturally be asked, what was the tribunal before which the accusation would be made? It was the College Council. Thus did the Professors unite in their own persons the functions of accusers, judges and jury. (*Hear.*) In every well-defined constitution, those important powers were kept separate and distinct; but the Court of Directors had blended them together, and vested them in the same hands. —When the Court of Directors divested themselves of the power of punishing the students in cases of disturbance, they ought to have devised the means of securing to them a fair inquiry, and an impartial sentence. If expulsion took place under those circumstances, no person would have a right to complain.

The hon. Proprietor then adverted to the statute of selection, which he characterized as disgraceful to the statute book of the College; though he would not go so far as to say that it was a disgrace to those who placed it there. He believed that the gentlemen who framed the laws of the College had acted with the purest motives; but the result proved that they had not acted wisely. The humane maxim of English jurisprudence, that it was better ninety-nine guilty persons should escape rather than that one innocent person should suffer, was reversed by the statute in question, which was framed on the principle that it was better for the ninety-nine who were innocent to be declared guilty, rather than that the one who was guilty should be acquitted. (*Hear.*) He feared that there must be something very wrong in an institution which required such extraordinary powers to be vested in the managers of it. He was not disposed to go to the House of Commons in its present feeling with regard to the monopolies and restrictions of all kinds.—(*A laugh.*) If he could get an assurance from the Court of Directors that the statute of selection should be erased, he would be satisfied; but if he understood that no alteration was to be made in regard to the present management of the College, he would vote for the motion.

MR. MACAULEY had not heard very distinctly the speech of the hon. Director (Mr. Elphinstone), but he had understood him to say that some defects existed in the College system. He (Mr. Macauley) would admit that it was so; but surely the Court of Directors were perfectly competent to cure those defects without its being necessary that the College should be brought, as it were, to the bar of public opinion. He deprecated the idea of carrying so delicate a question before Parliament. In his opinion, the most proper course that could have been taken on the subject, would have been to have submitted a motion for inquiry, instead of such a motion as the hon. mover had brought forward. The members of the Court required that their minds should be better informed, on a variety of points, before they could come to a right decision on the subject of the College. He would feel it necessary to vote in the negative of the motion, if it were only for this reason, that the Court was in possession of no information respecting the College, except what had fallen from gentlemen in the course of the debate; and if they were to form an opinion on that, they would do so on facts which

were perfectly contradictory, and could not co-exist. An hon. Director who spoke on a former day (Mr. Bebb) seemed to be of opinion that the proceedings at the College were of so pernicious a nature, that the institution ought not to be suffered to exist any longer. If such were the opinion of the hon. Director, it was really unaccountable that he had not, in his place in the Court of Directors, brought forward a motion for the repeal of the statutes which he objected to. Almost every person who had spoken in the course of the debate in support of the motion, proposed a different remedy for what he considered the defects of the College. The Court ought to hesitate to adopt a motion when they found that the supporters of it differed so widely amongst themselves as to the remedy to be applied to it. If the Court were to carry the subject before Parliament, they would be asked what system they proposed to substitute for that now existing, and the answer must be, that they really did not know. He considered it indisputably necessary that the Company should have a certificate of the moral excellence of those individuals who were to be appointed to fill important offices in India. In private life, a gentleman would not take a person into his service, in the meanest capacity, without evidence of his moral qualities. Surely then it could not be considered a hardship that the same pledge of security was required from persons who were to discharge great and important duties. With respect to expulsion, of which so much had been said, he must observe that the power of expulsion was possessed by all public schools, and its exercise always entailed inconvenient consequences on those who were the objects of it. For instance, if an individual were expelled from one of the Universities, he was precluded from obtaining many offices in the state which were open only to those who had passed their terms at the University. Finally, being of opinion that the care of the College could not be left in better hands than those of the Court of Directors, he would vote against the motion.

MR. PATTISON was willing, on the one hand, to admit that extraordinary benefits had resulted to the civil service of India, from the institution of the College, whilst on the other he was disposed to acknowledge that great disorders and inconveniences had arisen from the same cause. Before the Act of Parliament passed, which made the having passed four terms at Haileybury College a necessary qualification for the situation

of a writership, he had proposed, in the Court of Directors, that individuals should be admitted as candidates for appointments in the civil service, who had not been educated at the College; that, in short, the door should be thrown open for the admission of merit from whatever source it might proceed. He divided the Court of Directors on that question, and the body of the Court came to a decision against his proposition. The question was finally settled by the Act of Parliament. His opinions upon that point had subsequently undergone a material change. It was an incontestable fact, that the civil service had been greatly improved by the many eminent men who had been sent from the College. The subject of the discipline of the College had been fully and deliberately considered in the Court of Directors last year, and every effort was made to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The Professors were referred to on that occasion, but great difficulty was experienced in treating with them, because they were of opinion that the institution should be entirely collegiate, whilst the Court of Directors wished that something might be introduced which was not collegiate. In his opinion, some of the evils which were made the subject of complaint were attributable to the situation of the College. In consequence of its being placed in the middle of a common, no opportunity was afforded to the students of amusing themselves in the long winter evenings. It could not be expected that young men whose collegiate duties were over by two o'clock in the day, would retire to their rooms, night after night, and apply themselves to gratuitous study.—The Court of Directors therefore suggested, that some hours in the evening might be devoted to lectures in Natural Philosophy, or any other subject which did not form part of the College system of education. This, however, was opposed by the Professors, on the ground that it was anti-collegiate. Upon the whole he thought the Court ought not to entertain the motion. The Chairman had declared that the College was at present in a flourishing state; that every thing was going on well. Would it be right to disturb this state of things? Might not the Court hope that with regard to the College the evil day had passed never to return? It would be much wiser to leave the question in the hands of the Court of Directors, who were acquainted with every part of it, than to send it to a Committee of the House of Commons, who could know nothing at all of the

subject. He would give a pledge, on the part of himself and his brother Directors, that if any inconveniences should again arise out of the College system, they would put their shoulders to the wheel and endeavour to rectify them.

Colonel BAILLIE said that the opinion which he entertained was adverse to the proposition which had been submitted to the Court, and it was also at variance with the opinion which he had conscientiously entertained during a large part of his life. When he was a member of the College of Fort William, he thought that a system of tuition and probation would be likely to be attended with happier results, if it were conducted under the immediate superintendence of Government. Subsequent observation, however, had produced a change of opinion, and he now thought that a considerable portion of the period of probation for the civil service would be passed with much greater advantage in Haileybury College than in India. He differed with the hon. mover both as to the purposes for which the College had been founded, and as to its practical results. The hon. gentleman had said that the College was given as a boon to the pupils and their parents. He (Col. Baillie) thought that it was more properly given as a boon to the millions of the Company's subjects in India. (*Hear.*)—The institution of the College had created a new era in the history of the Company. He was decidedly opposed to the system of public or *vacuæ* examination, proposed by the hon. mover, because it would furnish only a test of mental qualifications, and not of moral fitness. The College system, which had been the subject of so much complaint, was considered irksome only by the idle, the immoral, and the incapable; it did not affect the industrious, and the virtuous. (*Hear.*) Too highly-coloured a picture had been drawn of the injurious consequences which resulted from expulsion from the College. Those individuals whose conduct rendered it necessary to remove them from the institution, were, it was true, debarred from entering into the civil service, but all the liberal professions in England were open to them, and even the army in India. The College at Haileybury doubtless had defects which were common to every institution of a similar nature. The remedy for many of these defects was in the hands of the executive body, and he had no doubt that the remedy would be applied. It was in the power of the Court of Directors to re-

move any of the objectionable statutes. Believing that no benefit could, and that much evil might arise from bringing the question under the consideration of the legislature, he would vote against the motion. (*Hear.*)

General THORNTON found in the speech of the hon. gentleman who last addressed the Court, a sufficient reason for agreeing to the motion. That hon. gentleman said that the Court of Directors possessed the power of remedying the defects of the College, and yet he admitted that those defects were still suffered to exist; thus proving that the Directors were either incompetent or unwilling to discharge their duty. He would therefore vote for the motion.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said that he regretted as much as any man the imperfections of the institution, but he would not therefore consent to undermine and destroy it, which would be the effect of the motion. Much sympathy had been expressed for the disappointed feelings of students and parents; but the Court ought not to suffer their feelings to get the better of their judgment. They were bound to direct their attention not to individuals but to the advantage of the service generally. In conclusion, he thought that after the declaration of the Chairman, that the College was in a flourishing state, it would be most inexpedient to make any application to Parliament on the subject.

Sir GEORGE ROBINSON said, that the most important point for consideration was, the disappointment which parents experienced at the expulsion of their sons. He had a son who had just passed through the College, and he must say that during his probation he passed many an anxious hour. He feared that he might, by some unfortunate circumstance, be involved in a *roté*, which would lead to his expulsion. He wished that expulsion should be resorted to only in cases of moral turpitude. He knew that it was necessary to resort to some punishment to keep young men in subordination, and he would suggest that the Professors should be invested with the power of *rustication* in all cases of insubordination and idleness, to be used as often as it should be found necessary. Nobody could hold in greater detestation than he did the odious statute of selection. When it was proposed he did every thing in his power to prevent it from being adopted. He regretted very much the expulsions which had taken place on account of the last disturbance at the College. The hon. Director concluded by saying, that he could not vote

for the motion, although he was of opinion that many improvements were required in the College system.

The hon. D. KINNAIRD replied at some length to the arguments which had been advanced against the motion, and at the conclusion of his observations demanded that the sense of the Court on the question should be taken by ballot.

The CHAIRMAN appointed Wednesday, the 31st of March, for the ballot.

The Court then adjourned.

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.—This day a Quarterly General Court was held at the East India House, when the Chairman laid before the Court the usual papers relating to the allowances, compensations, superannuations, &c. granted under the bye-laws.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

The question of adjournment having been put by the Chairman,

Mr. D. KINNAIRD rose, and asked whether any progress had been made in the selection of the papers relative to the administration of the Marquess of Hastings in India, and whether an *exposé*, which had been drawn up by the noble Lord himself, was to be included in those papers.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that the selection of the papers had begun, that they would comprise the *exposé* alluded to by the hon. Proprietor, together with all documents relative to the loan to the Nizam, and the Nepal and Pindarree wars.

INDIA BONDS.

The question of adjournment being again put,

General THORNTON wished to propose a resolution recommending to the Court of Proprietors to take into immediate consideration the propriety of reducing the present annual interest of 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on India bonds; but the Chairman having informed him that it was irregular to propose such a motion without previous notice, the gallant General said he would bring it forward at a future Court.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD inquired what proceedings the Court of Directors intended to adopt in the event of there being a majority in favour of his motion respecting Haileybury College, which he expected? (*A laugh.*)

The CHAIRMAN replied, that if that should unfortunately be the case, it would be the duty of the Court of Directors to frame a petition to Parliament to give effect to the decision of the Court of Proprietors.

The Court then adjourned.

VARIETIES IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

New South Shetland.—An excellent map of this groupe of islands, has been lately published by Laurie, which also comprises the recent discoveries of Captain Powell, of the sloop Dore. South Shetland was first discovered in 1819, and is composed of numerous islands situated between the sixty-first and sixty third degrees of south latitude, and extending from the fifty-third degree of west longitude, to the sixty-fourth. From the examination of these islands by Captain Powell, which took place in 1821 and 1822, it appears that the general description previously given of the appearance and nature of the country is correct, but that the graphical configuration was laid down in a very erroneous manner. This he has rectified by detailed observations; and has added to our information with respect to the navigation of these dreary seas by the discovery of a new groupe, which has been designated by his name. Powell's islands are situated between the sixtieth and sixty-first degrees of south latitude, and the forty-fourth and forty-seventh of west longitude. The principal of them is named Coronation island, as being the first land discovered since the coronation of his present Majesty, having been seen on the 6th of December, 1821. Several other islands and numerous rocks, which exist to the east of Coronation island, have been denominated Laurie's Land.

Fur Trade with China.—In the year 1816, a merchant of Bordeaux, M. Balguerie, jun., fitted out a vessel for the purpose of freighting her, on the north-west coast of America, with sea-otter skins, which he proposed to exchange in China, for the merchandise of that country. This vessel, the Bordelais, sailed from Bordeaux on the 19th of October, in that year, with a crew of thirty-four men, under the command of M. de Roquefeuille, and arrived, after a very disagreeable voyage, at the spot where it was expected that the furs would be plentiful, but it was only by great exertions that they were enabled to procure a very small number of them. M. de Roquefeuille observes that the productiveness of this trade goes on successively diminishing. In the four years from 1804 to 1807 inclusive, he states that the Americans imported into China 59,346 of these skins; in the four succeeding years, the quantity was diminished to 47,962; and since that time

the yearly importation has not exceeded from 3,000 to 4,800. In China, the Bordelais found a large number of American vessels, the competition between which had occasioned a considerable fall in the value of imported articles, while it had exhausted the supply, or greatly increased the price of the products of the country. Tea was very scarce, and excessively dear; silks, tortoise-shell, and rhubarb, were completely exhausted; and they were compelled to take in a large quantity of sugar in order to complete their cargo. The Bordelais returned to Bordeaux on the 21st of November, 1819, after an absence of thirty-seven months and two days. M. de Roquefeuille has lately published a Journal of his voyage in the *Annales Maritimes*, from which the foregoing particulars are extracted.

Ancient inhabitants of Egypt.—In a letter of the celebrated linguist, Klaproth, to M. Champollion the younger, so distinguished for his discoveries in hieroglyphic writing, on the affinity of the Coptic with the languages of the north of Asia, and of the north-east of Europe, we meet with the following observations, which appear to throw a new light on the inhabitants of ancient Egypt, in its most distinguished epoch. "After having sought in vain for any connexion between the Coptic and the language of the Berbers, or the original inhabitants of Mount Atlas, I imagined that I perceived an affinity between many Egyptian words and those of the idioms of the north of Asia, and of the north-east of Europe. Struck with this resemblance, I scrupulously compared with these idioms, about three hundred Coptic words, signifying the most common objects of nature. To my great astonishment I discovered a considerable number of them in the languages of the Oriental Fins, as the Wotiaks, the Perminns and Zyriaines, the Mordouines and Mokchas, the Ostiaks, and particularly the Tchermesses and Tchouwaches, all of whom inhabit between the Wolga and the Oby. Other Coptic words resemble those of the language of the Samoides of Siberia, of the inhabitants of Caucasus, and of the people of northern Europe. The resemblances between the Coptic and the dialects of southern Asia are less frequent. These results appear to point out that some doubts may be entertained of the African origin of the Egyptians; since it is certain

that the Coptic words which are neither Semitic nor Greek, must be regarded as the remains of the ancient language of the people, with whose civilization we become acquainted only through the medium of the gigantic monuments which reveal to us its past existence, and of the wrecks of mummies which are employed to cook the food of the Bedouin."

Coincidence between the Mythology of the Hindoos, and that of the North of Europe—In the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Stockholm*, for 1822, is a paper by M. S. A. Cronstrand, entitled "An Attempt to explain the four Ages of the World, as admitted by the Hindoos." The number 432,000, by which the Hindoos designate the duration of the fourth Age, or Yuga of the world, is also met with, according to Bailey, among the Chaldeans and Chinese. The author of this paper, among other subjects of which he treats, notices a passage of the "Edda," in which it is said that the Walhall has 540 gates, from each of which proceed 800 *einherjars*. It had already been observed by M. Lefren that these two numbers multiplied together also make 432,000, and M. Cronstrand endeavours to investigate what could have given rise to so singular a coincidence.

Arabian Coins.—The second volume of the *Memoirs of the Society of Literature and the Arts of Courland*, published at Mittau, in 1822, contains a curious paper on the subject of the coins of Chosroës; and of the first Arabian Caliphs; and another paper, accompanied by a lithographic plate, on the coins of the Caliphs and Samonides found in Courland, from the communications of MM. Silvestre de Sacy and de Fraehn.

Cardinal Zurla.—The Venetian travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who penetrated into the most remote regions of the earth, and prepared the way for the Discoveries of Columbus, and of Vasco de Gama, were nearly buried in oblivion, when the patriotic zeal of this distinguished ornament of the Sacred College, rescued them from their impending fate. A native of Venice himself, he devoted several years to the study of the monuments of their discoveries; the result of which he published in two volumes, 4to. under the title of "Dissertations on Marco Polo, and other Venetian Travellers." The first of these embraces the celebrated travels of Marco Polo, the first European who entered into an extensive detail on the vast regions of central and eastern Asia, so imperfectly known to

the ancients; and who by his discovery of China, and indication of Japan, inspired Columbus with the glorious idea of sailing towards the west. The critical observations of Zurla throw much light on the obscure passages of this narrative; and are accompanied with scientific notes from the pen of Rossi on the subjects of natural history.

The voyages of the *Zenis* in the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean present an object of inquiry equally difficult and curious. They prove that these hardy navigators had visited Newfoundland, and collected much information with regard to other portions of America, a hundred years before Columbus; and we collect from them that the Scandinavian nations continued, in 1380, the communications which they had opened with the new world between the years 980 and 1000.

Intrusted for several years with the management of the College of the Propaganda, Cardinal Zurla has continued to direct his attention to these subjects, which, while especially promoting the cause of religion, are also subservient to those of civilization and of science. A "Discourse on the Advantages which the Sciences, and particularly Geography, have derived from the Christian Religion," appeared from his pen in 1822; and it cannot be doubted that he will still continue to advance in the improvement of the important science which he has hitherto so sedulously cultivated.

Population of Lamurzec.—M. Galmard has given the following summary of the population of the islands subject to King Vequtip, who resides at Lamurzec, one of the Carolines. The information is derived from the Governor of the Marianne Islands, to whom it was communicated in March, 1818, by the Tamor Captains, one of the best pilots of the Carolines, who had frequently visited the several islands. Lamurzec, the residence of the King, nearly 2000 souls; Elato, residence of the second person in the kingdom, 1200; Ulor, 180; Tuquas, 100; Palati, 130; Pue, 170; Gulimazao, 225; Ulatan, 2, (engaged in collecting cocoa-nuts); Car, 15; Fallpti, 25; Ulimarai, more than 500; Falalap, 250; Soliap, 70; Palio, 120; Raor, 110; Mariog, 90; Fagunlap, upwards of 80; Fallugla, 50; Lasagay, 24; Falualap, 36; Jarradies, 50; Fanarizaray, 32. Total, 5,459. The names of the islands are written according to the Spanish pronunciation, as registered by the Government.

Statistics of Martinique.—The following is an abstract of the tables published by

M. Renouard de Sainte-Croix. The surface of the island contains 67,513 *carrés*, of which 43,748 are uncultivated, or in savannas and wood. Its population is 98,279, viz. free whites, 9,867; free men of colour, 11,073; and slaves, 77,339. The number of mules is 6,906, and of oxen and cows, 12,083.—The island is divided into four *arrondissements*, that of Fort Royal, of the Marine, of La Trinité, and of St. Pierre. Its principal productions are the sugar-cane, which occupies 12,757 *carrés*; the coffee-tree, 2,815; the cocoa-tree, 412; the cotton-tree, 330; and vegetables, &c. 7,451. The whole extent of cultivated land is 23,765 *carrés*. The culture of the sugar-cane employs 30,806 slaves, and forms 371 plantations, on which are reckoned 178 water mills, 199 machine mills, 20 windmills, and 10 steam-engine mills. They yield annually 53,059 hogsheads of sugar, of the weight of 1000 pounds each, and 2,699,588 gallons of syrup. The produce in coffee is 1,370,075 pounds; in cocoa, 449,492; and in cotton, 62,694.—The taxes, which are imposed by an ordonnance of the Governor, produce a revenue of 3,373,289 *frances*, and the annual dotation of the metropolis is 1,300,000; forming a total revenue of 4,673,289 *frances*. The expenditure is 4,498,287, making an excess of receipt amounting to 174,000 *frances*.

Importation of the Cachemire Gout into France.—Nine of these animals, of the Thibet race, comprehending one male, arrived in the port of Marseilles on the 10th of October last, by the brig *Ippogriffo*, from Taganrok, which they left in the preceding July. One female had perished during the voyage; and the remainder were sent to the lazaretto on their arrival, to perform quarantine. M. Ternaux, to whom these animals were consigned, expects shortly to receive others from the same district.

Dogs of Asia.—The *Nova Acta Physico-Medico Acad. Nat. Cur.* part 2, contains an important paper on the natural history of the *Isatis*, the jackall of the Caucasus, and the *Corsac*, by Dr. Tilesius; in which the author enters at considerable length into an inquiry as to the different names by which these animals are designated among the numerous tribes which inhabit Siberia and the shores of the Caspian; into the countries which they frequent; the manner of hunting them; the variations of their fur; the trade which is carried on for this article; and the manners which are peculiar to each of them. The boldness, rapacity, and cunning of the *Isatis* fur-

nish matter for much interesting and novel detail; and Dr. Tilesius agrees in opinion with Vallas and Guldenstadt, that the jackall of the Caucasus is the original stock from which are derived the numerous varieties of the domestic dog.

New Reptiles.—We perceive that MM. Quoy and Gaimard, naturalists to the expedition under Captain Freycinet, continue to present occasional notices of their collections to the public. A paper containing a description of a new species of tortoise from California, and of three new species of snakes from New South Wales, was read at a recent meeting of the Society of Natural History at Paris.

Cryptogama of Java.—A paper by C. F. Blume, and the celebrated cryptogamist Nees von Esenbeck, entitled, '*Pugillus Plantarum Javanicarum*,' is contained in the *Nova Acta Acad. Leop. Carol. Nat. Cur.* xi.; in which descriptions and figures are given of twenty-eight species of cryptogama, collected on the mountains of Salah and of Godee, in the island of Java. These mountains are elevated nearly six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. There exists a considerable analogy between the ferns of Java and those of the islands of Southern Africa; the mosses and hepaticæ, with the exception of a few which are common to almost every country, are peculiar to the island; while the lichens are the same as those found in most other parts of the world, an occurrence which has been frequently observed in countries differing considerably in latitude.

Flora of Ceylon.—We have lately seen a copy of the first part of a Scientific Catalogue of the Plants of Ceylon, printed in the island, and which embraces a variety of useful information. The plants are arranged under the *Linnean* classes and orders; and, in addition to the generic and specific name of each in Latin, the native name is given in separate columns in the Cingalese and in the Roman characters; while another column indicates the habitats of most of the species and varieties. Of the *Oryza sativa*, or rice plant, the amazing number of one hundred and eighty named varieties are enumerated, to each of which the Cingalese denomination is affixed.

Flat Peach of China.—The last part of the Transactions of the Horticultural Society contains a Notice by the President on the subject of this shrub, which was imported from China by the Society in the year 1820. It appears to possess the property of growing and flowering

with much more rapidity than any other peach. In 1821 it flowered in the month of January in a green-house, the windows of which were left open; and in 1822 it again flowered in the winter before the frames were fixed. On the 3d of January, when the Notice was written, the peaches had already acquired the size of peas, with no greater heat than was absolutely necessary to preserve them from the frost. This shrub has also the peculiarity of preserving its old foliage in all its freshness until the new has made its appearance. The observations of the President are confirmed by those of Mr. Wilbraham in a subsequent part of the volume.

Preservation of Seeds destined for China.—The humidity of the climate of China is so great as to destroy the seeds before they arrive at maturity, consequently the Chinese are in a great measure dependent on the importation of seeds from England and the Cape of Good Hope, and even these are frequently damaged in the passage by the effects of the fogs. To remedy this inconvenience, Mr. Livingstone proposes to dry the seeds intended for this destination by means of sulphuric acid, and announces that he has himself made use of Leslie's apparatus for this purpose with complete success.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Russian Voyage of Discovery in the Southern Polar Seas.—M. Alexander von Humboldt has transmitted to the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* an abstract of the results of this expedition, communicated by M. Simonoff, who accompanied it in the capacity of astronomer. It consisted of two vessels, the *Wostok* and the *Mirni*, under the command of Captains Bellinghausen and Lazarew, and sailed from Cronstadt on the 3d of July, 1819. After touching at Copenhagen, Portsmouth, and Rio de Janeiro, they proceeded to the South Polar Seas, and on the 14th of December found themselves in the 52d degree of latitude, and perceived land covered with snow. On the following day they approached King George's Island, the north-east coasts of which were surveyed by Cook; they spent two days in surveying the south-west coasts. On the 17th they passed Clarke's Rock, steering towards Sandwich Land, and on the 22d discovered a new island, to which Capt. B. gave the name of the Marquess of Traverse, the Russian Minister of Marine. This island, the position of which is not precisely marked by M. Simonoff, is surmounted by a burning volcanic peak, which they ascended; but as the expedition was destitute of naturalists, those who had engaged to accompany it not having joined at the appointed time, no particular observations were made concerning it. On the 27th they passed the Isles de la Rencontre at the distance of 30 miles, and on the 29th reached the island called by Cook Sandwich Land, on the supposition that Capes Saunders, Montague, and Bristol were the points of a land of considerable extent. This idea proves to be erroneous;—the Russians sailed round them, surveyed them carefully, and ascertained that they are islands of

small compass, covered by perpetual snow and buried in eternal fogs, destitute even of moss, the last remnant of vegetation which shows itself at King George's Island. The sea now began to be filled with floating ice, and the walrus and the penguin showed themselves in great numbers.

On the 4th of January, 1820, the expedition, after reaching lat. 60 deg. 30 min. left Sandwich Land and sailed eastward, at first following the parallel of 59 degrees, but afterwards gradually stretching, in an oblique line, to 69 deg. 30 min., where their further progress southwards was arrested by a barrier of eternal ice. While navigating these frightful seas, they were more than once on the point of being dashed to pieces among the floating masses of ice; and although it was the summer season in that hemisphere, they suffered dreadfully from the snow and the humidity of the atmosphere. The most violent tempests did not occur till after the 7th of March, and the period during which the icebergs were most numerous was between the 3d and 7th of that month, showing that in those high latitudes the approach of the equinox is accompanied, as among us, by great commotions in the air and water. They were often delighted by the appearance of the aurora australis, which seemed constantly to come from the Pole, and not from all points of the horizon, as Capt. Parry has observed in the corresponding northern latitudes.

On the 5th of March the two ships parted company, in order to proceed by different routes to Port Jackson, the *Mirni* taking its course in a lower latitude than the *Wostok*. Their course lay to the south of Sandwich Land, of Circumcision Island, and of Kerguelan's

Land; and the fact, that neither of them met even with an islet in their way, is almost demonstrative that there exists in those seas no land of any considerable extent. On the 30th of March the *Wostok* anchored in Port Jackson, and was joined seven days afterwards by the *Mimi*. On the 8th of May they quitted New Holland, for the purpose of visiting the various groupes of islands scattered over the Australasian Seas. A less degree of interest attaches to this portion of the Narrative. Seventeen new islands were discovered; that of Ono, near the Friendly groupe, has peaceable inhabitants, who possess large boats with sails; while, on the contrary, the inhabitants of the Archipelago of Alexander the First, near the dangerous Archipelago of Bougainville, are described as an entirely savage and inhospitable race. The expedition returned to Port Jackson on the 8th of September. During his residence at that place, and also on his voyage between the Tropics, M. de Simonoff made numerous astronomical observations on the Southern Celestial Hemisphere; he also asserts, from daily observation of the barometer, that the mercury in that instrument experiences, between the Tropics, a periodical elevation and depression, occurring twice in the twenty-four hours, reaching its *maximum* of height at nine in the morning and nine in the evening, and falling to its *minimum* at three in the morning and three in the afternoon.

On the 31st of October the expedition again quitted Port Jackson, to pursue their researches in the Polar Seas. On reaching Macquarrie Island, they saw many English whalers, hunting the sea-elephants and seals, which are extremely numerous on its coasts. Here they felt for the first time the shock of a submarine earthquake, which was very violent. The whalers had noticed three during the night, and, according to their account, an earthquake is experienced in those seas every month. On leaving Macquarrie Island, they began the circumnavigation of the Pole, constantly endeavouring to approach it as much as possible; once only they reached 70 deg., but they often sailed on the parallel of 69 deg. 30 min. On the 11th of January, 1821, they at length discovered an island surrounded with ice, to which they gave the name of Peter the First. It is situated in 69 deg. 30 min. south latitude, and in 91 deg. west longitude of Greenwich, being the same meridian as the Gallapagos Islands. On the 17th, still sailing under the same parallel, they discovered a coast environed

with ice, the end of which they did not distinctly see: they named it Coast of Alexander the First, and sailed along it from the 73d to the 74th degree of west longitude from Greenwich, but they were inclined to believe that it was of no great extent. These two discoveries are highly interesting, as being the nearest points of land to the South Pole with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, the vague rumour of land discovered by an American whaler in latitude 72 deg. should receive confirmation.

They next proceeded to the New Shetland Islands, which they surveyed with the greatest accuracy. They increased the number of these islands by six, making the total number of new islands discovered by the expedition amount to thirty. While to the south of several of these islands, which are smaller, and especially narrower than they were supposed to be from the account of Mr. Wm. Smith, they distinctly observed English and American whalers at anchor to the north of them. Leaving these islands, they pursued their course to New Georgia, whence they had sailed in 1819, and thus completed the circumnavigation of the Globe within the Southern Frigid Zone. From this place they returned to Europe, and, after touching by the way at Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, arrived at Cronstadt on the 24th of July, 1821, after an absence of 2 years and 21 days, during which time only 3 persons out of 200 died. A complete Narrative of the Proceedings of the Expedition is now preparing for publication, by command of the Emperor.*

The King of Ava and the Calcutta Journal.—It is a curious fact that the King of Ava is anxious to understand the contents of the Calcutta newspapers; and the Calcutta Journal, we understand, is regularly taken up to Ava to be translated to him; but the translators, it is said, very courteously suppress any passage that they suppose might be offensive to the "golden ears." But, notwithstanding this timidity of the interpreters, the editors of our papers here, when communicating any fact that may reflect on the King of Ava, or on the Birman Government, should be somewhat guarded; as by any reference to the informant, they may endanger even his life, should he ever return to Pegu, and the circumstance be made known to the Viceroy, who has the power of

* This is the expedition alluded to in page 496 of our last Number.

life and death without reference to the King.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

Death of Mr. Bowdich, the African Traveller.—Our readers will be sorry to learn that the enterprising traveller, Mr. Bowdich, has lately died in Africa, while engaged in exploring the interior of that country. He had been employed in surveying the river Gambia; and after exposing himself to the heat of the sun during the day, he became excessively chilled by the land breezes in the evening, whilst making astronomical observations, and caught the fever of the country. His youth and temperate habits were so much in his favour, that he revived two or three times in a surprising manner; but his extreme impatience, under the interruption of his pursuits, constantly threw him back again, and he expired after great suffering on the 10th Jan. a victim to the cause of African discovery. He was born in June 1793, at Bristol, where his father was a considerable manufacturer. At a very early age, however, he conceived a distaste for trade, and through the influence of a relation, obtained an appointment as writer in the service of the African Company, on the Gold Coast. He arrived at Cape Coast Castle in 1816, and was shortly afterwards joined by his wife. It being determined to send an embassy into the interior kingdom of Ashantee, Mr. Bowdich was chosen to conduct it; and to his credit the mission was successful in all its objects. Returning to England in order to lay before the public the result of his labours, Mr. Bowdich exposed the abuses of the African Company, and, in consequence, became obnoxious to various persons in power. Meeting with no adequate encouragement in his own country, Mr. Bowdich went over to France, in order to avail himself of those helps to science, which, thanks to Napoleon, abound in Paris. His reception by the French *savans* was flattering,—very different from what it had been in England. A public clog was pronounced on him at a meeting of the four Academies of the Institute, and an advantageous appointment offered him by the French Government; which, as it is most unaccountably represented, he thought himself too much an *Englishman* to accept. After this he departed from Europe, accompanied by his wife and two children, in order to prosecute his discoveries in the interior of Africa; but the first intelligence received of Mr. Bowdich is, that he fell a martyr to the spirit of enterprise. He has left an amiable widow with three children totally

unprovided for. She accompanied him to Africa, and entered with the utmost zeal and enthusiasm into all his views and pursuits: which she was eminently qualified to promote by her fine talents as an artist, and her extensive knowledge of natural history. Mr. Bowdich was well known to the public by his interesting account of the mission to Ashantee, and by several other publications. He had devoted himself during the interval between his two journeys to Africa, to a most laborious course of preparatory studies in natural history, geology, and astronomy; and his death may be regarded as a loss to his country, and to mankind.

Portrait of the Abbé Dubois.—We have the pleasure to inform the subscribers to the portrait of the Abbé Dubois, that the picture has been delivered to the Literary Society by the venerable artist who was engaged in its execution. It is a spirited and faithful likeness, and exhibits the powers of the painter unimpaired—the original chalk study of the head, and a small full length sketch of the Abbé, having the same back ground as the portrait, have also been sent to the Society by Mr. Hickey. These will be transmitted to England, consigned to the care of Mr. Arbutnot, in order that an engraving may eventually be made from them, either as a single print, or as a frontispiece to a second edition (should one be published) of the Abbé's work on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Southern India. In either case, it will be made a condition with the engraver, that one copy of the print be delivered to each subscriber. It will, we are assured, afford satisfaction to all who have so liberally patronized this subscription to hear, that the amount appropriated to the payment for the picture, is 1750 rupees.—*Madras Gov. Gaz.*

Sir George Staunton has presented the Royal Asiatic Society with 2000 volumes in Chinese, and bade adieu to all his lucubrations in that unproductive language, after having studied it *à fond*, and given in English *mentem, animum, consilium, sententiamque civitatis, quæ omnis posita est in legibus.*—*Lit. Gaz.*

Mr. Manning, and Mr. Price the self-taught Persian scholar, are following Sir George's example, and leaving the field to Messrs. Morrison and Davis, the great and indefatigable sportsmen on that ground.—*Idem.*

Mr. Morrison has just arrived in London; rich, no doubt, in Chinese literature; and accompanied by a native in his service.—*Idem.*

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES—CHINA—AND NEW
HOLLAND.

Bengal.—After a long interval, we have at length received an abundant supply of intelligence from Bengal, both of a political and commercial description, extending from the 1st August to the 20th October, 1823. The great difficulty under which we labour, is that of arranging and condensing it in such a manner as that no remarkable fact may be omitted, and yet that the whole be brought within the compass of that space to which this department of our labours is necessarily restricted. We shall do our best to combine these objects, and, we trust, to the reader's satisfaction.

Fettered as the Press of India now is, we can expect to find but little of public interest in the papers of that country, except the mere narration of such events as may be mentioned without fear of offending the Government, and such comments as may contain only praise of men in power. It is to private letters that we must chiefly look for accurate and impartial accounts of the real state of things, and the true tone of feeling in our distant possessions in the East; we shall therefore avail ourselves of the information which may reach us through those channels, without betraying the writers, as we know too well, from the experience of the past, that no man could be known to the Government of India as the author of any letter questioning the propriety of any act they might choose to commit, without risking all his prospects in life, and not only being deprived of his just claims on their service, but perhaps banished from the country, and all the hopes that it afforded him of provision for his age. We shall never betray the confidence reposed in us, however, so that our Indian Correspondents may rest assured of their safety in our hands; but we shall take the necessary precaution to be furnished with incontestible proofs of the accuracy of whatever we may publish, without subjecting them to any responsibility on that account. We proceed therefore to our task.

One of the earliest letters received since our last, dated August 17, 1823, from one of the stations in Bengal (we do not think it necessary to state which has the following paragraph.

You will scarcely have landed in your native soil, before you hear, and all England hears, of the honours paid to your persecutor in this country.—To have allowed Mr. Adam quietly and silently to descend from his temporary elevation, was an effort far beyond the degree of virtue that is extant in Calcutta. Not only do the British inhabitants resolve to place his picture in the town hall; but Messrs. F—, T—, P—, and S—, men who are known to all India as among your professed friends, as advocates of a Free Press and of Colonization, men too, as independent of the government as men can be under the present system of things, are leaders in this transaction!—although they have each of them, publicly as well as privately expressed their disapprobation of the principal, if not the only feature which distinguished Mr. Adam's brief administration; namely, his inveterate hostility to the press; and the insult given by him to every Englishman in India, when he declared them unfit to be trusted with the liberty of speech and writing, which every Briton inherits by right of his birth!—It is in vain that the promoters of this work assert that it is a tribute to the private virtues of the late Governor General, and that they do not by this act express any opinion of his public conduct. They themselves know that this is false. Many men have quitted India, as members of council, whose private virtues were undoubtedly of a much higher cast than those of Mr. Adam: yet no one ever thought of voting a public picture to commemorate the excellence of their domestic characters. But, if proof were wanting to refute so absurd a pretension, it is to be found in the words of Mr. Fergusson, the chairman of the meeting, who, in his speech at the town hall on that occasion (Aug 9) said that "Mr. Adam had fulfilled both his public and his private duties, to the admiration of the Indian Public, in the most excellent, upright, honourable and unassuming manner,"—that "his sterling public worth entitled him to the highest consideration in the power of the meeting to bestow,"—and that, "for his own part, he firmly believed that British India owed the major part of its present prosperity to the arduous exertions, the indefatigable attention to duty, and the strict integrity which had distinguished Mr. Adam in the execution of the various and responsible situations which he had filled:" with much more to the same purpose. Yet this very Mr. Fergusson, who could stand up in the face of a public assembly, and assert with unblushing front, these notoriously unmerited eulogiums, is known to all India as the deprecator, the opposer, and the sworn and devoted enemy of that Censorship of the Press, of which Mr. Adam was the greatest friend, both before and after he exercised its odious duties with his own hand.—This very Mr. Fer-

gusson is known to all India, as the hundred-times avowed advocate of the Freedom of the Press which Mr. Adam hated so intensely, that nothing would satisfy him but its entire annihilation:—and, more than all, this same Mr. Fergusson was the counsel retained by you to procure the necessary evidence for the prosecution of Mr. Adam in England, and is understood by every one here to have pledged himself to do his utmost to obtain redress for an act which he considered a tyrannical abuse of a power in itself detestable, and such as no man should ever be intrusted with! The very resolutions moved by Mr. Fergusson state that the picture was to record “the public respect and esteem felt for his public character and talents, and private virtues of Mr. Adam, the late Governor General of India.” The heartlessness and hypocrisy of those who would set their hands and seals to such a resolution, after the whole tenor of their conduct for the five years preceding had shown them to be the friends of those principles, which Mr. Adam has violated and trampled under foot, by every act of his brief and temporary reign, cannot be sufficiently despised; and so they would have been publicly told, long ere this, were it not now impossible for any man to express his sentiments freely without the certainty of ruin for his honest zeal in the cause of truth. In Mr. Adam’s case there were no military services to dazzle the world, and in some manner excuse the addressers. There cannot, therefore, be a more striking evidence than their conduct affords, of that miserable dependence which pervades our society here, and which must continue to do so until its constitution is altered by the progress of colonization. There is no other remedy—but what we have to pray for is, that that remedy may be resorted to *immediately*, without waiting for the Charter: not of course without the consent of the Company. But why should we despair of obtaining their consent, if it were represented to the Proprietors, that the unexpired portion of their lease would neither be abridged nor in any manner deteriorated by their consenting to the repeal of all restraints on Colonization; and that, whether they consented or not, their lease would not be renewed? The present President of the Board of Control is a friend to Colonization, and so are some of the Directors and Proprietors, as well as almost every servant of the Company in India, of any intelligence or observation. Why, then, should not Colonization take place even before the expiration of 1824?

We have given the extract of the letter quoted above, at considerable length, because of the importance of the matter it contains. Respecting the earlier portion of the remarks, we can only say, that entertaining as we do, unfeigned esteem for the private characters of the individuals alluded to, as leaders in the honours paid to Mr. Adam, to some of whom indeed we are bound by no ordinary ties of friendship

and regard, we have felt as much pain as the writer of the letter could do, at measures which, emanating from them, have always appeared to us inexplicable. But it is not more impossible to serve God and mammon, than to be a friend to freedom and a eulogist of despotism. In both cases it is incontrovertible that whoever attempts to combine such extremes will never succeed: the service of the one must be for ever at variance with the service of the other.

We pass from the consideration of this subject to another that grows immediately out of it. Had the British inhabitants of India expressed, as they ought to have done, their sense of the injury inflicted on India by Mr. Adam’s hostility to the press: had they even exercised the virtue of suffering him to descend quietly from his elevation; and evinced, by their silence, a disapprobation of his proceedings, we should have heard no more, perhaps, of similar acts of tyranny from his successors. But the senseless clamour of applause with which Mr. Adam’s short reign was crowned, was a direct encouragement to others to follow in the same path, and the lesson has not been thrown away upon them. Lord Amherst, it appears, is ambitious to be distinguished for his hostility to the press and to colonization, or the settlement of Englishmen in India; and the last letters from India contain abundant proofs of his early indulgence of this disposition. The case of Mr. Arnot, one of the editors of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, who was ordered from the country, arrested, imprisoned, brought up before the court on a writ of habeas corpus, and set at liberty by the judges; but who, even after this proceeding, is banished from the country by the decree of the Governor General, is reported, at length, in another part of our Journal, (p. 637.) and need only be referred to here. All the letters that we have received from India, speak in terms of indignation at this new outrage on the liberties of Englishmen: and we believe, that if the public opinion of the country could be heard on the subject, there would scarcely be a hundred voices out of a hundred millions that would not pray to be relieved from such a curse as this power of arbitrary banishment without trial has inflicted in India. There is, it would seem, a limit beyond which even despotism cannot go, without risking the danger of opening men’s eyes to what they before had no conception of, and thus, by a natural re-action, making even its own advocates turn

from it with horror, and join the ranks of freedom. It is on this principle alone that we can account for the conversion of Sir Francis Macnaghten to a believer in the rights of Englishmen in India, and even to a zealous defender of them too. The reader will have seen, in our preceding Numbers, with what pertinacity he contended that there was no statute which gave men the same freedom in Calcutta as they enjoyed in London: and that their claim to such freedom was absurd. He will see, in our present Number, the letter of a Barrister, commenting with great freedom, but at the same time with great justice, on the legal contradictions and errors of his speech on the occasion alluded to—the passing the new laws for the press in India. When he comes to read the speech of the same

Sir Francis Macnaghten, on the imprisonment of Mr. Arnot, i.e. will scarcely believe that the sentiments therein delivered could have proceeded from the mouth of the same man.—Yet, the fact is undeniable: and we can only account for the change by supposing that the oppression of the Indian Government has at last become too monstrous even for an Indian Judge to defend: that he has therefore turned round upon it, with the indignation natural to an ardent mind and benevolent heart, (which all who know him know that he possesses,) and has become one of the most powerful friends of the very cause to which he was before opposed. To see Mr. Fergusson *defending* the forcible imprisonment without trial of a British subject, who had merely expressed an opinion on a public question in the most respectful and inoffensive terms, and to behold at the same time, Sir Francis Macnaghten *condemning* the arbitrary conduct of the Government, and setting their prisoner free, must have been a scene of extraordinary astonishment to the inhabitants of Calcutta. But, after their own unpardonable desertion of their duty, changing in a brief month from the elated advocates of a Free Press, while it was strong and powerful, to the senseless admirers of its bitterest enemy, when he was in the zenith, and the Press beaten down and trodden under foot—nothing ought to have surprised them: and to whatever degradation or slavery their present ruler may subject them, they will have themselves to thank, for not having withstood the first encroachment on their liberties with the spirit of men to whom freedom ought to have been as dear as their existence. We do not mean that

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they should have taken up arms; they might even be excused for not meeting to declare their sentiments in hostility to the measures pursuing for their debasement; but they might at least have abstained from crowning with triumph the head that contrived their enslavement—or kissing the hand that bound their chains around them! This extent of virtue they might at least have exercised; and this would have been enough to stay the torrent of oppression from proceeding further. They deserve but little pity, therefore, even should it overwhelm them for a period; provided the few righteous men could be saved from the general destruction. It is on their account alone that we feel disposed to raise our voices; and for their sakes, as well as for the passive millions who have no concern in the late transactions, that we yet hope to see a brighter day dawn on the dark horizon of the Eastern hemisphere.

A late Letter of Oct. 19. from Bengal, contains an extract, so curious in the facts it relates, and so much to the purpose of our present subject, that we cannot refrain from giving it notice. It is addressed to a gentleman who has handed it to us for perusal: and is worthy of especial attention. The writer says.—

In the Calcutta Journal of last month (September), you will see the release of Mr. Arnot, from the Town-major's prison, by order of the judge, Sir Francis Macnaghten; and when the Journals of this month (October) reach you, you will see how some one who writes exceedingly like the judge himself, has followed up his victory in court, by demolishing, in letters signed Z., and published in the Journal, a wretched advocate of Government, who wrote in the Bull, under the signature of A. The letters signed Z. are undoubtedly written by the same pen as those of Sir Oracle, in defence of transmission, and Verax, against the petty court, which all the readers of the Calcutta Journal must well remember; and they contain matter much more severe against Government than that for which Arnot was seized and imprisoned! Be this as it may, you will not fail to observe the contrast between the Sir Francis Macnaghten of Sept. 19, and the Sir Francis Macnaghten of March 31. Then he was all for power; now he is all for liberty. Then he thought Government had shown too little vigour, and said that he would use force as force, to put down free discussion; now he says we ought the more carefully to preserve the little liberty that is left to us. Then he spoke of the intolerable offence of *bearding* the Government; now he sees no such offence, nor any thing in the Journal which can justify or account for this act of violence in seizing and imprisoning its editor.

The reader will make his own com-

parison between the speeches of Sir Francis Macnaghten on the two occasions here alluded to, as both may be found in the Numbers of our Herald: and we think, after so doing, that he will agree with us in believing that the change can only be accounted for on the principles on which we have before endeavoured to explain it.—Another letter, of about the same date, contains the following extract, which deserves insertion at length.—The writer says,

The conduct of Government in seizing and imprisoning Mr. Arnot, for the most inoffensive paragraph ever yet noticed by authority, has filled every truly English heart with shame and sorrow; but what will you say when you hear that Lord Amherst is not content with sending out of the country those who venture to give their opinions in public matters, in temperate and decorous language, but that he has ordered away from India innocent and unoffending individuals, against whom there is not a shadow even of a charge for misconduct: two of these individuals are now in Calcutta, one of them is a Mr. Reid, a clerk in Mr. Nowell's indigo factory, a quiet, faultless young lad, without reproach of any kind; the other is an equally innocent and deserving person, who had established himself as a watch-maker at Meerut, and against whom no fault is even alleged. The only crime of which these injured men have been guilty, is that of being found in India without the Company's licence! Surely these things cannot be passed over in silence at home. The only question here seems to be, *how much* oppression it will require to induce the British Parliament to deprive our Governors General of this odious and detestable power of banishing innocent men from a country where the settlement of Englishmen ought above all things to be encouraged, as the only means by which the improvement of India can ever be effected.

It is impossible, on reading this, not to be strongly reminded of the conduct of Lord Wellesley, in banishing a number of unoffending Englishmen from Oude; and the comment made on that transaction, by the able historian of India, Mr. Mill. His censures on the tyranny of the Governor General of that period, 1798, apply with equal justice and with equal force to the conduct of the Governor General of the present day, and the reader will do well to recur to them.* We may repeat, however, what he says in another place, as it cannot be too often pressed on the public attention.

If it were possible for the English Government

* This comment of Mr. Mill on Lord Wellesley's banishment of Englishmen from India, is to be found in his *History*, vol. I. p. 154, 8vo. edit.; it may be seen also in the last Number (III.) of the *Oriental Herald*, p. 394.

to learn wisdom by experience, which governments rarely do, it might here at last see, with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke!

We should far exceed our limits if we were to give one half the letters that we have received from India on this one topic only, of the banishment of Englishmen without any crime being even alleged against them; but we must content ourselves with giving, in our present Number, the leading portions of them, and shall revert to the subject more at large in our next. We therefore pass on to a detail of the general intelligence, that has reached us from India during the past month.

The Persian government are said to be extremely dissatisfied with the British, in consequence of their non-observance of some of the conditions of existing treaties between them. They have also made peace with Turkey, and will be now more at liberty to turn their attention to other quarters. There is no ground whatever to apprehend danger to India from Persian hostility alone; but as that country is one of the gates through which our Indian empire may be approached by others—for instance, the Russians and the French—it has been the invariable policy of the British Government and the East India Company to keep on good terms with the Persians, in order to prevent their lending themselves to our enemies. The constant efforts made to meet and oppose the influence of the French at the Court of Tehran is known to all who are acquainted with Indian affairs; and Sir John Malcolm, who is at present in London, passed some of the best periods of his life in that country, endeavouring, and with great success, to establish British influence in Persia, both at the Court and among the people.—Until a very recent period, there were British officers employed at the Persian capital, in teaching the troops the European discipline: but this source of power, as well as influence, has passed into the hands of other officers, principally French. The Persians were beginning, too, to acquire a taste for our manufactures, imported by them from India, where they were brought by the free traders of England. A rupture with that country, feeble as it is, and wholly incapable of itself to do us harm by any offensive warfare,—would therefore still

be highly disadvantageous to the British interests, politically as well as commercially; and great pains should be taken to restore the harmony between the two governments, which some breach of faith, probably on the part of the East India Company, has apparently disturbed.

Letters of Sept. from Bengal state that the Burmahs had committed some aggressions on the Eastern frontier; and that reinforcements of troops had been sent to that quarter. Letters of October add, that in addition to this precaution, an expedition of 1300 men, under Lieut. Col. McCreagh of H. M. 44th Foot, was on the point of sailing for the coast of Aracan; but it was still thought doubtful whether a war with the Burmahs would actually take place. One of the latest letters that we have seen, contains the following extract, which is worth giving entire, as an illustration of the mode in which public business is conducted in a country where there is no public control. The writer says:—

As an illustration of the manner in which military affairs are conducted, it would be amusing to you if I were to note down, by way of diary, the progress of the present little expedition sitting out against the coast of Aracan.

Friday, Oct. 10th. *Three* companies of the 13th Light Infantry and five companies of the Marine Battalion to be ready to embark, with ninety artillerymen and four field pieces. Colonel Hampton to command.

Saturday, Oct. 11th. *Five* companies of the 13th are to go, and forty of the artillerymen are to be remanded to the barracks at Dum-Dum.

Sunday, Oct. 12th. *Three* companies of the 13th only are to go. Colonel Hampton is to remain behind, and Colonel Maccreagh is to go.

Monday, Oct. 13th. Colonel Maccreagh is *not* to go: and the ships of the expedition are to have thirty guns distributed among them.

Tuesday, Oct. 14th. Colonel Maccreagh is to be appointed Brigadier, and to take the command; but the ships are to carry only *twenty* guns.

To-morrow we shall, no doubt, hear of some other arrangement. In the meantime the expedition is getting ready, I understand, to sail in a day or two; but remonstrances against the caprice of the Military Secretary are talked of on every side; and we hear nothing but complaints of want of deference and respect, and of unauthorized interference with every department of the army.

If the rumoured displeasure of the Persians should evince itself in any acts of direct hostility towards our Indian Empire, the Company's forces are likely to be provided with sufficient occupation, between the Burmahs on the east, and the Persians on the west; and

so far, those who belong to, or have friends or relatives in, the Indian Army, will rejoice perhaps at the increased prospects of promotion which will thus be opened on them. All who desire the prosperity and happiness of India must, however, regret anything which would retard the one or disturb the other; and nothing is more likely to effect this than war. Even the East India Company themselves, who went on making conquest after conquest, at the very time they were expressing their desire for peace, can hardly now wish for war. Their territories are as extensive as they could be made with safety: and as a mere trading body, it is their interest decidedly to improve and secure what they have, rather than risk all by an attempt to obtain more. The colonization of India by English settlers—a perfectly free trade—a good code of laws, and a free press—are what is chiefly wanted for that country. As Mr. Huskisson very forcibly observed in the House of Commons, in the early part of the present month, in his admirable speech on the Silk Trade—“Monopoly always produces an indifference to improvement; and the prohibitory system by which it is upheld is fertile, as every one knows, in inconveniences and crimes.”—This unanswerable sentence should be engraved on the pediment of the India House, in Leadenhall-street, and proposed as a theme for every student qualifying himself for the duties of the Government abroad, and every candidate before he proceeded to the ballot for a seat in the Direction at home. We should like to hear how they would handle so orthodox a text.

The latest accounts from Bengal continue to convey information of the injuries occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers in the several districts of that country. The river Hooghly had risen very high during the flood tides, which had done considerable damage on the banks of the river. From the 26th of September to the 3d of October, an inundation had taken place, and the villages were nearly covered with water. The mud habitations of the natives had been swept away, and great distress had resulted from this calamity. The dealers in grain had advanced their prices, and food was so scarce that parents had even disposed of their offspring to procure the means of subsistence for themselves. The loss of lives had also been great, owing to the suddenness of the overflows. A Mr. Phillips is said to have saved the lives of

eighty-seven women and children, who but for his assistance must have perished. The college of Serampore was surrounded by water, and boats were employed to convey the inhabitants from house to house.

Letters from Jessore, of the end of August, state that the manufacturing of the indigo had finished there; and that nothing remained but to make up the ryot's accounts, and to let the indigo dry. They add, however, that owing to the incessant and heavy falls of rain during the season, the indigo crops had totally failed. The quantity of this produce on hand fetched a most exorbitant price, and in some measure reduced the loss which the planters would otherwise have sustained.

Letters from Nuddea continued to speak of the deplorable state of that district, which was also overflowed with water. Such of the inhabitants as were possessed of the means of removing from the scene, had departed, only the poorer class remaining.

Patna was nearly in the same situation, the native population being reduced to a state of great distress, the Jellinghy having risen to an unparalleled height. Kishnaagar and the surrounding districts were also one entire sheet of water. In fact, all the letters from the interior continue to speak of little else than the disasters caused by the flood, and the loss of life and property, to such an extent, that it will doubtless be long before the damage of the season is repaired.

Letters from Lucknow state, that a great mortality had prevailed there during the month of August, many individuals having fallen victims to the spasmodic cholera. Among these were Dr. and Mrs. Gibson, Capt. Fortune, and others. Suspicious were at first entertained that they had been poisoned, but the reports of the medical gentlemen decidedly affirm their death to have arisen from spasmodic cholera. A royal marriage was about to take place at Oude, in the union of the young prince of that province with a daughter of the house of Timour.

The idea of a steam navigation between England and India, appears, by the recent accounts from Calcutta, to meet with many supporters in that city; and it was generally thought that a meeting would be held at the Town-hall, with a view of taking into consideration the best means of bringing about this important object. We shall speak on this subject more at large in a future Number.

A suttee had taken place near Calcutta, on the 15th of September, at eight o'clock in the evening; the widow of a wealthy native, immolating herself in compliance with the barbarous superstition of the Hindoos, on the funeral pile of her husband. She was about fifty years of age. On the 30th of the preceding month, a similar sacrifice took place in the district of Hoogly, in consequence of the death of a rich Hindoo, aged about seventy. His widow, aged sixty, burnt herself on his funeral pile.

A fraud of some extent had been committed in the Accountant General's office at Calcutta, by a native who had the registering of interest drafts. He contrived to embezzle sums of money amounting to 5000 rupees, with which he had absconded; but the police were on the alert, and little doubt was entertained of his apprehension.

Bombay.—Late letters from Bombay state that the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone is about to succeed Sir Thomas Munro in the government of Madras: other accounts make it probable that he will come to England, the state of his health rendering this necessary. There had been hot contentions between the Recorder and the Barristers at Bombay, the former being friendly to the reduction of fees and the facilitating the administration of justice, and the latter contending for the privilege which all lawyers think they ought to enjoy, of fleecing their clients without mercy. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the points in dispute to pronounce a decided opinion on them; but shall not withhold our sentiments when we know the details of the question. It is said, however, that when Sir William Sayer was Recorder of Bombay, the fees were moderate; that when Sir James Mackintosh was Recorder, they were doubled; and that the natives had petitioned the present Recorder to reduce them to their original scale; to which he assented. He has also increased the jurisdiction of the Small-cause Court from 400 to 1000 rupees, which has given great satisfaction to the natives; but has been proportionately displeasing to the attorneys and barristers, as lessening the amount of their gains. If the only charge to be alleged against this judge is, that he is a friend to the cheap administration of justice, we consider this a virtue for which he deserves the highest praise. For further details see p. 691.

Private letters had reached Bombay, from Padang, which stated that the cholera morbus was very prevalent there, and that many persons had fallen victims

to it. These letters add, that a great spirit of inquiry existed among the Malays, and that religious books were becoming an object of great importance with them, from which the best results were expected.

A singular character, who is called a Musulman reformer, and named Hajy Seoud Ahmud Peer Zadu, with a numerous party of followers, had arrived at Bombay from Mocha. This strange personage had before acquired some celebrity among his countrymen at Calcutta, which place he left in the beginning of the year 1822, for the purpose, as he stated, of raising an army in Arabia, with which he intended to return to India, and drive the whole of the Christians out of the country! It is said, that he received no encouragement from the Arabs, who only laughed at his pretensions to sanctity, and derided his visionary schemes, as well they might. He is accompanied by about two hundred zealots, whose appearance and influence meet with nothing but the derision they deserve.

Madras.—Letters from Madras state, that Sir Thomas Munro was expected shortly to embark for England: and the general impression there was, that he would be succeeded in his Government by the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, from Bombay. At this Presidency, as well as at Calcutta, there appears to exist strong hopes of the ultimate establishment of a steam packet communication between Great Britain and the East Indies. It is said in one of the Madras papers, that Mr. Palmer was preparing to leave Bengal for Egypt, with the view of making the necessary arrangements for the establishments of depots to facilitate the communication by that route: but we believe that Mr. Palmer's intention to visit Egypt was formed long previous to this steam communication being agitated. Mr. Compton, the Advocate General at Madras, had been invited to accept of the temporary appointment at Calcutta, about to be vacated by Mr. Ferguson, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known, to which he had consented. We have heard, however, that on the period of Mr. Ferguson's intended departure approaching, his resolution failed him; and that, though already blessed with more than ample fortune, he could not prevail on himself to quit hastily the abundant harvest of wealth which every successive month of his prolonged stay in India pours into his coffers. The arrival of Mr. Pearson, the Advocate Gene-

ral, appointed from home, may perhaps induce him to leave the golden vision for more needy men to realize.

The French frigate *L'Armlde* anchored in Pondicherry Roads on the evening of the 30th August. The weather at Madras, which during August had been extremely sultry, in the following month had been comparatively pleasant, some refreshing showers having fallen, which had been of much benefit. The cholera morbus had been raging severely on board His Majesty's ships *Liffy* and *Alligator*, both of which had lost several men by its attacks.

A Male Orphan Asylum had been established at Madras on the 16th of September, and the ceremony of laying the first stone of the building took place on that day with great formality.

Penang.—The Merchants of Penang have presented an Address to the Governor of the Island, complaining of the undue advantages enjoyed by Singapore, in its freedom from commercial restrictions, and consequent prosperity. The reply of the Governor admits the advantages, but states his inability to do more than relax in a slight degree the pressure of the imposts and charges on trade at Penang. This had been already commenced; and so far it is satisfactory to see remonstrance met by a yielding disposition on the part of men in authority.

Singapore.—The accounts from Singapore continue to give a flattering account of that Colony. They place the local and commercial advantages of that Port in a very strong point of view, and we heartily rejoice at the success of this first free commercial Emporium in the Indian Seas. The Chinese appear to have flocked to the new settlement in great numbers, about two thirds of the population consisting of that race. The rapidity with which the town of Singapore is rising into eminence reflects great credit on Sir Stamford Raffles, the late Governor. The left bank of the river, which a short time since was nothing but an extensive marsh, is now converted into streets and squares, in which many good brick buildings are already erected, and more are in progress. Along the banks of the river, are several extensive warehouses and commercial establishments, and the Government has assisted in the construction of roads, bridges, &c. The demand for labourers is stated to be so extensive, that numbers of these were flocking from all the Dutch Ports in Borneo, and the Straits of Malacca. The lands which had been cleared were already

covered with crops of pepper, coffee, and gambic, and the little Colony presented every appearance of becoming a valuable and important portion of our Indian empire.

We noticed in our last the departure of Sir Stamford Raffles from Singapore, on his way to Bencoolen, and his having touched at Batavia in his progress. On his reaching the latter place, he sent his aide-de-camp to acquaint Baron Vander Capellan of his arrival, which had been caused purely by accident. To this the Baron replied, that as he had come, he might land if he pleased, but that he should never have invited Sir Stamford to visit Java. This ungracious reply did not of course tempt Sir Stamford to land, though Lady Raffles, on account of ill health, debarked the next day.

Sir Stamford Raffles had received a highly flattering and complimentary address from the inhabitants of Singapore, which we regret that we cannot give at length. There are two passages, however, in the address and the reply, that we must here transcribe.—The first says—

To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views, we owe at once the foundation and maintenance of a settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established; principles, the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates, into the abode of enterprise, security, and opulence.

These principles, which have effected such wonders at Singapore, are simply the principles of fair competition and free trade: and they would do the same for every part of India if they were tried. Why, then, do not the British Parliament profit by this lesson, to throw open all India to the free admission of enterprising Englishmen into every quarter of its extensive domains? The same causes would unquestionably produce the same effects there as they have done at Singapore: and the ministers and people of England are alone to blame, that the experiment is not entered on immediately. But let us hear the language of Sir Stamford Raffles in his reply—keeping in view, also, that it is the language of a servant of the East India Company, who has been bred up all his life in the very school where prejudices against free trade, and in favour of monopoly, are most deeply rooted. He says:—

Monopoly and exclusive privileges, against which public opinion has so long raised its voice, are here unknown. Singapore is a free port,

and as long as it so remains, it cannot fail to prosper.

All that is wanting is to extend this doctrine, and these principles, throughout the whole of our Eastern possessions: the consequences would be equally beneficial to all parties.

Batavia.—By letters from Batavia we learn that the ship *General de Koch*, which sailed from thence to Samarang, on the 26th of October, was taken on the 21st, by eight sail of pirates, full of Malays, after three hours hard fighting, off Indrancaya. The vessel belonged to Messrs. Thornton and West, and was laden with English goods. The captain and mate jumped overboard during the night, and clinging to some fish stakes until the morning, were saved by a schooner, which conveyed them to Batavia, at which place they arrived on the 2nd of November. Mr. Thornton, the supercargo, was kept on board by the pirates, who demanded as ransom for him a few chests of opium and ten thousand dollars. His friends had sent from Batavia, and hopes were entertained of saving his life. The Straits of Java are stated to be much infested by these pirates; a Dutch ship was attacked by twelve Malay prows, but succeeded in beating them off, after three hours hard fighting.

By subsequent letters from Batavia, dated the 6th December, we are informed, that, up to that date, no tidings had been heard of Mr. Thornton. These advices state that the Commissioners for improving the charts of the Indian Seas have made known that a rock has been discovered, which has never been noticed in any chart. It is situated in Latitude 5° 56' 6", and is six leagues off the Island of Great Molombo. It appears to be a small island, surrounded by pointed rocks. The soil on it is a reddish sand, on the surface of which, surrounded by scanty verdure, stands a tree about six feet high.

China.—During the early part of the month a variety of reports were current respecting the detention of the Company's ships at China, and these produced a fall of upwards of four per cent. in India stock. The first account was contained in a letter from Singapore, of the 6th of October, which stated, that information had been received from the Select Committee at Canton, stating that the Company's ships had been ordered to remain at Lintin, and not to proceed to Whampoa, until the dispute with the authorities of China was settled. It appears that the Viceroy of Canton had again renewed his demand for two

men to be given up for the two Chinese slain in the dispute with the Topaze, and had declared his resolution not to admit any of the ships to take in their loading until this was complied with. The arrival of the Company's ships, Waterloo and Bombay, from China, on the 22nd of March, has, however, removed all doubts on this subject, by bringing information of the Viceroy having been persuaded to waive his claim for another season. There is considerable mystery as to the manner in which he has been induced to postpone his demand, and a variety of reports have been current respecting it. It is, however, generally thought that the usual reward of a bribe has not, in this instance, been omitted. Should this prove correct, it is probable that it will be resorted to yearly, as it is not likely that there will be any backwardness on the part of the Viceroy to enforce a demand, the temporary postponement of which may be thus handsomely paid for.

New South Wales.—By letters from Sydney we learn the arrival there of the ship *Recovery*, with 120 male convicts. The Bank of New South Wales having received a renewal of its charter from the Governor-in-Chief had issued a notice, calling in their sterling notes by the 1st of September, to be consolidated in bills on His Majesty's Treasury, or in dollars, at 4s. 2d. at the option of the holders. The average prices of the articles in Sydney market, were, wheat 1s 7d. per barrel, maize 2s. 6d., and barley 3s.; fine bread was selling at 3½d. per loaf of 2lbs. weight.

Van Dieman's Land.—The letters from Hobart Town state that the economy of the government had occasioned a great fall of prices there, and no little consternation. The price of wheat grown there had fallen in one season from 10s. to 4s. 6d. per barrel. Some of the oil which was extracted from the bark of a tree in Van Dieman's Land, is stated to have been disposed of in London at very high prices, and it had consequently become an object of great interest with the colonists.

By the ship *Mariner*, forty-four fine sheep of the Merino breed, from the flock of the late Marquess of Londonderry, had arrived in an uncommonly fine condition in that colony. There were sixty-six shipped in England, of which twenty-two died on their passage. The price of bread in Hobart town was for fine bread, per loaf, of 2lbs. 5d. and for wheat, 4d.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—By accounts re-

ceived from Cape Town in the early part of the month, it appears that the Caffres, having recommenced their irruptions, had received such chastisement as would probably relieve the Settlers for a considerable time of one of the scourges with which they have been afflicted. The Cape Town Gazette of Dec. 20, states, that intelligence had been received by the last mail from the frontier, of the attack which the Governor had directed to be made on the Caffres having been attended with complete success.

It appears that Major Somerset, of the Cape corps, commanding on the frontier, assembled at the Riet river on the 3d of that month, the two squadrons of cavalry of the Cape corps, one hundred mounted burghers from Graaff Reynet, and one hundred mounted burghers from Albany. This force moved off on the morning of the 4th, to attack the Kraal of a Caffre Chief, named Makomo, which had hitherto been deemed almost inaccessible. Captain Aitcheson, with one hundred men of the Cape corps, joined the forces at twelve that night. Having passed the ford of the Kat river, they commenced climbing the stupendous Kaffenberg mountain, and gained its summit at day-break on the 5th. Major Somerset having here collected his force, passed with celerity along the ridge, and at daylight had the satisfaction of pouring into the centre of Makomo's Kraal, with a rapidity that at once astonished and overpowered the Caffres. A few assaigais (a sort of spear) were thrown, but the attack was made with such vigour that little resistance could be offered. At the termination of all resistance, Major Somerset ordered the slaughter to cease, and secured the cattle, to the amount of 7000 head, and had them driven to Fort Beaufort, where Kraals had been previously prepared for them. The military force returned to Fort Beaufort on the evening of the 5th, after having been twenty-two hours on horseback, in an extremely hot day, without water, and during which not a single casualty on their part occurred.

In the night of the 6th, Major Somerset proceeded with his force to the Chemire, having previously summoned Makomo to meet him on the following day. After several frivolous excuses for not obeying, he was assured that the immediate destruction of himself and his people would be the result of his obstinacy; upon which this Chief then came forward, and gave the

strongest assurances that he would give up all the deserters he could find, and owned that his people had merited the punishment they had received. Major Somerset, finding he was completely subdued, and sincerely penitent, promised him any surplus of cattle after all the settlers and inhabitants had been indemnified for those they had lost, in order to save the women and children of his tribe from want. This was afterwards done, and appeared to make a great impression on the minds of the Caffres. These operations have been to all appearances so decisive, that it is reasonable to entertain sanguine expectations that the best results will follow, and that the frontier districts will for a long period enjoy a tranquillity that will enable the inhabitants to pursue their agricultural labours without apprehension.

The same Cape Gazette contains a proclamation of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, directing the proper officers to destroy 200,000 rix dollars of paper money which had been issued on the 8th of August, 1822, for the temporary relief of the sufferers by the storms of that year. Subsequent accounts from the Cape reach to the 31st of January, and furnish further details of advantages obtained over the other Caffre tribes after the surprise of that of Makomo. The successful attack upon the Chief had made such an impression among the different hordes, that one of the most powerful Chiefs, Tsamboo, shortly after solicited an interview with Major Somerset; at the same time sending back many head of cattle which had been taken by his people from the Colonists. The Major appointed the 15th of January to meet on the heights on the other side of the Keishamma, whither Tsamboo repaired, attended by his son and heir, Dusanico, and the Chiefs, Congo and Pato, with 2500 Caffres, as a body-guard. Tsamboo being called on for his reasons for wishing the interview, stated that he came to be allowed to establish his Kraals on their former ground, near the Keishamma, and to implore that he might be left at peace. To this it was answered, that unless the Chiefs under him restored the cattle stolen from the Settlers, and gave up all the deserters, his request would not be complied with; but that himself and property would be destroyed. Tsamboo replied that he had already given up two deserters, and had brought another who had made his escape by the way, and requested two days to procure his ar-

rest, which the Major agreed to, on receiving, as hostages, the Chief, Congo, and twenty Caffres. Tsamboo then assured Major Somerset, that should any cattle in future be stolen by any of his Chiefs, he would attack them and see them restored. On the 17th, he sent one hundred cattle; and the Major being convinced of his pacific inclination, recrossed the Keishamma, and at day-break came upon the Kraals of two other Caffre Chiefs, named Habama and Nosmos. The first had moved off all his cattle; but of the latter two hundred and forty head had been captured.

An accident of a serious nature had befallen Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary at the Cape. While mounting his horse, the animal became restive and threw him off, falling with his whole weight upon the leg of the Colonel, which was severely fractured. He was, however, at the date of the accounts, going on favourably.

A new Journal was about to be established, on independent principles, at Cape Town, which has long been blessed with one Paper only, and that a Government organ. Hopes were entertained of its success, notwithstanding the impediments thrown in the way of its establishment, by those who dreaded free discussion as likely to operate to the exposure of misconduct, and the reduction of unjust emoluments. We shall watch its progress with anxious interest.

A letter from the Cape Town Gazette of the 22d of November, states the arrival there on the preceding Tuesday of his Excellency Sir Edward Barnes, K.C.B., Governor of Ceylon, and Commander of the Forces. Lady Barnes and suite entered Table Bay, on board the *Hercules*, and landed in the evening, under a salute from the batteries.

African Coast.—The accounts from Sierra Leone continue to speak of the rapid rise of that Colony, and the general information received from thence is extremely interesting. The Sierra Leone Gazette of the 17th of January, notices the very great increase of the Gold Trade, during the preceding year, which had of course benefited the Settlers. Not only had Gold Traders, from the interior of Africa, arrived in caravans, but even singly; which proves the state of the country to be much more tranquil than before; the accomplishment of journeys, without molestation, over so immense a tract of country, being a certain evidence of

much amelioration in the condition of the people. Isaaco, the celebrated negro guide of Mungo Park, had reached Port Sago on his way from Segó, bringing with him three thousand dollars' worth of gold. It is a fact of no small interest to the mother country, that both at Sierra Leone and on the Gambia, the natives in the barter for gold require nearly the whole in British manufactures, among which may be named as the most desirable, muslins and printed cottons. It was formerly urged as an objection to the abolition of the Slave trade, that England would lose a valuable trade in her own manufactures with the coast of Africa. The contrary has been however the case. The trade throughout the whole line of coast has increased beyond the most sanguine expectation, and the returns are in African produce of the most valuable kind. The timber trade had also much increased, there being no less than twelve vessels loading in the river, being in the whole 3594 tons of shipping, and several more were daily expected, so that a much larger exportation was expected during the present year, than had been witnessed since the first commencement of the settlement. The quality of the timber was particularly attended to; none but teak and cauta being shipped, each of which were considered to equal the best British oak. As the price was considerably lower, it was justly expected the demand would be greater, and that the annual exportation would continue to increase, in the purchasing of which some thousands of pounds sterling worth of British manufactures would be yearly disposed of, for the consumption of the native tribes concerned in supplying it, who were supposed to amount to upwards of five thousand persons. Rice is stated to be an article of general cultivation among the natives, but some of the chiefs having stopped the supply, two gentlemen, named Gabinnon and Braard, had been sent to treat with them on this subject, and had effectually succeeded in re-opening the communication. Indeed, Sir Charles McCarthy appeared to neglect no means of extending the commercial and political interests of England among the natives of Africa—while he proceeded himself to the Gold Coast to direct the operations against the Ashantees, he despatched Mr. Rendall to the Sherbro river to maintain peace among the chiefs in that quarter, and sent Mr. Austin on a similar mission to Almayn Amarah, in both of which the gentlemen employed had proved successful. The gratification of

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the settlers by the amusements of civilized life was also not neglected. A theatre had been erected at Freetown, which was to be opened on the return of Sir C. McCarthy from the Gold Coast. There are also fourteen churches at present built, and the foundation stone of another church had been laid with great solemnity. Native youths were also educating in the colony to spread the blessings of knowledge throughout the interior.

The unfavourable part of these accounts consists in the information, that the Slave trade is still carried on by the French colonists of Goree and Senegal, in their respective neighbourhoods; and in their usual haunts of the Cazamauca, the Cacheo, with the other rivers and creeks which lie between the Rio Grande and Cape Roxo: but this had, however, been in some degree put down, and was decreasing rapidly. The vicinity of Sierra Leone, and the Isles de Lass, had entirely abolished the direct Slave Trade of the whole coast, from the Rio Nemez to Sierra Leone. This inhuman traffic at Bissao and the adjacent Portuguese settlements, we regret to say, had, however, increased, and the savage traders had been carrying on their barter of human beings without interruption. H.M. Ship, Owen Glendower, sailed from Freetown on the 5th of January, with the intention of running down along the coast, and visiting those places where there was a probability of Slaves being found, and from thence to proceed and search the harbours and rivers of Beusio and Biafra, which was expected to be attended with great success. The French civil, military and naval authorities, are stated to be perfectly aware of the existence of Slave dealings in their several districts, but they do not use the slightest influence or authority to prevent it. The great Slave mart on the Gold Coast is that at the Gallinas, which is supplied with victims from the banks of the Sherbro and Shebar rivers. The Slaves are taken in boats or canoes from the various ports where they are collected, to a small neck of land, whence in half an hour's march they reach the Gallinas. The French flag in this quarter is disgraced by an active employment in this odious traffic: the vessels of his Most Christian and Legitimate Majesty are the means of carrying into a captivity the most dreadful, the unfortunate inhabitants of the interior. The accounts from Sierra Leone are becoming more interesting every day, and the Colony begins to assume a character which even

its warmest well wishers could hardly have anticipated.

Cape Mesurado. The accounts received from this American colony are more favourable than those we noticed in our last. The settlers, amounting to about one hundred and fifty, were actively engaged in building, fencing, ploughing, planting, &c. and the mortality which had raged among them when the former accounts left, had subsided. Lands had been laid and measured off into lots and plantations for the blacks, and houses were erecting, far superior to any seen there before. The great defect in the settlement of this colony, appears to have been caused by the American government having sent out colonists before any preparation had been made for their reception. Another great impediment to its success, had been the hostility of the surrounding tribes, who had seized every opportunity of attacking the settlers, when sickness or weakness had left them open to assault. The settlement had also been deprived of its naval force, the vessel *Augusta*, which was put upon that station, having been sent to Freemantown, and there condemned as unseaworthy. As soon as this fact was made known among the surrounding tribes, they attempted another invasion, and the blacks were compelled to leave the cultivation of their lots, to complete military works and fortifications for the defence of the colony. It will be seen by these accounts, that, although the advices are rather more cheering from this settlement, it is still doubtful whether it will ultimately maintain itself against the ravages of sickness within, and the hostility of its enemies without.

Angola.—Letters received from this settlement, state that the Governor of the colony had exiled to the interior, all those who wished to change the form of government, and unite the colony with Brazil. It appears by these advices that the principal portion of the Portuguese residents, were opposed to throwing off their allegiance to Portugal.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—The accounts from the Turkish capital announce the arrival there of M. Menzecky, the Russian Consul General, who had not, however, been able to present his credentials, on account of the indisposition of the Reis Effendi. In consequence of the violent measures of the Porte with regard to the coin of the empire, the exchange had fallen considerably. At the date of the latest advices, Constantinople was tranquil.

Smyrna.—Private letters from Smyrna state, that considerable divisions exist at Hydra, which render the aid of the Hydriots to the general cause of liberty nugatory. At Spezzia the senate keeps the people more under restraint; but at Ipsara the greatest order and unanimity prevailed. These advices state, that the authorities of Smyrna were still anxious respecting the manœuvres of the Greeks in their vicinity; the more so, as the latter had been successful in capturing the great caravan of Angora at the moment of its reaching the gates of Smyrna. The city had, however, been quiet, and those outrages against the Greek and Frank inhabitants, which even disgraced the barbarous rabble of Smyrna, had not been repeated. Indeed the Turks generally appear to be getting tired of the Greek war; and it is the opinion of many intelligent residents in Turkey, that a negotiation will be attempted instead of arms next season.

Egypt.—The accounts lately from Egypt state, the progress of the cultivation of cotton, and the general improvements in that country, exceed the most sanguine expectations which were entertained; it has attracted British capitalists and merchants to such an extent, that a sum of 30,000*l.* in specie has lately been shipped for that quarter. The money was taken on board ships of war to Malta, and from thence re-shipped to Egypt. Last week above 1000 bags of cotton from this quarter were sold in the city; and at Liverpool, we understand, the arrivals during a week have frequently amounted to 2 and 3000 bags of the finest cotton wool.

Greece.—Letters from Missolonghi, of the 1st January, written by an Englishman of rank in the Greek service, state, that an artillery corps, consisting of Englishmen, Germans and Greeks, had just been formed, the Prince Maurocordato having pledged himself to provide for them for a year. The government had given up the seraglio for a laboratory, and an hospital and dispensary were to be immediately established. Maurocordato is stated to be a great favourite with the maritime islands, the people of Western Greece, and with the legislative body, of which he was president. He is represented as rather ingenious than profound, but seems at all times disposed to concede; and it is considered advantageous for Greece that he is now in power. The letters from the Archipelago state, that the Greeks, in addition to their landing in the vicinity of Smyrna, had debarked on other points

of Asia Minor, and had been successful in seizing several wealthy Turks, who were obliged to pay a heavy ransom. The general accounts from Greece continue to assure the friends of the cause that Freedom must triumph in that quarter, and that the despotic sway of the Ottoman Porte is nearly at an end in that part of the world.

Greek Islands.—Letters from Zante state, that Lord Byron had been recognised by the government of Western Greece as *Prohedros*, or President of strangers, over whom he exercises a kind of patronage, which consists in rendering them useful according to their capacity. The chiefs were unanimous in their devotion to their country, and the utmost harmony reigned among them.—These letters further state, that the city of Patras was closely blockaded by the Greek fleet, and besieged on the land side by Colocotroni, Andrew Matanzas, Francis, and twenty other Strataques, who had obtained possession of the aqueducts and heights of Skatoroni, from which they play upon the citadel. To prevent a surprise, the Greeks had formed a camp between Sichenia and the chateau of Cape Rion, of Achaia, towards which they had sent six Hydriot vessels, to blockade several Algerine ships which had taken refuge under the cannon of Lepanto.

Corfu.—The first Numbers of the Greek Gazette, printed at Missolonghi, had been received at Corfu, according to the last advices, and had been read there with great avidity. It is announced, that a French Journal will shortly be printed in the same town. A letter from this island, dated the 8th February, states, that Patras had not surrendered on the 5th. This delay is said to be occasioned by the knowledge of secret jealousies prevailing among the Greek chiefs, which encouraged the besieged to hold out. Colocotroni is stated to wish to reduce the place without the co-operation of his colleagues, and encouraged his troops with the assurance that a great northern power intended in a short time to espouse the cause of Greece openly. Other letters, however, from the same quarter, state, that the primate and chiefs agreed most cordially, and that the elections for the Senate were carried on with great prudence and discretion.

Advices have also been received from this island relative to the manner in which the account of Sir T. Maitland's decease was received there. The *Ionian Gaz.* contains a most extravagant panegyric on the deceased. The intelligence

of this event was brought by the Sybil frigate; and on its arrival the colours of the fortress, and of all the vessels in the harbour, were lowered half-mast down, and the batteries began to fire, minute guns, sixty-five in number, corresponding with the age of the deceased. The following notice was afterwards published by the Senate:—

CAR. M. VEIA.—By his Highness the President, and the Illustrious Senators of the United States of the Ionian Islands, &c. &c.

The Senate has a painful duty to perform, in announcing to the inhabitants of these States, the death of his Excellency, Sir T. Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Sovereign Protector, which happened at Malta, on the 17th instant.

The world is deprived of that beneficent personage, but the advantages which he has conferred on us by his high office and by his excellent heart, establishing order, peace and Constitutional security in these Islands, will cause his memory to be always esteemed and cherished, as the public grief, which has already anticipated the melancholy notification, displayed the emotions of gratitude and affection, in a spontaneous tribute to the lamented benefactor.

The Executive Power uniting, therefore, its affliction with that of the Ionian people, orders:—

ARTICLE 1.—That from the date of the promulgation of these presents, in all the Islands of these States, all public business shall be suspended for three days, in the Offices of the Government, the Courts of Justice, and before the Magistrates.

2.—All places of Public Amusement, Spectacles, Circles, Shops, &c. except those of the necessities of life, and of Apothecaries, shall be closed for six days.

3.—There shall be a General Mourning throughout these States, for One Month.

4.—The Funeral Exequies shall be celebrated for Three successive days, in all the Churches of these Islands.

5.—These presents shall be printed in the Greek and Italian languages, for the general information.

By Order of the Senate,
SIDNEY G. OSBORNE.

Corfu, 24th Jan. 1824

Accounts had reached Corfu of the sailing of a Turkish squadron from the Dardanelles. By some it was thought to be destined against the Greek islands; but the general opinion was, that it was for the protection of Smyrna.

Aleppo.—By the last advices from Syria, it appears that a volcano had risen from the earth, near Aleppo, and which, after exhausting itself in the discharge of lava, had turned into a lake. This was attributed by many to the late dreadful earthquakes in that vicinity.

Persia.—The accounts from Persia state, that it had been determined at Tehran to conclude a peace with the Porte. For the effecting of this, the Persian Envoy had passed the Euphrates on his way to Constantinople, and had arrived at Erivan.

Tunis.—The accounts from Tunis announce the arrival there of several Spanish vessels, prizes to the Algerine squadron. Nothing of any political importance had taken place at Tunis.

Algiers.—The arrival of H. M. Brig *Camelion*, from Algiers, has brought the particulars of the cause of the dispute with Algiers, which we noticed in our last, and also a correct statement of the reason for her visit with the *Naïad* frigate to that port. The specific object which induced our Government to order these ships thither was, to demand from the Dey, satisfaction, or an apology, for having made an attack on and broken open the house of Mr. Macdonald, our consul, in order to search for and take away two of his servants, who are Cabanis, natives of the interior, against whom the Dey had commenced a war of extermination and of plunder. Captain Spencer was also to demand permission from the English consul to hoist the British colours on the Consular Town House, as a protection for himself and family from unprovoked insult. Captain Spencer, on his arrival at Algiers, found two Spanish vessels in the Mole, which had just been captured by the Algerine corvette *Tripoli*, and the crews of which were destined to slavery. Captain Spencer, therefore, with the most praiseworthy feeling, made the case of these poor captives a part of his demand to the Dey agreeably to Lord Exmouth's treaty, which renounced the right of the Dey to this inhuman practice over Christian subjects. Captain Spencer having waited four days for the Dey's reply to his demands, became apprehensive for the safety of the Consul and his family; he, therefore, as a stratagem to get them on board, gave out that he meant to give a *dejeuner à la fourchette*, and accordingly sent invitations to the Consulate, and all the merchants and Europeans on shore, to honour him with their company. The next day (the 31st ult.), the Dey not having made any reply to the demands, Captain Spencer made the signal for the *Camelion* to get under weigh, and he left the bay with all his pretended guests on board the *Naïad*. Whilst the ships were working out of the bay, the Algerine corvette, which had captured the two Spanish vessels before alluded to, was espied close under the land, running for the Mole, which anchorage she would have reached, had not the *Camelion* instantly laid her on board, when Lieutenant Bagwell, at the head of a party of the *Camelion's* crew, resolutely jumped into the main chains,

followed by the second lieutenant, master, and the remainder of the crew, excepting about ten men, who, after having killed seven and wounded twelve of the Algerines, drove the remainder below, and captured the *Tripoli* corvette, of 18 guns, and 100 men, in fine style. The crew of the *Naïad*, (which ship was outside of the bay,) observing the gallant efforts of the *Camelion*, manned the rigging, and gave three cheers at the moment of boarding. Captain Spencer took out the captain, but the corvette, being in a leaky state, and disabled by the fire she had sustained, both from the *Naïad* in passing her, and the *Camelion*, was abandoned. Captain Spencer proceeded to Malta to apprise the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Harry Neale) of what had occurred, and he despatched the *Camelion* to England, with the result of his communication to the Dey. It was observed, that the Algerines had considerably strengthened their weak points; the *Crown* and *Seraglio* batteries, in particular. They tried the effect of their shells, from one of the batteries nearest to the *Camelion*, whilst she was attacking the corvette, but she was at too great a distance (about four miles) to receive any harm from them. Up to the period of publication, the British Government has contented itself with blockading the port of Algiers, for which purpose the Mediterranean squadron under Admiral Neale, has been cruising off that port. In addition to the dispute with England, the Dey of Algiers has declared war against Spain, in consequence of the non-payment of the customary tribute from the Court of Madrid. His cruisers have been successful in capturing several Spanish merchantmen, and this has drawn down the indignation of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, who has ordered his fleet to sail against Algiers. The Genoese squadron has also been fitted out against them, and the French squadron has likewise been ordered to proceed to Algiers, and demand the liberation of all the Christian slaves held by the Dey. This mighty note of preparation would be absolutely ludicrous, were it not for the jealousy which is concealed under this affectation of hostility to the Algerine despot. The real state of the case appears to be, that France feels a pang of jealousy at an English fleet being stationed off the Barbary coast, and has stirred up the authorities of Genoa and Holland to fit out their fleets in addition to her own, as a kind of squadron of observation, under the plea

of seeking for the liberation of the Christian slaves; a plea the more monstrous, when it is known that the ships of his most Christian Majesty have become carriers in the slave traffic on the coast of Sierra Leone, and, that with the exception of the Portuguese, they are the only European vessels devoted to that abominable trade. It appears, however, that an Algerine squadron which had been hovering for some time on the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia, had landed a body of men on the 16th of February on the former coast, who entered some of the defenceless villages, and carried off forty-eight men, women, and children, into captivity.

Gibraltar.—The letters from Gibraltar state, that ships sailed as usual without convoy, the dispute with Algiers not being considered of much importance in that port.

WEST INDIES.

Jamaica.—The intelligence from the West Indian Colonies has not been of any particular interest during the past month. The last Jamaica mail bringing accounts that all was quiet in that Colony up to the beginning of February. The Jamaica Courant of the 21st January, contains the details of the trials of nine negroes at Buff Bay in that Island, on the 10th, for the conspiracy to which we alluded in our last Number. It appeared from the evidence, that these unhappy persons were in communication with a brigand from St. Domingo, of the name of Baptiste, and that the mulatto Lecesne, who had been a short time before sent off the island through the decision of the Governor, had secretly supplied them with arms. The principal witnesses were a runaway slave named Charles Mack, and another slave of the same name as the alleged emissary from St. Domingo. According to this testimony, it appeared that a slave named Henry Oliver had assumed the title of King; that a conspiracy was formed by him and others to murder all the whites who should oppose their cause; that they collected money and bought arms with it; that they attended nightly meetings, at which they were drilled with sticks and wooden swords; that they had fixed on the 26th of last December for the insurrection, and that one night, happening a fortnight before Christmas, they assembled in the presence of an Obeah-man, who cut Henry's finger and mixed the blood with rum, which they drank as a charm to make them brave for the battle against the whites. At one time the witness Baptiste says that Oliver had

been King for six years; at another time, that the conspiracy had been going on for three years; and lastly, that Oliver declared that the white people would not give them three days in the week, as the Governor wished them to do, and therefore they must take it. Again, they had been collecting money to buy arms for three years together, and had only procured fourteen muskets, and yet, with this formidable array of weapons, they had fixed the insurrection for the night after Christmas, when they were to rise, rush in and murder the overseer and book-keeper on Balcarras plantation, and then commence a general massacre up as far as Cedar Valley. Their signal for indiscriminate murder was to be four candles on a board, or a torch, and shown from the tops of the barrique walls, as a general signal to the surrounding negroes to commence the work of massacre. The runaway slave was not in the house where the alleged conspirators met, but says he saw them, through the chinks of the houses, take the oath with blood and rum. It does not appear that any arms were actually found, except two fowling-pieces, one belonging to Oliver, the other to a slave who was acquitted, and both used for shooting birds and wild hogs. All, except Haughton, who was only found guilty of having arms in his possession, were condemned as follows:—James Thompson, John Macfarlane, James Meynard, John Spalding, and James Brem, to be transported for life, and if they return to be hanged; and Henry Oliver, Richard Montagnac, and Denis Ker, to be hanged at such time and place as the Governor may appoint.

Demerara.—The Papers received from this Colony, state that Martial Law ceased on the 10th of January, in the United Colony of Demerara and Essequibo, after an existence of five months. His Excellency the Governor having called the Georgetown Militia round him, expressed his high sense of the services they had rendered, and informed them, that their services in a military capacity would no longer be required. These accounts announce the death of Mr. Smith, the Missionary, who expired in confinement, on the very day that his pardon arrived at the Colony, but without his having received even the consolation of knowing this! His death can never be remembered but with feelings of shame and sorrow for the proceedings which led to it.

Barbadoes.—By the Mail from the Leeward Islands, which left Barbadoes on the 10th February, we learn that ge-

neral tranquillity prevailed there. The 27th Regiment from Ireland, and the 93d from Gibraltar, had arrived there.

St. Vincent.—Private Letters from this Island, state that Mr. Shrewsbury the Missionary, was still there. He had been appointed to go to Bequia to preach, but the inhabitants of that place refused him a house.

Martinique.—The spirit of insurrection which has lately manifested itself in the British West India Islands, has extended to the French Island of Martinique, where from recent accounts, it appears an insurrection was lately organized by the free mulattoes, whose number is said to be immense, and who are mostly in wealthy circumstances. Their intention was to have massacred all the whites, and it was believed they were connected with others at St. Domingo, and some of the neighbouring

islands. The plot having been discovered when it was almost ripe for execution, martial law was proclaimed, and thirty or forty of the leaders (some of whom were people of property,) were apprehended. Some troops arrived from France on the day the conspiracy was discovered, which enabled the civil authorities to act with greater vigour. Nine of the individuals implicated had been tried, and banished to Savannah, and others were expected to be executed. An ordinance was looked for daily from France, making Martinique in a qualified manner a free port, but nothing was known correctly on the subject, although American flour was expected to be admitted on paying a duty of four dollars per barrel, and sugars allowed to be exported at one dollar per quintal duty.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Governor General of India.—The latest letters that have been received from Bengal state that the health of Lord Amherst was so much impaired by his short residence in India, that he was likely to return to England immediately. Mr. Adam having gone to Bombay for his health, a President in Council will probably execute the office of Governor General till Lord Amherst is succeeded by some nobleman from home. Lord William Bentinck is likely, we should think, to be chosen for this station, if fitness for office should be regarded as a superior claim to family interest and ministerial patronage. If these determine the question, as they most probably will, there is no saying who may be sent out to misgovern that distant country.

Governors of Madras and Bombay.—It is certain that Sir Thomas Munro comes home from Madras, and highly probable that the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone will succeed him there. In this case, the Governorship of Bombay will become vacant, and indeed it is already said that Mr. Lushington, Secretary to the Treasury, has received the appointment. Not long since, Mr. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty, was named, and this rumour may, perhaps, be as unfounded as the former one. Sir John Malcolm is understood to be desirous of going out as Governor of Bombay; and if so, we know of no man more likely to be well received there, or to fulfil his

duties with more satisfaction to all parties, both abroad and at home.

Commander in Chief.—It is asserted, that the present Commander in Chief in India, Sir Edward Paget, has announced his intention of returning to England; and Lord Combermere is named as his probable successor. These changes will be greater than any that have taken place in India for several years, within the same short space of time.

Licences to reside in India.—We purpose taking up this subject in the way it deserves in some future Number; but must here content ourselves with observing that the Court of Directors appear determined to refuse permission to go to India to every one but the mere dependants on their patronage. Among other recent instances of their refusal, is that of Mr. Prinsep, a barrister, who applied for leave in the usual manner, and was told that the bar of Calcutta afforded no room for more practitioners. He was not satisfied with this answer, and appealed to the Board of Control. It was only after a year's exertions that he succeeded, however, in obtaining an order from the Board for his residence in India; and he has consequently embarked for Bengal. As, however, he may be sent away again within a month after his landing, if, in the "Judgment of the Governor General," he may have forfeited his claim to the protection and countenance of the Indian government;

of what use is the licence to reside, which cost him a year to obtain, if it can be taken away at the mere will and pleasure of another, for any cause that he may think sufficient. This is too important a subject to be discussed in a brief notice like this; but this single instance will be sufficient to show how necessary it is that such a system of capricious licensing, and arbitrary removal after being licensed, should be abolished.

East India Direction.—Sir Thomas Reid, whose sudden paralytic attack we noticed in our last Number, we regret to state, died on the 29th of February, at Chislehurst, in his 61st year. He was of the firm of Reid, Irving, and Co., one of the Directors of the East India Company, and lately chairman of that body. The election for the vacancy occasioned by his decease took place on the 23d of March, and terminated at six o'clock on that day. The scrutineers did not make up their report until half-past nine in the evening, when the numbers were declared to be, for Mr. Muspratt 752, Mr. Tucker 684, and Sir R. T. Farquhar 398, upon which the former gentleman was declared duly elected. Eighteen hundred and thirty-four proprietors voted, and the contest was peculiarly ardent, as two of the candidates had been in the field for a length of time, in consequence of which the division of interest was greater than on most previous occasions. The alarming illness of Mr. Elphinstone, which at the moment of our writing this, is considered to leave little hope of his recovery, will probably afford opportunities for another contest for the vacancy. As the six directors who go out by rotation, will leave six other vacancies, it is thought that candidates will start for the seven places that will then have to be filled. Sir Robert Farquhar, we learn, has the best hopes of success: though Mr. Tucker has also a long list of friends, notwithstanding the atrocious and abominable course of rancorous slander, with which he has been so unjustly vilified. It is one of the certain consequences of overstrained hostility, however, to increase the number of adherents, and to make even the luke-warm zealous; and it is well that it is so, it is one of the few remaining traits that do honour to the best part of human nature. Mr. Trant, Mr. Stuart, Major Carnac, Mr. Kiunnaird, and Sir John Malcolm, are all mentioned as likely to be among the favourites, but neither of the last has yet announced even an intention of offering. We should be glad

to see a few friends to the colonization of India introduced into the Direction; and should give our hearty support to those who were known to be most friendly to that great question, which may be truly said to be the corner stone of good policy towards our Indian empire.

Army Order.—The following order appeared in the London Gazette early in the last month:—

General Order—Horse-Guards, Feb. 13.—It has been recently brought to the Commander in Chief's notice, that an officer commanding a detachment of troops on board one of the East India Company's ships, ventured to oppose the boarding of that vessel, by certain officers and seamen of the Royal Navy, who had been sent from one of his Majesty's ships for that purpose; and his Royal Highness deeming such a proceeding to be highly improper, as tending to place one branch of his Majesty's service in collision with another, has felt himself called upon to convey his censure and admonition to the officer who took so ill-judged a view of his duty; the circumstance is thus published to the Army, in order to caution all officers against an interference with his Majesty's Navy, in case a detachment of it should at any time be ordered to board a ship in which troops may be embarked.

By Command of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.

HENRY TORRENS, Adj. Gen.

Netherlands Treaty.—A treaty concluded between Great Britain and the Netherlands, regulating some territorial arrangements in the East Indies, mutually beneficial in a commercial point of view, was signed on the 17th March, with the accustomed formalities, at the foreign office. The recent mission of M. Falck to this country, was for the purpose, we understand, of conducting the above negotiation.

Court of Common Pleas.—An action was tried in this court on the 4th of February, which is of some interest to our commercial readers. It was an action of *assumpsit*, brought by the plaintiff, Mr. Robertson, a merchant of London, against the defendant, Mr. Money, an underwriter of the same place, to recover a sum of 12,000*l.* on two policies of insurance, which had been effected with the defendant, on a vessel called the Neptune, and her cargo. The main question on the case turned upon the terms of the policy. The policy upon the vessel amounted to 2000*l.*, and that upon the freight to 4000*l.* That on the vessel, was dated the 25th of January 1820, and empowered her to proceed from London to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, the East Indies, there to stop, trade, load, and unload, as might appear necessary, and also at all other ports and places on both sides of the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to her

destination in Europe.—The policy on the freight, bore date on the 23d of January, 1821, and took effect on the return of the vessel from the place where she had finished her outward-bound voyage, with the same liberty to trade. The vessel took her voyage to New South Wales, and having there delivered her cargo, took in freight of rice at the Mauritius, and was lost off the Cape of Good Hope. It was contended on the other side, that the voyage to the Mauritius, and taking in the cargo of rice there, did not seem within the meaning of the word "East Indies." After the examination of witnesses on both sides, the JURY returned a verdict for the plaintiff.

Cape of Good Hope.—A meeting was held early in the month at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of raising a subscription for the relief of the distressed settlers at the Cape of Good Hope, which has been successful in raising a considerable sum for that laudable end. Earl Bathurst and Mr. Wilmot Horton have each contributed 50*l*. to the subscription.

Cause of the Greeks.—The munificent sum of 7,100*l*. has been raised among the Society of Friends in this country towards relieving the distresses of the suffering Greek population.

It is said that Lord Byron has sold one of his estates in England to assist the Greeks, and that the money is to be lodged in a London Banker's hands, for their use, which is to be paid off by the Greek loan now raising. The estate alluded to is reported to be the extensive and valuable manor of Rochdale, which has been sold to a gentleman of that place for 34,000*l*. His lordship had been in litigation for a considerable period of time with the purchaser, relative to the rights of coal mines, &c. on this estate.

It is rumoured that the Turks have made a formal remonstrance to the English Government, against the conduct of Lord Byron, who is now at the head of a body of helmeted Greeks as their leader, and of Colonel Stanhope, who is occupied in establishing a free press and public schools in Greece; and that the Porte have demanded their recall to England, on pain of their *sublime* displeasure. We have heard it said, but we cannot believe it to be true, that the English Government has yielded to this demand, and ordered the recall of Colonel Stanhope, on pain of forfeiting his commission in the Army. We state this merely as a rumour, which many believe well founded; but we cannot believe the English ministry to

be capable of so base a compliance with a tyrant's will.

West India Colonies.—A most important debate took place on the 16th of February, in the House of Commons, on Mr. Canning's bringing up certain papers relative to measures proposed to be adopted by government, in regard to West-India slavery. The honourable secretary, stated, that it was the intention of government that an experiment of amelioration should be tried at Trinidad, St. Lucie, and Demerara, and it was hoped, if found successful, the planters of the larger islands would not hesitate to adopt the same.—The following are the regulations for the putting in force this experiment, as contained in the order of Council for Trinidad :—

1. The use of the whip to be abolished in regard to female slaves.
2. The whip to be no longer borne by the driver in the field; nor to be employed as a *summary* punishment of the male negroes; to be wholly laid aside as a *stimulus to labour*, and resorted to only as a chastisement for misbehaviour, deliberately proved and recorded.
3. Ample provision to be made for the religious instruction of the negroes, by the appointment of two bishops, with regular clergy under them.
4. Marriage to be encouraged, families never to be separated, and the property of the slave to be protected by positive law.
5. Banks to be established, in which the slave may deposit his earnings: the money so placed to be sacred, in all cases, from the master's grasp.
6. The testimony of slaves, under certain limitations depending on personal character, to be received in all civil cases, except when the master's immediate interests are concerned, and in all criminal cases, except when the life of a white person is involved.
7. The slave who has acquired a certain sum of money, to have the *right* of purchasing his own manumission, or that of his wife or child; and thus the father may become, as it is fit he should, the instrument of liberty to his offspring.

Want of room prevents our giving a more enlarged account of these Parliamentary papers; an abstract of them had been prepared for our present number, but we must postpone it, with the observations to which it naturally gave rise, till our next.

A great number of petitions have been presented from all parts of the country to the Houses of Parliament, praying for the amelioration of the condition of the West India slaves.—The following is the address of the Glasgow Society for promoting the gradual abolition of slavery: and it is so clear and comprehensive that we feel disposed to give it entire.

Address of the Glasgow Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery.

Without denying that there may be circumstances in the conduct of individuals and of nations which may justify some temporary and mitigated forms of Slavery, this Society considers the system of Slavery in general to have originated in injustice—to be contrary to the principles of equity, humanity, and religion, and productive of innumerable wrongs to its unhappy victims. They consider it further as tending, by a natural consequence, to debase the human character, and to foster every baleful passion, both in the Master and the Slave; to obstruct the progress of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement; and finally, as injurious to the best interests of all parties within the influence of its operation; destructive of the security and peace of society, and inconsistent with the principles of a wise and enlightened national policy.

Entertaining these sentiments, we consider the system of Slavery which exists in our Colonies, even under the most favourable views which can be presented of it, as an evil greatly to be deplored. We rejoice to know that many Proprietors in Slaves have manifested much anxiety to mitigate or remedy, as much as they can, the evils of the system with which they are connected; and we have not the slightest desire to exaggerate those evils which exist, without mitigation, among persons of a different description. But even though we set aside every law, and usage, and practice which has been, however unjustly, denied or disputed—we consider that enough remains to make the system of Slavery in our Colonies a subject of grief and humiliation to the friends of religion, humanity, and their country; and to call on our Government both to adopt immediately a system of greater protection, amelioration, and improvement, and to form a wise and prudent plan, by which, through a gradual and preparatory process, it might be ultimately abolished throughout every quarter of the British Empire.

We are deeply sensible of the great difficulty both of forming and of executing a plan of this nature. We are no advocates of precipitate and sudden measures. We consider these would be injurious, not more to the master than to the slave. Nor do we make the present proprietors accountable for the continued evils of a system which has long existed, and cannot, without the greatest calamities, be quickly done away. Nay, though we conceive that no Proprietor is entitled to employ his servants in a manner inconsistent with the recognized laws of religion and of his country, nor to expect indemnification when such abuses are rectified; yet, with this qualification, we readily admit that the holder of slaves is entitled to such compensation for being deprived of their services, by changes in the general policy of the kingdom, as, upon a fair consideration of all circumstances, may to the Legislature in its wisdom appear just and adequate. We desire a system to be formed and pursued, which shall

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promote the deliverance, improvement, and happiness of our fellow-creatures who are in a state of bondage, ignorance, and debasement; and at the same time, which shall pay a full regard to the fair claims and interests of every proprietor. And we are persuaded that not only the strongest obligations of duty and humanity to the unfortunate slaves require this; but a regard to the best interests of our country and of our colonies. We tremble to think of the crimes and the vices to which our nation has been accessory, by that system of injustice and unrighteous practices which has so long existed in our colonies. And we believe, that unless we retrace our steps, an awful day of retribution must arrive.

We are persuaded that the prosperity, strength, and happiness of every country, must ever be in proportion as the rights of every class of men are respected; and religion, good morals, equitable laws, and mutual union prevail. The labour of free men, we are also persuaded, will be always more productive than that of slaves; nor can there be any comparison between the wealth produced to a country by the cheerful activity, and the unfettered genius and talents of free men, who reap the benefit of their industry and exertions, and that which arises from the listless labours of slaves who are animated by no hope of benefit to themselves and their families; dispirited under a sense of wrongs, and borne down by a feeling of hopeless wretchedness. And is it not evident, that no state of society can be attended with safety and security, where the great mass of the population live in a state of discontent and continual exasperation? Wherever Slavery exists, there must be a tendency to suspicion, distrust, and alarm, and consequent severity on the part of the master; and on the part of the slaves, to frequent conspiracies, insurrections, and plans of revenge. These will often take place under the strong sense of injury, even without the rational prospect of success. And though defeated, will occasion evils to both parties which can scarcely ever be remedied. Nor will good treatment, though it may mitigate the evil, produce security. Every man must, whatever his treatment, be sensible to the privation of his natural rights, and desire for himself and his children the blessings of that liberty, protection, and property, which are enjoyed by other men.

And can any man be assured, that the insurrections and conspiracies, which must thus arise among such a large and formidable population, shall not some times be successful? The history of all nations affords examples of slaves rising against their masters, and, after scenes of dreadful barbarities and crimes, accomplishing their freedom. Nor can we shut our eyes to circumstances, connected with our West India colonies, of peculiar danger. A population of 700,000 human beings, in a state of slavery, furnishes fearful elements for internal convulsions, or for external causes to work upon. Within a few miles of them they already see a nation of the same race with themselves, who

were lately like them in a state of slavery—who have successfully thrown off the yoke, have maintained and established their freedom, and now present the appearance of increasing wealth, power, and prosperity. And is it to be expected that such an example shall not produce its natural impression? Or can it be expected that a neighbouring people of the same race, and who had been subjected to a similar state of bondage, should not feel some sympathy with their brethren in their struggles for freedom? Is there nothing in the States of South America to give rise to similar feelings and views? Or in the wars which may eventually arise betwixt us and the various nations which lie near to our Colonies? Is there nothing even in the principles and characters of daring individuals, whom the revolutions both in Europe and America have accustomed to insurrections and civil warfare, which may lead them to turn to such a population as favourable to their views? And would the flame, kindled by a torch so thrown and directed, not be dangerous? Or who can tell how far it might extend, and with what difficulty it might be extinguished? We are convinced that not only justice, humanity, and religion—but a wise and enlightened policy, calls on us to remove, by a well-digested plan, the mass of the population from such a state; to soften their passions and improve their characters, by an efficient system of Christian instruction; to engage their confidence and affections by equity, protection, and kindness; finally, to give them an interest in their labours and in their country, and render that part of the population, which is at present a source of jealousy and alarm, discord and weakness, the object of confidence, and the source of national strength and prosperity.

These resolutions do honour, in our opinion, to his Majesty's Government and to the House of Commons; and we earnestly trust and pray, that notwithstanding the opposition which has been made to them, they will with prudence and moderation, but with steady perseverance, be carried into execution. We do not doubt that false ideas on this subject may have contributed during a short interval, with other causes, to the late insurrection at Demerara; but we believe the degree in which such ideas operated has been much exaggerated. We believe that, unless we were prepared to maintain that the system of Slavery must be perpetual, the same degree of evil must be expected at the beginning of any change of system, at whatever time it commences. We believe also that, so far as false ideas are concerned, the evil is, in a great degree, past, and that the measures taken by his Majesty's Government will prevent any recurrence of it from such a cause. But we must also declare our belief, that much of the unsettled spirit which has at this time prevailed, has arisen from the conduct of the freemen as well as the slaves. If the latter were under misapprehension, would it not have been right to use the means of rectifying mildly their error? Or, was the

determined opposition to every proposal of melioration, suggested in the mildest manner by his Majesty's Government, the way to allay irritation? Or is it possible to think, that if the slaves were informed of the measures proposed in the British Parliament, they should not also be informed of the violent and disrespectful sentiments and language employed by their masters; and that these should not have awakened some feelings of indignation? Or can they witness the contempt and abuse poured on their pious instructors with apathy and indifference? Or see their houses of worship burned in triumph by unrestrained and insolent depredators, without some emotion of horror? But we trust the force which is now sent out, will establish and maintain the reign of law and good government amongst all parties: That under its protection the plans of amelioration will proceed in their peaceful and silent operation: that we shall hear no longer of insurrection on the one hand, nor of the language of menace to the Government of this country on the other: that men of every class will unite in giving effect to the plans proposed by their superiors for the general good: that under their influence, the character and manners of the enslaved population will undergo a happy change, and rise to something of the purity and elevation of a Christian people: that free labourers of every kind and colour, shall in the progress of years be found increasing in number, as in value; till at last every remnant of Slavery shall die away; and the blessings of liberty, religion, industry, peace, and general security, be diffused throughout every quarter of the British Empire.

Signed by

Professor JARDINE, President, and
Mr. MACK, the Secretary.

Marquess of Hastings.—A courier from Italy has arrived in town announcing the acceptance by the Marquess of Hastings, of his appointment to the government of Malta.

New Reading Rooms.—Some pains are taking by Messrs. Colburn and Co. to form a point of attraction for East and West Indians, about the west end of the metropolis, which is likely to be well supported. There are already several institutions for literary and scientific purposes, and there is now forming an Oriental club, and a West India club, for dinners and social meetings, on the plan of the United Service clubs for the Navy and Army; but the Reading Rooms in Conduit-street, are for more general resort than these clubs will admit; and being less expensive, are likely to become a favourite morning resort for persons desirous of meeting their East and West Indian friends, and hearing the news from both quarters. A notice of this institution will be found among the Advertisements of the day.

SUPPLEMENTARY INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.

LEGAL FRACAS AT BOMBAY.

RECORDER'S COURT.

Tuesday, October 7th, 1823.

The RECORDER observed that he had now to advert to a very serious subject, and one which he was bound to take notice of, not only in order to vindicate the authority and dignity of the Court, but as necessary to the due administration of justice. It was in regard to a memorial, which had been presented to the Court by the gentlemen of the bar. He would state the circumstances. On the 10th of last month he was sitting in Court with Mr. Meriton, when the memorial was handed up to him by Mr. Irwin, in the name of himself and the rest of the bar. On that day, all the bar, he believed, were present, with the exception of Mr. Le Mesurier; but although he was not present, his name was subscribed to the memorial.

Mr. LE MESURIER rose, and acknowledged the signature to be his.

The RECORDER.—This document, which was called a memorial, contained certainly, to say no more of it, matter of the most offensive description, alleging, in all and every page of it, that certain rules were not warranted by the charter; and that the practice of the Court, in certain particulars, was warranted by neither the one, nor the other. It was the bar who had put into his hands that memorial, so libellous as he said it was, and as he should show by and by, that if it had been published, or circulated, by any gentleman not a barrister, the Court would have been called upon to punish him, not by going before a grand jury, or before a petty jury, but summarily, and both by fine and imprisonment. That memorial had been handed up by the gentlemen of the bar, whose duty and whose interest it was to pay respect to the Court; for they ought to know that their own characters rose with that of the Court. It was by the gentlemen of the bar that that memorial had been put into his hands, as the President of the Court. In the beginning it claimed a privilege, as belonging to the bar, which he was not before aware of; nor was there, in fact, any such privilege. It stated, that it was competent to the gentlemen of the bar, forsooth, to bring to the notice of the Court—

Mr. ADVOCATE GENERAL here inter-

posed, and stated, that, as far as concerned himself, and, he believed, he might add the rest of the bar, they had no desire, or intention, that the memorial should be publicly read; nor was it presented with that view.

Mr. IRWIN observed, that he had it in commission from the bar to communicate to the Court, that the memorial was presented merely for the private consideration of the members of the Court, and that the bar never contemplated any publication of it, or a public reading of it in open Court.

The RECORDER.—Then Mr. Irwin had thought himself justified in putting into his hands, as the President of the Court, a paper which he acknowledged to be unfit to be read in Court. The gentlemen of the bar had considered it competent for them to present to the private consideration of the Court, what they acknowledged to be unfit to be read in public. They would presume to insult the Court with—

Mr. ADVOCATE GENERAL here again interposed, and declared that he and the rest of the gentlemen of the bar had to disavow any consciousness of the memorial being an insult, or in any way improper, and that they had not the smallest objection whatever to its being all openly read in Court—if that was his Lordship's wish. They merely meant to say, that such public reading was not their wish or intention.

The RECORDER.—In the first instance, the memorial claimed a privilege, that it was competent to them, as barristers of your honourable Court, to bring to its notice any existing variance between the rules and the practice, and between the rules and the charter,—and to tell the Court that such rules and practice were illegal. He never dreamt that there was any such privilege existing in the bar. This was a new doctrine to him. He knew of no such privilege in the bar; nor would the Court allow of their questioning the course the Court adopted in administering justice. Would it have been fitting to have presented to the Court of King's Bench such a memorial as this? The Court here were the sole judges of their own conduct. They alone had the power of judging, whether they were acting according to the charter or not; it was a matter in their discretion and in theirs alone. There was here no power under hea-

ven that had a right to find fault with the proceedings of the Court. If the Court did not act in conformity with the charter, the only remedy was an impeachment in the House of Commons. They were not to be told by any set of men, and far less by persons of the Bar, that they were not acting in conformity with the charter. He would call the attention of the Court to another passage. It went on to say—but he would first state what was the mode of application, which he had pointed out. In the memorial it was said, that a representation from the bar would be heard by the Court, either on a deputation from the bar personally, or in the shape of a written memorial. He had said, that if the bar had any application to make to the favour of the Court, they would be willing to listen to it. In consequence of what had fallen from Mr. Irwin, when he presented the memorial, it might be conceived that it had been presented by the bar at his (the Recorder's) desire; in that they were wholly mistaken. Upon some gentlemen getting up one after the other—

Mr. Alderman MERITON. — Yes, my Lord, three gentlemen.

The RECORDER.—Upon three gentlemen getting up, one after the other, to object to the course in which the Court was carrying on its business, he had told them, that it was impossible to suffer the business of the Court to be interrupted, day after day, in that manner. If the gentlemen of the bar had anything to ask from the favour of the Court,—if there were any particular rules, or any parts of the practice of the Court, which were prejudicial to the interests of the bar, and the bar chose to make an application to the favour of the Court, the Court would attend to the propositions of the bar, if they could do so consistently with the right of the public. The Court would suffer neither the bar, nor any other persons, to arraign their conduct, and to say it was not legal, or that the rules, which had been framed by other recorders, were inconsistent with the rules and charter of the Court. The memorial went on to state with regard to the Small-cause Court, in the concluding paragraph, that that Court appears to your memorialists to have a tendency to create confusion and irregularity in the administration of justice, by referring each case to the discretion of the judge, and to a judgment to be given upon the individual circumstances of each case, rather than to one to be pronounced upon known and established

authorities and decided cases; and inasmuch also, as it appears to have a tendency to subvert those principles of law, on which alone your memorialists are prepared to conduct their practice, and in general to depreciate the character of the honourable Court.

This was the character given by the gentlemen of the bar, of those rules which had been adopted by Sir William Sayer, the first recorder of the Court in 1799, which had been sent home, and sanctioned by his Majesty in Council,—which had been afterwards recognized and acted upon by every succeeding recorder, and to which the former barristers of the Court had never thought of raising objections.

Mr. ADVOCATE GENERAL here intimated a different impression.

The RECORDER knew of no such representation ever having been made. If the allusion in the memorial meant to refer to a memorial sent home to the King in Council by an individual, on the subject, he had this to say, that he had certainly heard of such a thing; but, he could tell the gentlemen of the bar, that it had not met with any consideration, and that an answer had never been returned.

Mr. ADVOCATE GENERAL observed, that he was not alluding to that memorial, but to his having heard that some doubts had always existed on the subject.

The RECORDER. Of that Court and those rules, which had been framed by Sir Wm. Sayer, the first Recorder, had been sanctioned by His Majesty in Council, had been adopted and acted upon by every succeeding recorder, and never before objected to by counsel,—Mr. Le Mesurier, forsooth, and Mr. Cleland, Mr. Parry and Mr. Irwin, and Mr. Norton, had thought fit to state, that they had a tendency to create confusion and irregularity in the administration of justice. Mr. Norton, after a few weeks residence in the island, and with the very limited knowledge and experience which he could acquire in that time, broke in upon them with a new light, and discovered that what had been acted upon by all the magistrates of the Court from its first establishment, and had been adopted by the first and all subsequent recorders, was all wrong. After twenty-five days practice, he took upon himself to say, that those rules were warranted, neither by law, nor by the charter, and that they tended to create confusion and irregularity, and to subvert the principles of law. But this was not the most offensive part of the memorial;

although what he had now stated was most libellous. The Court would not allow any part of its jurisdiction to be attacked:—and that for very potent reasons, not merely to maintain the authority and dignity of the Court, but as necessary for the administration of justice. What would the public think of the Court, which they heard the bar had declared to be illegal? A suitor comes into the Small-cause Court;—he learns, that those to whom he is accustomed to look for advice had unanimously declared the Court to be illegal in its very foundation—would he be inclined to submit with deference to the Court, and be satisfied with its judgments? It would be necessary for the Court to resort to brute force when it was requisite to enforce its orders.

But this was not the most offensive part of the libel. They had ventured to assert, that the practice of the court was not in conformity with the rules of the Small-cause Court, or the charter of justice. Your memorialists beg to submit that, in some other particulars, connected with the practice of the Small-cause Court, their interests are still more prejudiced, in regard to which, neither the rules of the Small-cause Court, as at present framed, nor the charter of justice, according to the best construction they are capable of making, afford any authority or explanation. And then it went on: “And in allusion to those particulars, your memorialists scrupulously confine themselves to such facts, as they are acquainted with of their own knowledge, and which they believe to be incontestible. It appears to your memorialists, from the repeated instances in which those Courts have been held in private, for the examination and punishment of alleged offences, in respect to matters proceeding under the jurisdiction of this Court.” He asserted that the allegation was utterly unfounded, that Small-cause Courts were held in private for the examination and punishment of alleged offences. It was the Judges of that Court (Recorder's Court) sitting in chambers, and not the Small-cause Court. It was the Court sitting in chambers, as they had a right to do, and as necessary for justice, and as he might have done by himself. But that the Small-cause Court had ever sat privately was unfounded. That it was held without any rules made for such purpose or any public notice given, his friends, who were sitting with him, knew to be utterly unfounded. But he should not condescend to explain, or answer, any more

of the charges against the Court. It was what was due to others, as well as to the Court, that he should not. The Court were satisfied that they had done their duty, and it was a sufficient satisfaction to them to be conscious that they had done their duty.

The memorial went on to say that both the manner and time of holding such courts depend altogether upon the casual discretion of your hon. Court. There were other unfounded allegations which he would not read, because it was not incumbent upon him to read a libel. There was a charge of examining the parties *via voce*.

That the parties had ever been examined *via voce* was unfounded. That the plaintiff was examined under particular circumstances, was certainly true, and it was grounded on a rule of Court, under which it was done: and he had before shown on what clause of the charter the rule was founded. The parties meant both plaintiff and defendant, and that the parties had been examined had not been the fact. The plaintiff had been examined, and that was under a rule of the Small-cause Court, which rule was sanctioned by a clause of the charter.

As to the Petition Court, which formed the subject of another part of the memorial, he would only say that petitions might be heard in chambers when he pleased, and that he should continue to hear them in chambers whenever he pleased.

The memorial concluded, stating, your memorialists beg leave respectfully to submit to the consideration of your hon. Court, that such a course of proceeding is calculated to introduce irregularity, confusion, and discretionary principles into the justice of administration, through the medium of your hon. Court; so that these gentlemen ventured to say that it was through the medium of the Court, and they accuse the Court of introducing irregularity, confusion, and discretionary principles into the administration of justice. And the humble request of these persons is, that the institution of the Small-cause Court, and all the rules upon which its proceedings are founded, as far as such rules and proceedings are at variance with the course of proceedings laid down in the charter, may be abolished and vacated. But he should not state the insinuations which were meant to be conveyed by the prayer of the memorial; nor the implications which those sentences conveyed. He would, now, call upon the gentlemen of the bar to state, what excuse or apology

they had to offer, for having presented a memorial, containing aspersions so libellous and unfounded, and for having put such a memorial into his hands, as the President of the Court.

Mr. IRWIN rose, in answer to his Lordship's call, to state, on behalf of the bar, those sentiments on the subject of the memorial, which, he believed, they entertained in common with himself; but, should he omit to state any thing material to be mentioned, he would claim for each of his learned friends to speak for himself to that charge, which affected them all individually. He would first advert to the commencing paragraph of the memorial, upon which his Lordship had observed, that it claimed a right hitherto unknown to his Lordship for the barristers to bring to the notice of the Court any rule of Court, or practice of the same, which was at variance with the charter.

To this he had to say, that he had frequently known barristers of that court, in cases when the interests of a client in a suit were affected by any rule, or rules, to show to the Court, in what respect such rules were contrary to the charter:—he had known that principle admitted by the Court, and he then said that it was scarcely to be supposed that that right, which they (the bar) claimed on behalf of others, should not be available in their own case, and when their own interests were affected;—in was, in fact, contrary to human nature that they should not insist upon it. He was bound in duty to himself and his learned friends, to say that that memorial, read and extracted in parts, as it had been by his Lordship, might assume a very offensive and libellous aspect; but he would have it all taken together and as a whole, and not to be judged of by insulated paragraphs, whose meaning and effect were dependent on the context of the whole memorial. He had now to express his sincere regret, that any thing they (the bar) might have said or done, should have produced on the minds of the Court, an impression so very unfavourable to them, and so foreign to their intentions; and, as his Lordship had pronounced the memorial to be libellous and aspersive, to submit to the decision of the Court, and to express a hearty sorrow that such was the Court's opinion of it. But he must distinctly, on behalf of his learned friends and himself, say that they had not the most remote intention of giving the slightest offence, or of offering either openly or

covertly, any disrespect to the Court. They (the bar) wished to draw his Lordship's attention to circumstances which affected them as barristers, and to grievances which required redress;—they resorted to the only mode which was open to them to obtain it; for that very course of a memorial had been pointed out to them by his Lordship, when he refused to hear objections, made on one or two occasions, to the proceedings of the Court. But he was not so lost to all sense of duty and propriety—he was not so mad, as to put his name to such a memorial, if he had thought that he was thereby conveying an insult to the Court, or degrading its character in the eyes of the public. What object could any of them (the bar) possibly have in so doing? they could gain nothing by it either from the Court, or the public. The public never were appealed to in the most indirect shape, surely it must have been some proof to their Lordships that they had acted *bona fide*, and with the purest intentions, when no circulation whatever had been made by them of the representation they had made; but, that the one single paper, which had been presented to the private consideration of the members of the Court, was all that had transpired on the subject. Their (the bar's) sole object had been redress, in case their representations were well founded; and they never could have imagined, that any application for it, made to a competent tribunal, would be deemed libellous. He confessed, that they (the bar) had no very confident expectation of a favourable result in all respects,—at least, in his Lordship's judgment: but still they conceived, that they were proceeding in a direct course to obtain that redress, which, if not had here, might be granted by an ulterior tribunal. He would beg to say a few words here, upon the institution of the Small-cause Court at this presidency. By the acts of the 37th and of the 39th and 40th of his late Majesty.

The RECORDEE here recommended to Mr. Irwin not to pursue that course.

Mr. IRWIN. Then he should not do so: and he should not enter into the particulars of the memorial, because he was of opinion that the present occasion did not call for it. But he would refer to the whole memorial before the Court to vindicate them, (the bar) from the imputation of any libellous or disrespectful intention in presenting it. His Lordship had adverted to some statements in the memorial, as unfounded

in fact; if they were so, he was sincerely sorry that they had been inserted in it. But he declared solemnly, there was no statement in the memorial which he did not in his conscience believe to be true; some, as of his own particular knowledge, and others, as from the best information he possessed, and the best means he had of obtaining it. His Lordship had stated that the rules of the Small-cause Court had been drawn up by Sir William Sayer, had been sent home, and had obtained the sanction of his Majesty in Council. Now, he solemnly declared, that that was the first time that he had ever heard that fact from any authority. He had anxiously endeavoured and inquired after information as to that important fact, but had never been able to learn that the rules had been sent home, or that the sanction required was obtained.

The RECORDER remarked, that it was required by the charter, that all the rules of that Court should be sanctioned by his Majesty in Council; and he, therefore, presumed that they had been so sanctioned.

MR. IRWIN. Surely on a point of such vital importance as that, which had been the subject of doubt and inquiry ever since he came to Bombay, was it not going too far to say, that because the charter required such sanction, it had been therefore obtained, or that, because it was required to be done, it must necessarily have been done? That sanction, if clearly established, would have precluded them (the bar) from at all questioning the legality and validity of the Small-cause Court proceedings, and would have deprived them, at once, of that ground of complaint in the memorial. His Lordship might be in possession of fuller and more correct information on that point than they were, but as the result of their inquiries had left the fact undecided, they might be justified in assuming that it was not proved, and that the rules of the Small-cause Court never had obtained the sanctions required by the charter. He should conclude what he had to say, by again disclaiming, most solemnly, any intention of disrespect to the Court, or to any of its members, and by appealing to the memorial itself, and to a fair and dispassionate consideration of its contents, to free them (the bar) from that charge which was now made against them.

The RECORDER addressed Mr. Advocate General, and asked whether he wished to say anything.

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL. He had

but a very few words to say. Mr. Irwin having fully and sufficiently expressed his feelings. But his Lordship had alluded to some of the statements in that memorial, which he had taken down, as being unfounded, and perhaps, it might be on that very account that they were deemed libellous. He would therefore, if his Lordship would allow him, advert to those statements, to the facts on which the bar had, in their minds, conceived they were founded. First, as to the courts being, sometimes, held privately. There was one cause of a man having been committed, for a contempt of court, in reference to some proceedings of his as a Clerk in the Office of the Small-cause Court, and which proceedings were the subject of many private examinations by the Court. The Court, too which committed him, was held privately; nor did he believe any one yet knew what was the nature of his contempt. That therefore appeared to them (the bar) as one instance of a private Court.

The RECORDER.—That, Sir, was an inquiry in private chambers into the conduct of that person, and not a Court which was held.

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL.—But, as he believed, a contempt could be committed only against a Court of record, and a Court of record alone could commit for a contempt, they (the bar) had of course, conceived that those private sittings, were Courts.

The RECORDER.—Did he mean to say that only courts of record could commit for contempt?

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL.—He should say so.

The RECORDER.—Did he mean to say that he (the Recorder) could not commit a man who insulted him, for instance, in his own private chamber? (pointing to it.)

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL.—He (the Advocate General) spoke off hand, certainly, and from mere recollection; and, perhaps, he might be exemplifying prodigious ignorance; but he would venture to submit, that neither his Lordship, nor a judge of the Court of King's Bench, could commit a man as for a contempt, committed against him in his private chamber. Another point was, as to courts held without any rule for that purpose, and without public notice. Now the regular day stated for courts for small causes, by the rules promulgated, was every Saturday. But the days had been repeatedly changed; although he would say for himself, and, he believed, for the most of the bar,

that they had had no notice of the new appointed days; nor had any rule, he believed, been as yet made on the subject. He believed, indeed, that Saturday was almost the only day on which those Courts were now ever held. He knew not what other authority settled the day from time to time but his Lordship's discretion.

THE RECORDER.—If he (the Advocate General) had had no notice of the Court days it was his own fault, for he might have known by inquiring of the officer; and, if he had attended in Court he would have heard the officer adjourn the Court to the next day on which it was to be held. He had altered the regular day, from Saturday to Tuesday, for the facilities of business; although the alteration was not yet made a rule. The other days were merely adjournment days.

MR. ALDERMAN MERITON.—He had always heard the officer adjourn the Court, when he was present, to the next Court day. And he had never known of any Court having been held, during his time to sit, to which he had not been summoned.

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL.—Perhaps the statement then was too broad, in saying generally, that Courts were held without public notice; and he was very sorry that it should not have been qualified by reference to the kind of notice given, namely, that by the officer of adjournment, and by the summons of the Alderman. He could wish this qualification could be inserted in the memorial. He could only say that no such Notice had ever come to their (the bar's) knowledge. But, in truth, whatever might have been stated erroneously, whatever expression might, in its nature, be considered offensive to the Court, the bar would be glad to expunge or amend, or vary in any way the Court might be pleased to suggest.

The only other topic, to which his Lordship had pointed, as unfounded, referred to the examination of the parties *viâ voce* upon oath.

THE RECORDER.—By the term *parties*, any one would suppose that both plaintiff and defendant were meant; but the plaintiff only was never examined.

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL.—He (the Advocate General,) was not aware himself of any distinction, which his Lordship drew, between party plaintiff, and party defendant. He had thought, however, that both parties had been examined, and he was the more induced to think so, from his Lordship having declared he had authority to examine the plaintiff. But, in fact, he believed

that he could refer to notes, taken upon the only two occasions, that he never attended a Small-cause Court, by which it would appear, that both parties had been, occasionally, examined.

THE RECORDER.—When, pray, had he ever known a defendant examined? He had a right to examine the plaintiff, when the defendant did not appear, both by the rules and the charter; but he never, that he recollected, examined the defendant.

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL. He could not say that he could find in the charter any such authority for examining the plaintiff. But, as to the instances he had spoken of, he had not seen his notes since they were taken, which was now two or three months ago, and he could not be absolutely sure:—but, speaking from recollection, he could refer to a case, in which his Lordship entered into a long examination of a defendant, as to a claim of set-off, and proposed an arbitration to him, to which he fully assented, and it was then intimated that such reference would be made obligatory by a rule of Court.

THE RECORDER.—Was that an examination, asking a party to refer his cause?

MR. ADVOCATE GENERAL. He could only say, that it was an examination upon oath, and referred to the merits of his claims.

He had now offered all that he had to say upon the subject, except that he disclaimed all intentions of conveying any disrespect to the members of the Court. Indeed, it was their (the bar's) object to make an appeal to higher authorities on the subject of these courts; but he had conceived, and had expressed such opinion, that it would be the more respectful to address their Lordships in the first instance. Referring to the impression taken up by the Court, he would wish to express, for himself and his brethren, their regret that they had done thus much to occasion it; but he confessed, that he was not in the least aware, that such an interpretation could be fairly put upon that appeal.

MR. PARRY, on a reference made to him by the Recorder, declared that the sentiments, which had been expressed by Mr. Irwin and by Mr. Advocate General, were so perfectly in accordance with his own, that he had nothing further to add, than that, if that memorial were to be considered either libellous or disrespectful, the object with which he had signed it, would be entirely defeated.

MR. LE MESURIER and **MR. CLELAND**,

declined occupying the time of the Court, as all that they had to offer, had been already so fully expressed.

The RECORDER then conferred with the other members of the Court, and after a few seconds, said;—That the Court had considered the memorial, and the imputations which it contained, and which nothing on the part of the bar had removed. It would have been culpable in any man to have presented such a memorial; it was far more culpable in the gentlemen of the bar. The gentlemen of the bar ought to have known better. They ought to have known better than to have stated matters, taking the chance of their being true; not knowing whether they

were facts or not. It appeared that Mr. Advocate General admitted himself to be wrong in one or two instances. It was unnecessary for him to go again into the matters of the memorial. All these gentlemen had presumed to state that they had seen what they had declared, and to hand it up to him as the President of the Court. On account of the insult, which had been offered to the Court, the sentence of the Court was, that they should be suspended, or in the words of the charter, removed from their situation of barristers in the Court, for the space of six calendar months, and that, in the mean time, the attorneys should practise as advocates, as well as attorneys.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA

[From the London Gazette.]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS,
&c.

BENGAL.

14th Foot. Major C. Gardiner, from half-pay 60th Foot, to be Major, vice P. Johnstone, who exchanges.

87th Foot. To be Lieutenants: Lieut. Matthew C. Harcourt, from 67th Foot, vice Reade, appointed to the 97th Foot—Lieut. John E. Heard, from half-pay 71st Foot, vice Morphet, appointed to the 48th Foot.

MADRAS.

30th Foot. Lieut. Samuel Tressider, from Half-pay 60th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Ramus, appointed to the 98th Foot.

41st Foot. Capt. Henry Vanspall, from the 86th Foot, to be Captain, vice Crawford, who exchanges, dated 4th March 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. George P. Hawkins, from half pay 3d West India Regiment, vice Mitchell, appointed to 97th Foot.

89th Foot. To be Lieutenants: Lieut. Henry D. Keith, from half-pay 23d Foot, vice Cary, appointed to the 25th Foot.—Lieut. Henry Harding, from half-pay 18th Foot, vice Williamson, appointed to 48th Foot.

BOMBAY.

4th Regt. Light Dragoons. Capt. Thomas D. Burrows, from the 8th Light Dragoons, to be Captain, vice Brett, who exchanges, dated 26 Feb. 1824.

26th Foot. To be Lieutenants: Lieut. John Orens, from half-pay 11th Foot, vice Darrock, appointed to the 24th Foot—Lieut. W. Ouseley Warren, from half-Orient. Herald, Vol. 1.

pay 30th Foot, vice Armstrong, appointed to the 99th Foot.

47th Foot. Lieut. Robert W. Kyffen, from half-pay 22d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Ridge, appointed to the 27th Foot.

67th Foot. To be Lieutenants: Lieut. David Campbell, from half-pay 34th Foot, vice Mailleu, appointed to 99th Foot—Lieut. George G. Muuro, from half-pay 42d Foot, vice Halleot, appointed to the 87th Foot.

Brevet. Capt. W. Forrest of the Hon. East India Company's Service (Inspector of Military Stores) to be Major in the East Indies only, dated 11th July 1823.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Cape Corps. Lieut. Col. James Cassidy, from the 1st West India Regiment, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice John Ross, who retires upon half-pay 6th West India Regt. dated 26th Feb. 1824.—Captain J.E. Batty from half-pay 27th Foot, to be Captain, vice Monokton, appointed to the 24th Foot.—Assistant Surgeon Robert Turnbull, from half-pay Royal African Corps, to be Assistant Surgeon, vice Clarke, promoted; dated 25th February 1824.

Royal African Colonial Corps. Lieut. John Swanzy (with temporary rank); Lieut. James Jackson (with ditto); Lieut. Thomas Mollan (with ditto); Lieut. Herbert Mends (with ditto); to be Lieutenants with permanent rank.

WEST INDIES.

1st West India Regiment. Lieut. Col. Francis Frye Brown, from half-pay 6th West India Regiment, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Cassidy, appointed to the Cape Corps; dated 26th February 1824.—Frederick De Daubrawa, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Miles, deceased; dated 29th January 1824.

2d West India Regiment. Major David Joly, from half-pay 6th West India Regt., to be Major, vice Sackville Berkeley, who exchanges; dated 26th February 1824.

Memoranda. The Appointments of Lieut. Colonel Cassidy, from the 1st West India Regiment to the Cape Corps; and Lieut. Colonel Brown, from half-pay 6th West India Regiment to the 1st West India Regiment, as stated in the Gazette of the 13th March, have not taken place.

MEDITERRANEAN.

APPOINTMENTS.

March 5. The King has been pleased to appoint Lieut. General Sir Frederick Adam, K. C. B. to be Lord Commissioner in and to the United States of the Ionian Islands.

March 22. His Majesty has also appointed General Francis Marquess of Hastings, K. G. & G. C. B. & G. C. H. to be Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Malta, and its Dependencies.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Sept. 11, 1823. Mr. Edward Hale, to be Private Secretary to the Governor General.

Political Department.—Sept. 19, Mr. T. H. Maddock, to be Political Agent at Bhopaul.

Judicial Department, 28 Aug. 1823.—Mr. G. C. Cheap, Register of the City Court at Moorshedabad.—Mr. James Shaw, Resident of the Zillah Court at Nuddea.

Commercial Department, Aug. 26, 1823. Sir H. V. Darrell, Bart., Commercial Resident at Etawa and Calpee.—Mr. Edward Barnett, Sub-Export Warehouse-keeper.—Mr. George Richardson, Commercial Resident at Rungpore.

Medical Department.—Sept. 5, Mr. Clarke Abel, M. D.; Sept. 12, Mr. Henry Harris, to be Assistant Surgeons, conformable to their appointments by the Hon. Court of Directors.—Sept. 19, Assistant Surgeon, T. C. Harrison, to perform the medical duties of the Civil Station of Rajeshahye, in the room of Barnard, returned to the Military branch of the Service.—Assistant Surgeon Henry Harris, to perform the medical duties at the Station of Seonce.—Assistant Surgeon G. L. Lambe, to be Surgeon, vice Gibson, deceased.

STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters on the River, Aug. 20, 1823.—Major Streatfield, His Majesty's 87th Regt. to be Military Secretary.—Lieut. the Hon. Jeffery Amherst, His Majesty's 59th Regt.; Lieut. J. Cooke, Royal Marines; Lieut. A. St. L. M'Mahon, His Majesty's 16th Lancers; to be Aides de Camp.

Fort William, Aug. 29, 1823.—Captain the Hon. Jeffery Amherst, Aide de Camp to the Governor General, to be Military Secretary to his Lordship, vice Major Streatfield, proceeded to Europe.—Capt. W. Feidal, 4th Regt. to be Extra Aide de Camp.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters on the River off Gungapore, Aug. 10.—2d Batt. 4th Regt. N. I. Brevet Capt. A. Stewart, to be Interpreter and Quarter-master, vice Anderson, appointed Fort Adjutant of Delhi.

Fort William, Aug. 29.—Capt. Wm. Wilson, of the 29th Regt. N. I. is nominated to the temporary command of the Benares Provincial Battalion, from the date of Lieut. Col. Keble's decease.

Sept. 4.—Lieut. Andrew Connell, from 61st Foot, to be Quarter-master, vice John McKenzie, who retires upon Half-pay, 7th Foot, 2d Jan. 1823.

89th Foot. Lieut. John Holland, from Half-pay, 26th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice J. W. Tottenham, who exchanges, 26th Dec. 1823.

Moorshedabad Provincial Batt.—Lieut. Angott Clitty of 1st Battalion 1st Regt. N. I. to be Adjutant, vice C. H. Phelps, deceased.

Fort William, Sept. 12.—Capt. W. Kennedy, 2d Assistant, to be 1st Assistant Military Auditor General; and Brevet Capt. R. Armstrong, 14th Regt. N. I. to be 2d Assistant Military Auditor General, succeeding Wiggins, promoted.

Corps of Engineers. Mr. R. Grueber, late Adjutant of Baddely's Horse, to be Local Lieutenant and Adjutant of Skinner's Horse, vice Martindell.—Major C. T. Higgins, 22d Regt. N. I. to be Agent for Army Clothing, 2d Division, vice Stuart, promoted.—Capt. J. Oliver, 11th Regt. N. I. to officiate as a Sub-Assistant to the Hon. Company's Stud, vice Capt. J. Hunter, removed from the Institution.

Fort William, Sept. 19.—Lieut. A. Irvine of the Corps of Engineers, to be a District Barrack Master, in the room of Capt. Bowyer, promoted to a Majority, and posted to the 7th or Cawnpore Division.—Capt. G. I. Shadwell, Barrack Master of the 7th or Cawnpore Division, is transferred to the 9th or Bundelcund Division, vice Bowyer.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters on the River off Chunar, Aug. 26.—Lieut. Thomas Taylor, 89th Foot, is promoted to the rank of Captain in the East Indies only, from July 14th, 1823.

Fort William, Aug. 29. The under-mentioned Gentlemen are admitted as Cadets of Infantry, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors, and promoted to the rank of Ensign, leaving the date of their commissions for future adjustment:—

<i>Infantry.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival in Fort William.</i>
Mr. J. W. V. Stephen	Aug. 22, 1823.
Mr. W. B. Gould	id.
Mr. J. H. Wakefield	id.
Mr. J. C. C. Gray	id.
Mr. G. E. Westmacott	Aug. 24, 1823.

Head Quarters on the River, Sept. 4.—1st Foot. Gentleman Cadet John Ogilvie, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase. Dec. 26, 1822.

54th Foot. Gent. Cadet Charles Tobin, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase. Dec. 26, 1822.

59th Foot. Gent. Cadet William Cockell, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase. Dec. 26, 1822.

Sept. 5.—Infantry. Mr. W. D. Kennedy, to be Ensign. Aug. 29, 1823.

Sept. 12.—Infantry. Mr. J. H. Hampton, to be Ensign. Sept. 5, 1823.

Corps of Engineers. Ensign George Thomson, to be Lieutenant from Sept. 5, 1823, in succession to Walter, deceased.

Sept. 19. The undermentioned Officers, who on the 16th of September, 1823, were Subalterns of fifteen years standing, are promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet, from that date, agreeably to the rule prescribed by the Hon. the Court of Directors:—Lieut. John Thomson, of the 15th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Edw. Herring, 29th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Roderick Robert, Artillery; Lieut. George Gladwin Denness, Artillery; Lieut. John Wilmot Priedeaux, 18th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Alex. Davidson, 7th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. John Hall, 9th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. William Aldous, 19th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. John Hailes, 1st Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Michael Ramsay, 8th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. George Oliphant, 2d Regt. N. I.; Lieut. John Samuel Marshal, 29th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. William Davison, Hon. Company's European Regt.; Lieut. John Augustus Schalch, 14th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Thomas Matthew Taylor, 5th Regt. Light Cav.; Lieut. William Burlton, 4th Regt. Light Cav.

Sept. 26. The undermentioned Gentlemen are admitted to the Service on this Establishment as Cadets of Engineers and Infantry, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

<i>Engineers.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival in Fort William.</i>
Mr. W. Dickson	Sept. 22, 1824.

<i>Infantry.</i>	
Mr. H. Candy	Sept. 21, ditto.
Mr. S. H. Lyons	Sept. 22, ditto.
Mr. C. E. Rehnagle	Sept. 22, ditto.

1st Regt. N. I. Ensign B. Boswell, to be Lieut., vice Shearer, deceased; date of rank, Sept. 11.

24th Regt. N. I. Capt. G. D. Heathcote, to be Major, and Lieut. Brevet, Capt.; W. Hough, to be Capt. of a Company, from Aug. 26, in succession to Henley, deceased; Ensign A. T. Lloyd, to be Lieut., vice Hough promoted, with rank, from Sept. 11.

30th Regt. N. I. Ensign C. B. Hale, to be Lieutenant, vice Falthull, deceased, date of rank, Sept. 11.—Ensign G. D. Johnstone to be Lieutenant, from the 22d Sept. vice Hoare, deceased.

REMOVALS.

Fort William, Aug. 29.—Lieut. Edward Watt, 16th Regt. N. I. to the Cavalry Branch of the Service.

Head Quarters on the River above Allahabad, Sept. 8.—Lieut. Col. Littlejohn is removed from 1st Batt. 25th Regt. N. I. to 1st Batt. 1st Regt. from the 1st Proxies.

Fort William, Sept. 11.—Major T. G. Alder, 30th Regt. N. I. is transferred, at his own request, to the Invalid Establishment, from this date.

Erratum.—Omitted in General Orders of the 11th instant.

24th Regt. N. I. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. G. Young, to be Captain of a Company for the Augmentation, and removed to the 34th Regt.

FURLONGHS.

Head Quarters on the River, Aug. 28.—*4th Dragoons.* Capt. J. Scott, from date of embarkation, for one year, to Europe, for the purpose of effecting an exchange.

20th Regt. Lieut. D. Darrock, from date of embarkation, for two years, to Europe, on urgent private affairs.

69th Regt. Lieut. S. Parker, from date of embarkation, for two years, to Europe, on urgent private affairs.

Aug. 29.—*16th Dragoons.* Cornet G. A. Stewart, from date of embarkation, for two years, to Europe, on medical certificate.

59th Foot. Lieut. M'Dougall, from date of embarkation, for two years, to Europe, on medical certificate.

47th Foot. Major H. C. Streetfield, from date of embarkation, for two years, on urgent private affairs.

Fort William, Aug. 29.—The undermentioned Officers are permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough:—Major W. Moxon, 16th Regt. N. I. on account of private affairs.—Assistant Surgeon David Woodburn, on account of ill health.

Sept. 5.—Brevet Capt. G. W. A. Lloyd, 28th Regt. N. I. is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, from Bombay, on account of private affairs.

Sept. 19.—Capt. J. W. Jones, 11th Regt. N. I. is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on account of private affairs.

Sept. 26.—Assist. Surgeon R. Primrose is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on account of private affairs.

[From Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary.]

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Fort William, Sept. 11, 1823.

No. 109 of 1823.—The Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, in pursuance of the Orders of Government under date

the 11th July, directing four Regiments of Native Infantry to be added to the Establishment, is pleased to make the following Promotions, Transfers, and Postings of European Officers. The Officers now promoted are to rank from the 11th of July, 1823.

INFANTRY.

Senior Lieutenant Colonels George Carpenter, John Burnet, C. B., John Luther Richardson, and Henry Imlach, to be Lieutenant Colonels Commandant of Regiments for the Augmentation.—Majors Herbert Bowen, John William Taylor, Charles Poole, John Vaughan, Charles Wills Robert Povolieri, John Wells East, Wm. Phillips Price, William Collyer, John Lewis Stewart, James Durant, Robert Hampton, and Lewis Wiggins, to be Lieutenant Colonels.

European Regt. Capt. Jeremiah Bryant to be Major, vice Stuart, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants W. Burroughs and M. S. Hogg to be Captains of Companies, vice Bryant, promoted, and Walker, removed to the 33d.

NATIVE INFANTRY.

1st Regt. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Samuel Speck to be Captain of a Company, vice Gabh, removed to 34th.

2d Regt. Captain F. A. Weston to be Major, vice Harriott, removed to 31st; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants T. Robinson and T. J. Baldwin, to be Captains of Companies, vice Weston, promoted, and Harris, removed to 32d.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. James Donaldson, to be Captain of a Company, vice Robinson, removed to 32d; and Brevet Captain and Lieut. Thomas Reynolds, to be Captain of a Company, and removed to 32d.

3d Regt. Brevet Captains and Lieutenants W. P. Cooke and John Taylor, to be Captains of Companies, vice Wynner and Gregory, removed to 31st.

5th Regt. Brevet Major and Capt. W. G. Patrickson, to be Major, vice Price, promoted; and Capt. George Cooper to be Major, vice Huthwaite, removed to 34th.—Brevet Captains and Lieutenants D. G. Scott and W. Price, to be Captains of Companies, vice Patrickson and Cooper, promoted.

6th Regt. Captains Charles Martin and S. P. Bishop, to be Majors, vice Poole, promoted, and for the Augmentation.—Brevet Captains and Lieutenants Robert Blissett and F. M. Chambers, to be Captains of Companies, vice Martin, promoted and removed to 31st; and Bishop promoted.

7th Regt. Captains P. T. Comyn and Jas. Delamain, to be Majors, vice Sargent, removed to 32d, and for the Augmentation.—Brevet Captains and Lieutenants Edward Gwatkin and Alex. Macdonald, to be Captains of Companies, vice Comyn, promoted, and Delamain, removed to 33d.

9th Regt. Brevet Captain and Lieut.

William Guise, to be Captain of a Company, vice Maling, removed to 32d.

10th Regt. Capt. Thomas Newton, to be Major, vice Bowen, promoted, and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants Pat. Dudgeon, H. E. Peach, and Edward Fell, to be Captains of Companies, vice Newton, promoted, and Hodgson and Barron, removed to 31st and 34th.

13th Regt. Brevet Captains and Lieutenants R. Seymour and C. Savage, to be Captains of Companies, vice Young and James, removed to 34th and 33d.

14th Regt. Capt. John Simpson, to be Major, vice Taylor, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants R. Hornby, Alexander Stewart, and James Watkins, to be Captains of Companies, vice Simpson, promoted, and Lockett and Wollocombe, removed to 32d and 33d.—Brevet Captain and Lieut. D. D. Anderson, to be Captain of a Company, vice Watkins, removed to 31st.

16th Regt. Capt. P. Starling, to be Major, vice Durant, promoted; and Brevet Captain and Lieut. J. H. Lester, to be Captain of a Company, vice Starling.

17th Regt. Capt. E. F. Waters, to be Major, vice Fast, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants S. Mercer and W. Mathew, to be Captains of Companies, vice Waters, promoted, and Dick, removed to 31st.

18th Regt. Capt. P. Lefevre, to be Major, vice Collyer, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants James Pearson, H. L. White, and J. Herring, to be Captains of Companies, vice Lefevre, promoted, and Shaw and Yates, removed to 31st and 34th.—Brevet Captain and Lieut. C. Godby, to be Captain of a Company, vice Pearson, removed to 33d.

20th Regt. Capt. Thomas Murray, to be Major, vice Hampton, promoted; and Brevet Captain and Lieut. H. Burney, to be Captain of a Company, vice Murray.

21st Regt. Capt. Charles Peach, to be Major, vice Vaughan, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants D. Williamson, and R. B. Wilkins, to be Captains of Companies, vice Peach, promoted, and Cave, removed to 34th.

23d Regt. Capt. George Birch, to be Major, vice Povolieri, promoted; and Brevet Captains and Lieutenants W. Stirling, and Alexander Horsburgh, to be Captains of Companies, vice Birch, promoted and Roope, removed to 31st.

24th Regt. Brevet Captain and Lieut. F. W. Frith, to be Captain of a Company, vice Brewer, removed to 32d.

25th Regt. Brevet Captains and Lieutenants J. R. Knight and Robert Blackall, to be Captains of Companies, vice Higgins and Smith, removed to 31st and 34th.

26th Regt. Brevet Captain and Lieut. Thomas Frohisher, to be Captain of a Company, vice Shadwell, removed to 33d.

27th Regt. Brevet Captain and Lieut.

H. A. Montgomerie, to be Captain of a Company, vice Anderson, removed to 32d.

28th Regt. Brevet Captain and Lieut. Gavin Young, to be Captain of a Company, vice Hay, removed to 33d; and Brevet Capt. and Lieut. G. W. A. Lloyd, to be Capt. of a Company, and removed to 33d.

29th Regt. Captains J. Swinton, to be Major, vice Garnham, removed to 33d, and A. Stoneham, to be Major, for the Augmentation, and removed to 34th.—Brevet Captains and Lieutenants James Vyse, James Frushard, and Wm. Martin, to be Captains of Companies, vice Swinton and Stoneham, promoted, and Skene, removed to 33d.

30th Regt. Captains John Pester to be Major, vice Wiggins, promoted; and S. H. Tod, to be Major, for the Augmentation, and removed to 32d.—Brevet Captains and Lieutenants E. Fitzgerald, G. B. Bell, and Henry Norton, to be Captains of Companies, vice Pester and Todd, promoted, and Bucke, removed to 32d.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. George Moore, to be Captain of a Company, vice Bell, removed to 34th.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.—Assistant-Surgeons David Lewis, James Grierson, Richard Heaslop, and Archibald Cocke, to be Surgeons for the Augmentation.

The Promotions and Transfers to the new Regiments leaving the Lieutenants very unequally distributed in the old Corps, the following removals are made in consequence, to equalize the Regiments in that rank:—

Lieut. A. B. Armstrong, from the 27th to 10th Regt. N. I. *next below* C. Douglas.
Lieut. Wm. Whitaker, from the 25th to 30th Regt. N. I. G. Kinloch.
Lieut. Miles Dormer, from the 11th to 10th Regt. N. I. A. B. Armstrong.
Lieut. R. W. Beatson, from the 11th to 7th Regt. N. I. W. M. N. Sturt.
Lieut. Chas. Farmer, from the 22d to 9th Regt. N. I. G. Gordon.
Lieut. W. Hickey, from the 16th to 1st Regiment, N. I. H. Doveton.
Lieut. Hon. W. Stapleton, from the 8th to 28th Regt. N. I. J. Dade.
Lieut. R. W. Halhed, from the 16th to 14th Regt. N. I. D. Simpson.
Lieut. I. K. M'Cauley, from the 16th to 4th Regt. N. I. J. Holmes.
Lieut. Chase Bracken, from the 19th to 23d Regt. N. I. J. Jones.
Lieut. W. Mackintosh, from the 19th to 2d Regt. N. I. G. Templer.
Lieut. J. R. Talbot, from the 25th to 30th Regt. N. I. W. Whitaker.
Lieut. Charles Guthrie, from the 26th to 23d Regt. N. I. C. Bracken.
Lieut. Alban T. Davies, from the 22d to 29th Regt. N. I. E. M. Orr.
Lieut. B. W. Ebbart, from the 27th to 7th Regt. N. I. R. W. Beatson.
Lieut. W. Beveridge, from the 17th to 18th Regt. N. I. V. Shortland.

Lieut. Alexander Hodges, from the 21st to 14th Regt. N. I. R. W. Halhead.
Lieut. W. Shortreed, from the 22d to European Regt. G. A. C. Stewart.
Lieut. C. V. Wyld, from the 17th to 10th Regt. N. I. J. M. Dormer.
Lieut. E. F. Spencer, from the 3d to the 16th Regt. N. I. J. W. J. Robertson.
Lieut. H. H. Arnaud, from the 12th to 17th Regt. N. I. J. Hay.

The Appointments to Regiments of all Ensigns not promoted in their respective Corps, previously to the date of the New Regiments, is cancelled; and the undermentioned, from the General List, are promoted to Lieutenants, and posted to the Corps specified opposite their names, in order to complete them.

<i>Ensigns to be Lieutenants.</i>	<i>To what Corps posted.</i>
Joseph Charles Sage	31st Regt. N. I.
Edward Wakefield	3d do.
Alexander Wilson	32d do.
Thomas Goldney	12th do.
John Alexander Shearer	1st do.
William Murray	2d do.
George Richard Talbot	9th do.
An. Al. Lamb Corri	27th do.
Ar. Brown Sober Kent	33d do.
T. E. A. Napleton	30th do.
David Lester Richardson	28th do.
George Henry Dalby	34th do.
John Platt	4th do.
Edward A. Cumberlege	29th do.
William Andrew Ludlow	12th do.
N. Joseph Cumberlege	24th do.
Henry Lock	26th do.
Clements G. Macan	10th do.
John Peter Wade	7th do.
John Edm. Landers	8th do.
William Henry Phibbs	9th do.
Thos. Collins Wilton	19th do.
Charles James Oldfield	1st do.
Robert Campbell	22d do.
John Hor. Clarkson	3d do.
Charles Manning	15th do.
James T. Douglas	25th do.
Thomas Cooke	11th do.
John Cumberlege	21st do.
John Bartleman	22d do.
Marmaduke Richardson	6th do.
Thomas Lee Kennedy	18th do.
George M. Sewell Robe	13th do.
James Roxburgh	19th do.
Edward Squibb	28th do.
John Pollard	26th do.
Walter Rutherford	14th do.
Alexander C. Scott	Europ. Regt.
James Saunders	25th Regt. N. I.
Henry Huddleston	4th do.
Charles J. Huthwaite	13th do.
Colin Campbell	27th do.
John Evans	11th do.
George Irvine	16th do.
Justin Sheil	17th do.
John W. Rowe	15th do.
Charles H. S. Freeman	24th do.
David Williams	23d do.

William Freeth ..	28th Regt. N. I.	Richard Nelson ..	28th Regt. N. I.
Frederick Moore ..	26th do.	Samuel Stapleton ..	26th do.
John A. Fairhead ..	14th do.	John Chesney ..	14th do.
James Matthie ..	Europ. Regt.	Robert Crofton ..	Europ. Regt.
Francis Trimmer ..	25th Regt. N. I.	J. W. Michell ..	25th Regt. N. I.
Alfred Arabin ..	4th do.	W. H. R. Bond ..	4th do.
William M. Tritton ..	13th do.	J. H. Handscomb ..	13th do.
Hugh A. Boscawen ..	27th do.	Bowyer Stewart ..	27th do.
Henry Stone ..	11th do.	Robert Riddell ..	11th do.
Francis Hewitt ..	16th do.	T. W. Bolton ..	16th do.
George T. Marshall ..	17th do.	William Brownlow ..	17th do.
William R. Corfield ..	15th do.	Robert Menzies ..	15th do.
T. J. Roche ..	24th do.	G. C. Armstrong ..	24th do.
K. Campbell ..	23d do.	R. W. Fraser ..	23d do.
A. S. Singer ..	8th do.	G. E. Van Heythuysen ..	8th do.
C. B. Hall ..	20th do.	Richard Chitty ..	20th do.
Thos. Gear ..	5th do.	J. H. Craigie ..	5th do.
A. C. Dennistoun ..	5th do.	James Stephen ..	5th do.
Joseph Peacocke ..	2d do.	M. W. Gilmore ..	2d do.
F. V. M'Grath ..	30th do.	George Cox ..	30th do.
M. T. West ..	21st do.	K. B. Hamilton ..	21st do.
W. T. Savary ..	23d do.	F. Bennett ..	23d do.
W. B. Miford ..	31st do.	Henry Beaty ..	31st do.
G. M. Sherer ..	29th do.	W. S. Menteath ..	29th do.
W. C. Ormsby ..	32d do.	William Biddulph ..	32d do.
A. L. Barwell ..	6th do.	F. W. Anson ..	6th do.
F. St. John Stuart ..	7th do.	F. W. Hardwick ..	7th do.
John Hindson ..	33d do.	William Souter ..	33d do.
Farquhar Macrae ..	34th do.	John Ross ..	34th do.
F. C. Milner ..	18th do.	Alfred Jackson ..	18th do.
Henry Fitzsimous ..	14th do.	John Blacken ..	14th do.
J. H. Haukey ..	Europ. Regt.	Robert M'Murdo ..	Europ. Regt.
H. M. Graves ..	10th Regt. N. I.	C. S. Barberie ..	10th Regt. N. I.
G. D. Johnstone ..	20th do.	Samuel R. Bagshawe ..	20th do.
John Campbell ..	16th do.	William Mitchell ..	16th do.
Henry Moore ..	17th do.	Thos. Seaton ..	17th do.
J. B. Robinson ..	31st do.	P. P. Turner ..	31st do.
D. C. Keiller ..	3d do.	H. W. J. Wilkinson ..	3d do.
F. Knyvett ..	32d do.	C. B. Kennett ..	32d do.
Francis Winter ..	30th do.	John Tierney ..	30th do.
J. S. Hodgson ..	12th do.	T. H. Scott ..	12th do.
Rod. Macdonald ..	1st do.	Archibald Bogle ..	1st do.
N. S. Nesbitt ..	2d do.		
C. J. F. Burnett ..	9th do.		
L. C. Brown ..	27th do.		
D'Arcy Preston ..	33d do.		
Daniel Bamfield ..	26th do.		
Edward Jackson ..	34th do.		
Hon. H. Gordon ..	4th do.		
J. C. Lumsdaine ..	29th do.		
Frederick Corner ..	12th do.		
George Byron ..	24th do.		
David Ross ..	26th do.		
H. N. Worsley ..	10th do.		
James Craigie ..	7th do.		
E. Du Pre Townshend ..	8th do.		
John Dyson ..	9th do.		
W. J. B. Knyvett ..	19th do.		
Henry Smith ..	1st do.		
Henry Lyell ..	22d do.		
O. B. Thomas ..	3d do.		
C. R. Eyre ..	15th do.		
C. H. Boisragon ..	25th do.		
William Hunter ..	11th do.		
Thomas Dalzell ..	21st do.		
James Burnett ..	22d do.		
J. R. Bigge ..	6th do.		
A. E. Campbell ..	18th do.		
William Glen ..	13th do.		
W. E. Hay ..	19th do.		

FORMATION OF THE NEW REGIMENTS.

31st Regiment Native Infantry.

Majors

J. S. Harriott, from the	2d Regiment.
Charles Martin ..	6th do.

Captains.

B Roope ..	23d do.
A. Hodgson ..	10th do.
E. B. Higgins ..	25th do.
Lewis Shaw ..	18th do.
G. P. Wymer ..	3d do.
Alexander Dick ..	17th do.
William Gregory ..	3d do.
James Watkins ..	14th do.

Lieutenants.

Thomas Hepworth, (B.C.)	4th do.
Robert Becher, (do.)	10th do.
Robert Stewart, (do.)	26th do.
Francis Crossley, (do.)	Europ. Regt.
J. C. Wotherspoon, (do.)	21st Reg. N. I.
Benjamin Ashe, (do.)	Europ. Regt.
Brough Maltby, (do.)	9th Regt. N. I.
H. G. Nash ..	7th do.
John Tomlinson ..	9th do.
Ebenezer Marshall ..	1st do.
J. R. Stock ..	9th do.

Francis J. Bellew ..	18th Regt. N. I.	William James ..	13th Regt. N. I.
R. A. Macnaghten ..	19th do.	Geo. W. A. Lloyd ..	28th do.
G. E. Britten ..	20th do.	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	
William Forbes ..	23d do.	Peter Grant, (B. C.) ..	28th do.
R. R. Hughes ..	11th do.	Andrew Harvey, (do.) ..	4th do.
William Glasgow ..	2d do.	Ralph Forster, (do.) ..	14th do.
George H. Cox ..	13th do.	G. J. B. Johnston, (do.) ..	9th do.
Jos. Chas. Sage ..	2d do.	John Grant, (do.) ..	5th do.
Jos. H. Smith ..	16th do.	Thomas Goding, (do.) ..	Europ. Regt.
R. C. Jenkins ..	21st do.	William Bacou, (do.) ..	10th Regt. N. I.
J. O. Oldham ..	15th do.	H. A. Newton ..	3rd do.
<i>Ensigns.</i>		R. W. Wilson ..	29th do.
George Cumine ..	12th do.	Robert Delamain ..	1st do.
William M. Ransay ..	4th do.	Francis T. Boyd ..	15th do.
W. R. Mitford ..	3d do.	Henry Paul ..	8th do.
J. B. Robinson ..	17th do.	Robert Taylor ..	11th do.
Henry Beatty ..	8th do.	M. G. White ..	23d do.
P. P. Turner ..	20th do.	G. D. Roebucke ..	23d do.
<i>32d Regiment Native Infantry.</i>		R. D. White ..	12th do.
<i>Majors.</i>		Geo. Fleming ..	22d do.
George Sargent ..	7th do.	Edward Watt ..	16th do.
S. H. Tod ..	30th do.	A. B. S. Kent ..	3d do.
<i>Captains.</i>		Charles Fowle ..	1st do.
N. Bucke ..	30th do.	Hugh Troup ..	30th do.
A. Lockett ..	14th do.	J. T. Lowe ..	28th do.
I. Maling ..	9th do.	<i>Ensigns.</i>	
J. Anderson ..	27th do.	John Knyvett ..	27th do.
P. Brewer ..	24th do.	Joseph Whiteford ..	22d do.
Jos. Harris ..	2d do.	John Hindson ..	19th do.
Thos. Robinson ..	2d do.	D'Arcy Preston ..	16th do.
Thomas Reynolds ..	2d do.	William Souter ..	20th do.
<i>Lieutenants.</i>		<i>34th Regt. Native Infantry.</i>	
Charles Andrews, (B. C.) ..	24th do.	<i>Majors.</i>	
George Jenkins, (do.) ..	7th do.	Henry Huthwaite ..	5th do.
John Davies, (do.) ..	28th do.	A. Stoncham ..	29th do.
R. B. Ferguson, (do.) ..	4th do.	<i>Captains.</i>	
William Jover, (do.) ..	4th do.	J. H. Cave ..	21st do.
Jos. B. Smith, (do.) ..	17th do.	J. Gabb ..	1st do.
Fred. Mackenzie, (do.) ..	28th do.	Thomas Barron ..	10th do.
J. H. McKinlay ..	7th do.	Frederick Young ..	13th do.
J. R. Aire ..	30th do.	Walter A. Yates ..	18th do.
Elias E. Isaac ..	15th do.	George Banks Bell ..	30th do.
P. C. Anderson ..	6th do.	Henry T. Smith ..	25th do.
R. McCullay Pollock ..	7th do.	George Young ..	24th do.
William Bignell ..	8th do.	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	
Robert Wroughton ..	20th do.	William Grant, (B. C.) ..	10th do.
Francis Candy ..	6th do.	Hugh Wilson, (do.) ..	30th do.
Hon. William Hamilton ..	12th do.	James Smith, (do.) ..	5th do.
Ninian Lewis ..	27th do.	Nicholas Penny, (do.) ..	14th do.
William Hoggan ..	13th do.	Alex. M' Mahon, (do.) ..	24th do.
Alexander Wilson ..	10th do.	John Thompson, (do.) ..	10th do.
Richmond Houghton ..	8th do.	Robt. Sam. Phillips, (do.) ..	26th do.
K. F. Mackenzie ..	25th do.	Charles Thoresby ..	29th do.
Edward Carte ..	27th do.	Henry Lawrence ..	19th do.
<i>Ensigns.</i>		Thomas Moodie ..	1st do.
Arthur Knyvett ..	27th do.	Charles Marshall ..	15th do.
W. C. Ormsby ..	6th do.	Lewis Vansandan ..	8th do.
Frederick Knyvett ..	5th do.	Robert P. Fulcher ..	20th do.
William Biddulph ..	17th do.	John B. Fenton ..	23d do.
C. B. Kennett ..	Europ. Regt.	Andrew G. Ward ..	1st do.
<i>33d Regiment Native Infantry.</i>		George Iliff ..	12th do.
<i>Majors.</i>		George H. White ..	4th do.
R. C. Garnham ..	29th Regt. N. I.	John Frederick ..	15th do.
James Delamain ..	7th do.	George Henry Dalby ..	9th do.
<i>Captains.</i>		Thomas Smith ..	15th do.
J. A. Shadwell ..	26th do.	Samuel Twenlow ..	24th do.
Forster Walker ..	Europ. Regt.	A. M. L. Maclean ..	5th do.
William Skene ..	25th Regt. N. I.	<i>Ensigns.</i>	
Thos. Wollocombe ..	14th do.	W. F. A. Seymour ..	8th do.
Patrick M. Hay ..	28th do.	Farquhar Macrae ..	13th do.
James Pearson ..	18th do.		

Edward Jackson .. 29th Regt. N. I.
John Ross .. 21st do.
WM. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

from the 11th of September, 1823, in suc-
cession to Alder, invalided.
WM. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

Sept. 12.

No. 110 of 1823. The Right Hon. the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions and Transfer.

INFANTRY.

Lieut. Colonel John Nicholas Smith to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of a Regiment, from the 20th of July, 1823, vice Marshall, deceased.—Major J. S. Harriott to be Lieut. Colonel from the same date, vice Smith.—Major W. B. Walker to be Lieut. Colonel from the 18th of August, 1823, vice Cumberlege, deceased.—Lieut. General Robert Phillips is transferred to the Senior List, from the 4th of September, 1823, vice Morris, deceased.—Lieut. Colonel T. M. Weguelin to be Lieut. Colonel Commandant of a Regiment from the same date, vice Phillips.—Major George Sargent to be Lieut. Col. from the same date, vice Weguelin.

NATIVE INFANTRY.

31st Regt. Capt. Benjamin Roope to be Major;—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Thomas Hepworth to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign George Cumine to be Lieutenant; from the 20th July, 1823, in succession to Harriott, promoted.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Robert Becher to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign Wm. M. Ramsay to be Lieutenant; from the 21st of July, 1823, in succession to Shaw, deceased.

10th Regt. Ensign Alexander Macdonald to be Lieutenant from the 4th of August, 1823, vice Phelps, deceased.

3d Regt. Capt. Joseph Nesbitt to be Major;—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. James Eckford to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign W. D. Stewart to be Lieutenant; from the 18th of August, 1823, in succession to Walker, promoted.

27th Regt. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. G. A. Vetch to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign R. L. Burnett to be Lieutenant; from the 20th of August, 1823, in succession to Fortune, deceased.

24th Regt. Ensign John Macdonald to be Lieutenant from the 27th of August, 1823, vice Delap, deceased.

33d Regt. Ensign John Knyvett to be Lieutenant from the 29th of August, 1823, vice Watt, transferred to the Cavalry.

32d Regt. Capt. N. Bucke to be Major;—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Charles Andrews to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign Arthur Knyvett to be Lieutenant; from the 4th of September, 1823, in succession to Sargent promoted.

30th Regt. Capt. C. Bowyer to be Major;—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. P. H. Dewaal to be Captain of a Company;—Ensign Edward J. Watson to be Lieutenant;

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MADRAS.

STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 23.—Major-Gen. Sir John Doveton, K. C. B. to the command of the Northern Division of the Army.—Major-Gen. Sir T. Pritzler, K. C. B. to the command of the Southern Division of the Army.

APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 9.—Lieut. Arthur M'Farlane, 5th Regt. N. I. to be Quarter Master and Interpreter to the 2d Batt. vice Anderson.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain.

Sept. 13. The under-mentioned officers are appointed to do duty with the Corps specified:—Cornet W. G. C. Dunbar, 6th Regt. Light Cavalry.—Ensigns T. Coles and E. Clutterbuck, 2d Batt. 10th Regt. N. I.

Sept. 15.—Major G. Maunsell (late Promotion) is posted to the 2d Batt. 5th Regt.—Capt. J. Anderson (late Promotion) is posted to the 1st Batt. 5th Regt.

Sept. 16.—Lieut. T. S. Claridge, 17th Regt. is appointed to the charge of the officers recently promoted, and posted to Corps serving in the Centre and Mysore Divisions of the Army.

Sept. 26.—Lieut. R. Codrington, 23d Regt. N. I. to be Adjutant 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Besley.

Sept. 30.—Colonel F. Pierce, N. I. to command the Field Force in the Dooab.—Col. A. McDowall, C. B. N. I. to command the Troops in the Ceded Districts.—Major J. Nixon, 1st Regt. N. I. to be Interpreter to the Head Quarters of the Army, vice Leith, resigned.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 12.—5th Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. G. Maunsell, to be Major.—Senior Lieut. (Brevet Captain) P. Farquarson, to be Captain; and Senior Ensign T. B. White, to be Lieut. from April 30, 1822, vice Carnac retired.—Senior Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) J. Anderson, to be Capt.; and Senior Ensign Mr. Maures, to be Lieut. from Dec. 25, 1822, vice Fair, deceased.

17th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign Thos. M'Clellan, to be Lieut. vice Jardine, cashiered; date of commission, Sept. 10, 1823.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors, and are promoted to the rank of Cornet and Ensign respectively, leaving the date of their commissions for future adjustment.

Cavalry.—Mr. W. G. C. Dunbar, arrived Sept. 3, 1823; Mr. P. A. Walker, arrived Sept. 7, 1823.

Infantry.—Messrs. Daniel Wynter, G.

W. Moore, H. C. Betvor, C. P. Moore, H. P. Clay, G. A. Barnard, arrived Sept. 7, 1823.

Sept. 16.—*Madras European Regt.* Senior Ensign P. Chambers, to be Lieut. vice Ellaway deceased; date of Commission, April 23, 1823.

The undermentioned officers are promoted to the rank of Brevet Captains from this date:

Lieutenants—J. T. Weblee, 7th Regt.; E. E. Bruce, 18th; I. G. Whitford, 5th; A. McLeod, 92d; F. W. Morgan, 1st; G. Willock, 5th; D. A. Fenning, 5th.

Fort St. George, Sept. 30.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors, and are promoted to the ranks of Cornet and Ensign, leaving the dates of their commission for future adjustment.

Cavalry.—Mr. C. R. Flint, Mr. T. I. Tayler, arrived Sept. 24.

Infantry.—Mr. Eneas Macqueen arrived Sept. 24.

Oct. 3.—12th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign D. Kinlock, to be Lieutenant, vice Stewart, deceased; date of Commission, Oct. 1, 1823.

ALTERATIONS OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Sept. 12.
5th Regt. N. I. Lieut. M. Poole, to take rank from June 20th, 1822, vice Luard, deceased.—Lieut. J. Richardson, to take rank from Nov. 23, 1822, vice Milford, deceased.—First Lieut. W. G. Lewis, of the Artillery, to rank as First Lieutenant, from June 8th, 1821.

REMOVALS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain.

Sept. 26.—Lieut. J. Gordon, of the 6th Regt. is removed from doing duty with 2d Batt. 5th Regt. to do duty with the 1st Battalion of that Corps.—Ensign R. S. M. Spoye, from the 3d to the 9th Regt. N. I. at his own request.—Ensign J. S. Macvittie, from the 1st to the 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 16.—Ensign O. F. Sturt, 5th Regt. N. I. is permitted to return to Europe, on sick certificate, vice Bombay.

Sept. 26.—Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) D. C. Stewart, 12th Regt. N. I. is permitted to return to Europe on sick certificate.

Sept. 30.—Lieut. Colonel J. Marshall, 14th Regt. N. I. is permitted to return to Europe on sick certificate.

Oct. 3.—Lieut. Colonel J. Colebrooke, C. B. 2d Regt. Light Cavalry, is permitted to return to Europe on sick certificate.—Capt. P. Farquharson, 5th Regt. N. I. is permitted to return to Europe on Furlough.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Fort St. George, Sept. 9.—The undermentioned Gentlemen are admitted on the Establishment as Assistant Surgeons, in conformity with their Appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors: Messrs. Joseph Thomson, David Richardson, and John Grant Malcolmson, arrived at Madras, Sept. 3.—Assistant-Surgeon Malcolmson is appointed to do duty under the Surgeon of the 1st Battalion of Artillery; and Assistant-Surgeons Richardson and Thompson are appointed to do duty under the Surgeon of the Madras European Regiment.

Sept. 12.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Assistant-Surgeons, in conformity with their Appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors: Thomas Ward, M. D., Robert Power, arrived Sept. 7, 1823. They are also appointed to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George. Assistant-Surgeon Thomas Key is appointed to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon at Poonamallee.

BOMBAY

GENERAL ORDERS.

Bombay Castle, 25th Sept. 1823.
Major Campbell, commanding 2d Batt. 9th Regt. having tendered his resignation of the Office of President of the Standing Committee of Survey, the Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to accept the same.—Capt. Morison, the Senior Member of the Committee, is appointed President of the Committee; Capt. F. Roome, Superintending Officer of the Cadet Establishment, a Member of the Committee.

Sept. 25th. The undermentioned Lieutenants, Cadets of the 2d Class, of the Season 1807, having served fifteen years, the Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to promote them to the Brevet rank of Captain.

Lieut. G. Moor, 9th Regt.	} 16th Sept. 1823.
N. I.	
Lieut. T. C. Rybot, 2d Regt.	
Lt. Cav.	
Lieut. J. B. Seely, 4th Regt.	
N. I.	

Sept. 27th. 5th Regt. N. I.—Senior Captain Charles W. Elwood, to be Major; Lieut. Stratford Powell, to be Captain, and Ensign Percy Dawney to be Lieut. in succession to Gibson, deceased.—Date of Rank, 20th March 1823.

Oct. 3d. 1st Regt. N. I.—Ensign Richard Philipps to be Lieut. vice Wilkins, deceased.—Date of Rank to be settled hereafter.

4th Regt. N. I.—Ensign Archibald Neil Maclean to be Lieut. vice Baynes, deceased.—Ditto ditto.

5th Regt. N. I.—Ensign James Buck to be Lieut. vice Say, dismissed.—28th Sept. 1823.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—Aug. 10th. At Sangor, Mrs. Charles Sutton, of a son and heir.—17th. At Bhanguipore, the lady of J. Petty Ward, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.—22d. At Etawah, the lady of Brevet Capt. L. Bruce, Adjutant 2d Batt. 12th N. I. of a daughter.—23d. At Mhow, in Malwa, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Fagan, of a son.—24th. At Jubulpore, the lady of Lieut. M. Nicholson, of a son.—26th. At Patna, the lady of Dr. Thomson, Surgeon to the Board of Revenue, Central Provinces, of a daughter.—29th. The lady of George Richardson, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son.—30th. At Fendall Baugh, the lady of F. A. Magniac, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a daughter; Mrs. J. W. G. Taylor, of a daughter; Purneah, the lady of H. Buckland, Esq. of a son; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. George Matthews, H.M. 59th Regt. of a daughter.—Sept. 1st. Mrs. Geo. Rowland, of a son; in Chouringhee, the lady of Charles Paton, Esq., Magistrate, Calcutta, of a daughter; at Benares, the lady of Dr. Watson, of a daughter; at Culna Factory, Mrs. J. Russell, of a daughter.—2d. In Chowrington, the lady of F. T. Hall, Esq. of a daughter; the lady of W. H. Abbott, Esq., of a daughter; the lady of P. G. Thomson, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a daughter.—3d. At Nussurabad, the lady of Capt. Sands, D.A. Quartermaster General, of a daughter.—4th. At Goomalty, near Malda, the lady of John Andrew, Esq., of a daughter; at Bhanguipore, the lady of Ensign D. L. Richardson, of twin sons; near Bhanguipore, the lady of Lieut. and Adjutant D'Oyley, Artillery, of a son.—6th. At Calcutta, the lady of M. Arom, Esq. of a son; the lady of J. B. Dorret, Esq. of a son.—7th. At Meerut, the lady of Capt. T. Lumsden, of the Horse Artillery, of a son.—8th. At Malda, the lady of J. W. Bateman, Esq., of Jungpore, of a son.—9th. At Chowringhee, the lady of John Melligan Seppings, Esq., of a son.—12th. At Noacolly, the lady of C. Cardew, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son and heir; the lady of J. W. Grant, Esq., of Malda, of a still-born child.—13th. At Dum Dum, the lady of Capt. P. G. Mathison, of Artillery, and Commissary of Ordnance, of a daughter.—14th. The lady of Capt. F. Walker, European Regiment, of a son.—17th. At Tytalia, the lady of Major Waters, commanding the Dinapore Local batt. of a still-born daughter.—19th. At Bancoora Jungle Metals, the lady of G. N. Check, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter.—26th. The lady of J. P. Larkins, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—August 26th. At Dum Dum, by the Rev. Mr. Eales, Lieut. J. W. In-

gram, 3d Regt. N. I. to Maria Isabella, eldest daughter of the late Major Scott, of the same regiment.—September 1st. By special licence, at St. John's Cathedral, by the Rev. D. Corrie, LL.D. senior Chaplain of the Presidency, Lieut. John Liptrap, of the 2d Battalion, 21st Regt. Beng. N. I., to Miss Maria Perigoe.—12th. At St. John's Cathedral, by the Rev. Wm. Parson, George Jessop, Esq., Civil Engineer, to Miss Mary Thomas Poynton.—16th. At St. John's Cathedral, by the Rev. D. Corrie, Mr. William Fawcett Pennington, to Miss Charlotte Cunningham.—17th. At St. John's Cathedral, by the Rev. J. Parson, George Proctor, Esq., Surgeon on the Hon. Company's Bengal Military Establishment, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Colonel S. Dyer.

Deaths.—August 15th. At Poona, Catherine Frederica, infant daughter of Capt. Frankland of His Majesty's 20th Regt. of Foot, aged nine months and six days.—17th. At Nussurabad, Francis Annesley Cornwallis, son of Capt. Arthur Warde, 3d Regt. Light Cavalry, aged two years seven months and twenty-four days.—18th. At Culyec, Lieut. Col. N. Cumberlege, of the 1st Regt. N. I.—22d. At Berhampore, Louisa Villers Wilson, lady of Capt. Christian Wilson, of His Majesty's 38th Regt. of Foot, aged twenty-five years.—25th. At Chiusurah, Capt. Wm. Smith, late of the Rohilla Corps.—26th. At Secrore, Major Henley of the 24th Regt. N. I. and political agent in Bhopal.—31st. At Cawnpore, Isabel, daughter of George Reddie, Superintending Surgeon, aged one year, five months and twenty-six days.—September 2d. Benjamin Lamb Jenkins, Esq., late an Assistant in the Military Accountant General's office, aged 41; Mr. Humphrey Langley, Chie. Officer of the Woodford.—3d. Charles Busch, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. F. Bouaffe and Co., aged forty-eight years; at Futtighur, Mary, the infant daughter of Lieut. John Forbes Paton, of the Bengal Engineers, aged one year and fourteen days.—4th. Capt. Wm. Browne, of Selbore, aged 49; at Berhampore, Lieut. Gen. James Morris, of the senior list of the army.—5th. At Calcutta, Lieut. Geo. Walter, Corps of Engineers.—7th. Mr. Francis Willoughby, son of Colonel Willoughby, of Patna, aged 28 years; at Bhanguipore, Lieut. Shearer, of the 1st Regt. N. I.—11th. Drowned, while crossing from one factory to another, Mr. Chas. Stratford Powell, of Catchee Cottah, in the Zillah of Nuddea, aged 37.—15. At the house of John Turner, Esq., Chowringhee, Tredway Clarke, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 25 years.—17th. Mr. John Roxburgh, late of the Botanical Gardens, aged 46.—18th. At the house of

his brother-in-law Mr. James Robinson, Mr. George Mowett, indigo-planter, late of Bishnaghur; and on the 20th, his widow, Mrs. Charlotte Mowett, aged 23 years.—22d. At Barrackpore, Lieut. John Hoard, Interpreter and Quartermaster of the 2d batt. 20th Regt. N. I. in the 23d year of his age; Mrs. Louisa Thornhill, aged 50.—25th. Charles de Freycinet, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. F. Bonaffe & Co., aged 39.—29th. Thomas Reid, Esq. Purser of the ship Ogle Castle, aged 23.—Oct. 6th. At Calcutta, Mr. J. Livingstone, late of the ship Ogle Castle, aged 18.—7th. At Serampore, H. A. Williams, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

MADRAS.

Births.—Aug. 3d. At Madras, the lady of E. Gordon, Esq. of Myrtle Grove, of a daughter.—4th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Lieut. Weston, Deputy Judge Advocate General, of a daughter.—Sept. 1st. At Madras, Mrs. Morphet, of a daughter; at Pondicherry, the Lady of G. D. Drury, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—3d. At Chittledroog, the lady of Capt. N. H. Hatherly, 1st Bat. 6th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—4th. At the Mount, the lady of J. Stephenson, Esq. of the Horse Brigade, of a daughter.—5th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Capt. C. A. Elderton, Military Paymaster, Southern division, of a daughter.—At Courtallum, the lady of W. F. Newlyn, Esq. Madras Medical Establishment, of a son.—7th. At the Government House, Madras, Lady Munro, of a son.—9th. At Mysore, Mrs. Van Ingan, of a son.—10th. At Courtallum, the lady of W. O. Shakespeare, of H. C. Civil Service, of a daughter.—13th. At Madras, the lady of Lieut. W. C. Brunton, 2d Regt. Light Cavalry, of a son.—15th. At Narcoot, the lady of Lieut. Naylor, 89th Regt. of a son, who expired next day.—18th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of H. Pichard, Esq. of a son.—19th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of Capt. Abdy, of a son; In Camp, at Jualnah, the lady of Lieut. R. Gibbings, of a son, who expired on the 24th inst.—22d. At Bellary, the lady of Lieut. A. Fraser, Quarter Master 2d Batt. 23d Regt. N. I., of a daughter.—26th. At Masulipatam, the lady of Lieut. Col. Kenny, 1st Batt. 17th Native Regt. of a daughter.

Marriages.—Aug. 20th. At Madras, at the Vepery Church, George Moore, Serj. Major 1st Batt. 9th Regt. Native Infantry, to Miss Auelia Pratt.—22d. At St. George's Church, Lieut. Jos. Simmons of H. M. 41st Regt., to Matilda, youngest daughter of Wm. Butler, Esq.—Sep. 23d. At Wallajahabad, Malcolm M'Neile, Esq., Lieut. and Adj. 6th Reg. Light Cavalry, to Emily, second daughter of Major Bennett, 69th Regt.

Deaths.—Aug. 6th. On the Mount Road, Madras, Emma, third daughter of Mr. T. Brady, aged 9, of cholera morbus.—20th. At Trevandrum, Travancore

Cornelia, seventh daughter of the late A. Laue, Esq., of Cochin, aged 21.—21st. At Jalab, Rosa Stanley, daughter of Capt. Bentley, 2d Batt. 3d Regt. N. I., aged 16 months.—24th. At Wallajahabad, Hussey William Robert, only child of Lieut. R. I. H. Vivian, aged 2 years.—27th. At Hussingabad, Major W. Henley, Political Agent at Bhopal; at Madras, Jane Elizabeth, 1st wife of Capt. Fenwick, of the Madras European Regt.; at Madras, Jane, wife of Capt. Fenwick, of the Madras European Regt.; at Madras, Mrs. C. Araton, aged 47, of cholera morbus.—29th. John S. Araton, son of the above, aged 13, of the same disease; Mr. W. K. Tolson, son of the late Maj. Gen. Tolson.—30th. At Pursur Vakum, Maj. Adam Brown, aged 53.—Sept. 1st. At Madras, at the residence of Oriel Viveash, Esq., Thos. Fraser, Esq., late of the H. C. Civil Service, and many years collector of Nellore; at Madras, at the house of Mr. Atkinson, Assistant Commissary, Sophie, the wife of Mr. S. V. Gore, aged 36.—4th. At Madras, of cholera, Catherine, wife of J. Cox, Esq. of the Medical Establishment of this Presidency.—6th. At the Presidency, Edward R. Sullivan, Esq. of the H. C. Civil Service; suddenly at Bangalore, the wife of the Rev. A. Forbes.—11th. At Madras, Eliza, infant daughter of E. Gordon, Esq.—17th. Capt. Edward Doveton, Madras Establishment, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Sir John Doveton, aged 23.—18th. Mrs. Julia Taylor, daughter of Mrs. Frances Godfrey, aged 19 years; Major J. D. Crompton, of the N. V. Batt.—22d. At Chittledroog, the infant daughter of Capt. N. H. Hatherly, 1st Batt. 6th Regt. N. I.—30th. Aged 30, Mr. William Clemons, second son of Lieut. and Adj. James Clemons, of the 1st N. V. Batt.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Aug. 9th. At Ahmednuggur, the Lady of Capt. Laurie of Artillery, of a son.—13th. At Belville, the Lady of Major Tucker, Dep.-Adj.-Gen. of the Army, of a son.—20th. The lady of John Wedderburn, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.—24th. At Sattara, the lady of Capt. H. Adams, of a son.—Aug. 24th. At Tanmah, Mrs. Horne, of a daughter.—26th. At Colabah, the lady of Capt. Barr, of a daughter.—27th. The wife of Mr. D. Keuderdine, of Hon. Com. Marine, of a son.—Sept. 1st. At Bombay, the lady of the late Capt. Johnson of the Artillery, of a daughter. At the same place, the lady of Charles Keys, Esq. Master Attendant of the H. C. Marine, of a daughter.—5th. At Colabah, the lady of Capt. G. Rotton, H. M. 20th Regt. of a daughter.—15th. At Poonah, the lady of Capt. R. W. Browne, Inspector of Forts, Deccan, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Aug. 28th. At Bombay, T. Barnard, Esq. Civil Service, to Marian, second daughter of William Clark, Esq. Devonshire.—Oct. 13th. Lieut. A. Adam,

of the Nizam Service, to Miss Ann Willis, niece of Major Willis.—Sept. 2d. At Bombay, Lieut. Houghton, of the H. C. Marines, to Miss Sophia Henshaw.

Deaths.—Aug. 10. At Bombay, Luzia, the wife of J. C. Monteiro, Assistant to the Marshal of Bombay Gaol, aged 27.—11th. Mrs. Bezzada Stephanus, *alias* Khanumjar, widow of the late Mr. Stephanus Minas, aged 98. She was a native of Ispahán.—16th. At Bombay, Colin F. S. Mackenzie, the infant son of Mr. G. C. Mackenzie, aged 1 month and 23 days.—17th. At Cannanore, William Douglas, youngest child of Captain Wigan, 18th Regt. Nat. Infantry.—18th. At Bombay, the infant son of Conductor John Kilkenny, of the Ordnance Department, aged 9 months and 15 days.—22d. At Belvidere, I. H. Jones, Esq. of the Civil Service, aged 21 years.—23d. At Bombay, Eliza Sophia, the wife of Capt. W. G. Graham, of the Country Service, aged 22.

MACOA.

Marriage.—Sept. 18th. James F. N. Daniel, Esq. of Hon. E. I. Company's Factory in China, to Jane Anna, eldest daughter of Rev. Philip Le Geyt, of Marden, Kent.

CEYLON.

Marriage.—Sept. 3d. At Point de Galie, by the Rev. Mr. Garston, Colonial Chaplain, Richard Brock, Esq. to Miss Anna Rabinel, youngest daughter of the late J. D. Rabinel, Esq. Judge in the Hon. Company's Service at Malacca.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Birth.—Dec. 17th. Lady Mary Fitzroy of a daughter.

Death.—Nov. 26th. At the Cape, whither he had repaired from Madras for the benefit of his health, Peter Cherry, Esq., First Judge of the Provincial Court of Circuit at Chittoor, in the 51st year of his age.

MALTA.

Death.—Jan. 11th. Off Malta, and on board the yacht of Sir W. Curtis, Bart., C. T. Haden, Esq., late of Sloane-street, Surgeon, in the 36th year of his age.

DEMERARA.

Birth.—Jan. 6th. The lady of Lieut. Col. Goodman, Vendue Master, of a daughter.

Death.—Aug. 25th. By an accident on the Aronous, Mr. J. Stephenson, one of the proprietors of the Guiana Chronicle.—Feb. 6th. In the Colonial Jail, Mr. John Smith the Missionary.

J.A.MICA.

Marriage.—Jan. 4. At Manchester, Jamaica, George Dempster, Esq., Surgeon, to Catherine, relict of the late John Thompson, Esq., of May Day and Woodside plantations, and member of the Hon. House of Assembly.

Death.—Jan. 2d. At Jamaica, Robert Wellard, eldest son of Henry Mealpers, Esq., of Knightsbridge.

ST. VINCENTS.

Death.—Dec. 10th. On board the Perry, Capt. Sayers, on her passage to St. Vincent, Mr. W. G. Rattenbury.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—Feb. 20th. At St. John's-wood-road, Regent's Park, the lady of J. S. Willmors, Esq., late of the 3rd Reg., Bengal Cavalry, of a daughter.—29th. At Watlingbury, Kent, the lady of Capt. Adamson, of the Hon. East India Company's Service, of a daughter.—March 19th. At Exeter, the lady of John Teachemaker, Esq., of a daughter.—23d. At Canterbury, the Marchioness of Ely, of a daughter; at Farnham, Surrey, the lady of Capt. A. Brown, of the ship Bengal Merchant, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 23d. At Fores, Capt. Falconer of the Bombay Army, to Eliza, second daughter of the Rev. John McDonnell.—24th. At Crayford, Henry Hayne, Esq., H. M. Commissary Judge in Brazil, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Slack, Esq., of Bloomsbury-square.—March 1st. Robert Nelson, Esq., Madras Civil Service, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Jonathan Harrison, Esq., of Gower-street.—1th. W. H. Sykes, Captain in the Bombay Army, to Eliza, daughter of W. Hay, Esq., of Russell square.—24th. At St. George's Church, by the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, Octavius Wigram, Esq., son of Sir Robert Wigram, Bart., to Isabella Charlotte Knox, daughter of the Hon. Lord Bishop of Derry.—March. At Sutton, Surrey, Geo. Noakes, Esq., late of St. Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica, to Miss Ellen Muggridge.

Deaths.—Feb. 18th. At Teignmouth, Devon, Thomas Warham, Esq., late of Bengal.—27th. Aged two years, Sophia Matilda, youngest daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Wigram.—29th. Of apoplexy, Sir Thomas Reid, Bart. and East India Director, aged 61.—March 1st. Lieut. General Sir George Wood, K. C. B. of the Hon. E. I. Company's Bengal Army.—4th. Master John Wade, third son of Rev. N. Wade, late Senior Chaplain at Bombay.—6th. Of apoplexy, Flower Freeman, Esq., of Kennington-lane, late of Barbadoes.—7th. In New-street, Spring-Gardens, of apoplexy, James Dick, Esq., late of Kingston, Jamaica.—9th. In Bruton-street, of whooping cough, Wellesley Abbas, son of Right hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., in his 11th year.—13th. John Bartlett, Esq., aged 83, formerly Commander in the service of the Hon. E. I. Company.—21st. At Streatham Park, Thomas Harrison, Esq. F.R.S. Hon. Sec. to Royal Institution and African Institution, aged 55.—23d. Aged 73, Millicent, Widow of John Hall, late Commander of the Worcester E. Indiaman,

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Mar. 3	Liverpool	London	Brown	Bengal	Oct. 25
Mar. 4	Cowes	Packet	Oxnard	Batavia	Nov. 11
Mar. 6	Off Dover	Kerswell	Armstrong	Cape of Good Hope	Dec. 13
Mar. 6	Off Falmouth	Diamond	Short	Batavia	Nov. 2
Mar. 7	Off Portsmouth	Earl Morley	Stavers	Cape, &c.	Dec. 14
Mar. 8	Downs	Mars	Bishop	Cape of Good Hope	Dec. 28
Mar. 8	Margate	Recovery	Darney	S. Seas and St. Helena	Dec. 20
Mar. 9	Margate	Speke	Cato	Mauritius	Nov. 12
Mar. 10	Off Portsmouth	Regalia	Collins	New South Wales	Aug. 22
Mar. 10	Off Liverpool	Bridget	Leslie	Bengal	Oct. 3
Mar. 13	Downs	Lusitania	Langdon	New South Wales	Aug. 20
Mar. 13	Off Dover	Alexander	Robt	Mauritius	Dec. 1
Mar. 13	Downs	Norfolk	Greig	Bengal	Oct. 11
Mar. 14	Downs	Morley	Halloway	Bengal	Sept. 15
Mar. 14	Downs	Ann and Amelia	Short	Madras and Bengal	Oct. 3
Mar. 15	Downs	Mary Jane	McGormack	Cape of Good Hope	Jan. 3
Mar. 22	Downs	Waterloo	Alsager	China	Dec. 9
Mar. 22	Downs	Bombay	Hide	China	Nov. 22
Mar. 22	Off Dover	Kent	Cobb	China	Dec. 2
Mar. 22	Off Dover	General Kyd	Naupe	China	Dec. 2
Mar. 22	Off Penzance	Augusta	Anderson	Batavia	
Mar. 23	Downs	Royal George	Biden	China	Dec. 3
Mar. 25	Off Plymouth	Kains	Cunningham	Madras	Sept. 27
Mar. 25	Off Hastings	Ogle Castle	Brown	Bengal	

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Aug. 17	China	Lawther Castle	Baker	Deal	April 26
Aug. 27	New South Wales	Ocean	Harrison	Portsmouth	April 24
Aug. 27	New South Wales	Competitor	Ayscough	Plymouth	Mar. 27
Aug. 27	New South Wales	Commodore Hayes	Moncrief	Woolwich	April 20
Aug. 27	Van Diemen's Land	Mariner	Herbeit	Cowes	May 18
Sept. 5	Bengal	Madras	Clark	Deal	Mar. 24
Sept. 5	Madras	Ganges	Cumberlege	Portsmouth	June 12
Sept. 8	China	Kellie Castle	Adams	Deal	Feb. 27
Sept. 13	China	Warren Hastings	Hawes	Deal	April 20
Sept. 14	China	Vansittart	Dalrymple	Deal	April 29
Sept. 14	China	Scauby Castle	Newall	Portsmouth	Mar. 15
Sept. 14	China	Charles Grant	Hay	Portsmouth	Mar. 27
Sept. 14	China	Atlas	Mayne	Plymouth	Mar. 15
Sept. 14	China	Repulse	Patterson	Deal	Jan. 8
Sept. 14	China	Bridgewater	Mitchell	Deal	Feb. 27
Sept. 14	China	Hythe	Wilson	Deal	Feb. 27
Sept. 14	China	Herefordshire	Hope	Deal	Jan. 8
Sept. 14	Bengal	Royal George	Reynolds	Deal	June 17
Sept. 14	Bengal	Meabro'	Shipton	Portsmouth	June 10
Sept. 14	Bengal	Kingston	Bowen	Portsmouth	May 26
Sept. 15	Bengal	Fame	Young	Deal	May 26
Sept. 16	Bombay	Castlerough	Durant	Deal	June 15
Sept. 21	Bengal	Atherton	Percival	Deal	May 25
Sept. 21	Bengal	Atlas	Clifton	Portsmouth	May 1
Sept. 22	Bombay	Layton	Miller	London	May 18
Sept. 25	Bengal	Osprey	McGill	Clyde	May 29
Sept. 26	Van Diemen's Land	Mariner	Herbert	Cowes	May 18
Oct. 5	Van Diemen's Land	Mary	Steele	Deal	Jan. 10
Oct. 7	Bengal	Potton	Welbank	Deal	May 25
Oct. 18	Bengal	Minerva	Probyn	Deal	June 16
Oct. 20	Bengal	Mary Wellington	Blanshard	Plymouth	May 28
Oct. 21	Bengal	Rockingham	Beach	Deal	June 16
Oct. 22	Bengal	Duke of Lancaster	Davis	Liverpool	June 12
Oct. 23	Bengal	Lady Campbell	Betham	Portsmouth	Feb. 27
Oct. 24	Bengal	Florentia	Wimble	Deal	May 25
Oct. 24	Bengal	Thomas Grenville	Manning	Deal	June 18
Oct. 25	Bengal	P. Charl. of Wales	Gribble	Plymouth	May 28
Oct. 25	Bengal	Grenada	Anderson	London	April 30
Oct. 25	Bengal	Orient	White	Portsmouth	Feb. 27
Oct. 29	Bengal	Palmyra	Lamb	Cowes	May 18
Oct. 31	China	Windsor	Hrviside	Deal	Feb. 27
Nov. 15	Batavia	Henry	Thatcher	Deal	April 29
Nov. 30	Cape	Borodino	Clerk	Cowes	Aug. 18
Dec. 1	Cape	Aquatic	Barkus	Deal	Aug. 13
Dec. 5	Cape	Tilton	Crear	Leith	Sept. 7
Dec. 6	China	Buckinghamshire	Glasspool	Portsmouth	July 31
Dec. 11	Cape	Monmouth	Simpson	Deal	Sept. 23

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS, CONTINUED.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Dec. 12	Cape	Barossa	Hutchinson	Cork	Sept. 20
Dec. 13	Cape	Kerswell	Armstrong	Plymouth	July 24
Dec. 13	Cape	Swallow	Blackman	Bristol	Aug. 29
Dec. 18	Cape	Hope	Norris	London	Sept. 22
Dec. 20	Cape	Mars	Bishop	Deal	July 8
Dec. 22	Cape	Aquilar	Watson	London	Sept. 3
Dec. 30	Cape	Nepos	Trader	Plymouth	Oct. 19
Jan. 18	Teneriffe	Guardian	Sutherland	Torbay	Jan. 3
Jan. 20	Cape	Cornwallis	Henderson	London	Oct. 19
Jan. 27	Teneriffe	General Harris	Westead	Deal	Jan. 15
Jan. 29	Cape	Hibernia	Gillies	Plymouth	Nov. 8

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Departure.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Mar. 10	Downs	London	Notheby	Bombay and China
Mar. 10	Downs	Joseph	Christopherson	Batavia
Mar. 10	Liverpool	Westmoreland	Worthington	Bengal
Mar. 13	Downs	Lady Melville	Clifford	Madras
Mar. 14	Portsmouth	Eleanor	Mitchell	Cape
Mar. 14	Plymouth	Britannia	Bourck	Cape
Mar. 14	Cork	Almorah	Boyd	New South Wales
Mar. 17	Downs	Hottentot	Sinclair	Cape
Mar. 17	Portsmouth	H.M.S. Aradne		Cape, Mauritius, Madeira and Bengal
Mar. 19	Plymouth	General Palmer	Truscott	Madras
Mar. 20	Torbay	William Money	Jackson	Madras and Bengal
Mar. 20	Torbay	Lang	Lusk	Van Diemen's Land
Mar. 20	Gravesend	Agincourt	Eastwick	Humbro' and India
Mar. 23	Cowes	Marquess Camden	Larkins	Bombay and China
Mar. 23	Portsmouth	Larkins	Wilkinson	Madras and Bengal
Mar. 23	Cowes	Eliza	Faith	Bombay
Mar. 23	Portsmouth	Louach	Weet	Mauritius
Mar. 24	Portsmouth	William Fairlie	Smith	Madras and China
Mar. 24	Downs	Catherine	McIntosh	Madraira
Mar. 24	Downs	Phoenix	White	Van Diemen's Land

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Port of Departure.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Downs	Melish	Cole	Bengal
Portsmouth	Lord Amherst	Lucas	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Resource	Fenn	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Golconda	Edwards	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Exmouth	Owen	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Lady Raffles	Coxwell	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	David Scott	Bunyon	Madras and Bengal
Downs	Upton Castle	Thacker	Bombay
Portsmouth	Triumph	Green	Bombay
Downs	Euphrates	Mead	Bombay
Downs	Mulgrave Castle	Italph	Mauritius
Downs	Timandra	Wray	Mauritius
Downs	Salmon River	Gransmore	Batavia, Penang, & Singapore
Downs	Scorpion	Wrixon	Batavia, Penang, & Singapore
Downs	Alacrity	Finlay	Cape
Downs	Clearly	Watson	Cape and St. Helena
Downs	Denmark Hill	Forman	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Downs	Deveron	Wilson	New S. Wales & V. D's Land
Portsmouth	Phoenix	White	New S. Wales & V. D's Land

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	From whence.	Destination
Jan. 2	18 S.S. 29 W.	Heroine	Oatler	London	New So. Wales
Jan. 3	14.30 S. 28 W.	Barkworth	Cotgrave	London	Bombay
Jan. 3	23.50 S. 30 W.	Bengal Merchant	Brown	London	Madras, Bengal
Oct. 22	8.20 N. 90 E.	Albion	Swainson	Liverpool	Bengal
Nov. 21	46.6 17.31	Mars		Batavia	Amsterdam
Oct. 12		Cambrian		London	Bombay
Nov. 1	4.20 N.	Waterloo	Studd	London	Bombay
Jan. 5		Perseverance	Ord	Genoa	Sumatra
Nov. 13		Castle Forbes		London	New So. Wales
Jan. 5	13.56 S. 83.30 W.	Mars	Tetcome	Batavia	Amsterdam
Mar. 20	Off Lizard	Lady Melville	Clifford	London	Madras & China
Dec. 14		Jemima	Watt	Singapore	Cowes
Nov. 20	12 S.	Elizabeth	Swan	Bengal	Liverpool

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the Ann and Amelia.—From Madras: Mrs. Reid; Mrs. R. C. Cole, Surgeon; Capt. Fenwick; Mr. Reid; Capt. W. H. Goddard; Master S. Steward, and two Native Servants.

By the Kains.—From Madras: Left at the Cape the 4th of January, Mrs. Boham; Capt. F. Hall; Mr. W. Boham, Surgeon; Capt. E. Higgams; Lieuts. T. P. Lang, 13th Dragoons, E. Dobbin, W. Bremmer, G. Williams, H. I. Kenney; Ensign J. C. Hawes; Mr. S. Gore; two Misses and Master Statious; and two Misses Atkinson.

By the Regalia.—From Hobart Town: Mr. J. Raine; John Richards; and A. Danvers.

By the Lusitania.—From Sydney: Mr. Ban-stall and Family; and Capt. Purcell.

By the Waterloo.—From China: Rev. Dr. Morrison, from China; and Chinese Servant; Dr. Gillman, Medical Board, Calcutta, and Servant, from the Cape; Charles Ewhank; James Gibson; Robert Gibson; Charles Watson, Corporal of the St. Helena Infantry; Sarah Watson, and three children.

By the Morley.—From Bengal: Capt. Cortland and Lieut. Steward, 16th Lancers; Lieut. Butch, 11th Dragoons; and Lieut. M'Dougall, 59th Regt.

By the Bombay.—From China: The Countess de Boccardi, and three children; R. C. Morris, from Batavia; Mrs. Morris and child; Mr. D. Fraser, from Batavia; Mr. Ellenckhaysun and four servants.

By the General Kyd.—From China: J. G. Deeder, Esq. Bengal Civil Service; and Mr. R. W. Dickson, late Third Mate of the Prince Regent.

By the Kent.—From China: Brevet Major Ellard, 68th Regt.; and Henry Jordan, servant to Mr. Rainy, late purser of the Hythe, who died at sea on the 6th of March.

By the Royal George.—Mr. Spankie, Advocate General of Bengal; Mrs. Spankie and six children; Lieut. Williams, of the 44th Regt.; Mrs. Berry and child, from Macao; Rev. H. Harding, Chaplain, from ditto; and Mr. James Buttivant, from China.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the Thames, Litson.—For Ceylon: Major and Mrs. Smith and six children; Mr. Matthew Boyd, jun.; Mr. Shipton; Mr. Baily; two Missionaries from the Wesleyan Society; ten Officers of his Majesty's 16th and 45th Regts. and seventy men.

By the Lady Melville.—For Madras and China: James Taylor, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. Boardman, H. C. S.; Miss Boardman; Lieut.-Col. Wahall, H. C. S.; and Mrs. Wahall; Capt. Coyle, H. C. S.; Capt. Symes, H. C. S.; and Mrs. Symes; Lieut. Kingston, H. C. S.; J. Prinsep, Esq.; Lieut. Bennett, 1st Royals; Lieut. McLeod, H. M. 69th Regt.; Ensigns Fraser and Taylor, H. M. 46th Regt.; Rev. Mr. Allen and Mrs. Allen; Rev. Mr. Hollowell; Misses Eliza and Mary Thompson, Compton, and Chaters; Mr. Birlo, Surgeon; Mr. Hewitt, Surgeon, H. M. 46th Regt.; Messrs. Dumesque and Crawford, Writers; Messrs. Ashton, Beans, White, McKenzie, Hunter, Forbes, Pritchard, Cross, Roberts, Atkinson, Prescott, and Porock, Cadets; Messrs. Wren, Stephenson, Macintosh, and Clements, and 275 troops.

By the Wm. Money.—For Madras and Bengal: Miss Nairn; Miss Beckitt; Capt. and Mrs. Mailardane; Capt. and Mrs. Senior; Rev. H. I. Fisher, Messrs. Beeton, Taylor, Riddell, Coates, Gatskill, O'Brien, Savage, Wilson, Maxwell, H. Jackson, Lentsell, Harroll, G. Tytle, Drought, Tutin, Robertson, Hunt, Manson, Harris, Powys, Wellbank, Nicholson, Pritchard, and Grove, and Majors Bell and Hopkinson.

By the Marquess Camden.—For Bombay and China: Capts. Ruddock and De Champ, and Mr. Taylor.

By the Eliza, Faith.—For Bombay: Messrs. Graham and Jones, Cadets.

By the Wm. Fairlie.—For Madras and China: Hon. Mrs. and two Misses Murray; Mrs. Chamer; Lieut. Mrs. and Miss Gardner; Capt. and Mrs. Jourdan; Lieut. and Mrs. Dyer; 13 Officers, 3 Cadets, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 327 Rank and File, 40 women and 60 children.

By the Larkins.—For Madras and Bengal: Mr. Pearson, Advocate General; Mrs. Pearson; three Young Ladies; Mrs. Yeld; Miss Jeffries; Miss Casenove; Dr. O'Flaherty, H. M. 46th Regt.; Mrs. and three Misses O'Flaherty; Mr. Robertson, Civil Service; Capt. Woodoff; Messrs. Abbott, Milner, Brady, Huish, Matthews, and Kingston, Cadets.

On the 21st of September the *Atlas*, Capt. Clifton, and the *Potton*, Capt. Wellbank, ran aground, and it was feared both ships would be lost. Subsequent accounts state that the *Potton* had, however, been got off, with little damage. The *Atlas* had run up the Hog Creek, but the water rose above the hatches, running past the Creek eleven to twelve knots an hour, so that they could not get out the cargo. The *Potton* had got part of the Company's mait on board. In addition to these, several ships had been lost or damaged in the river Hoogly.

The Hon. Company's ship *Farquharson* arrived at the Cape the 28th January, from China; and on the 20th do. fell in with the *Thalia*, Munro, from Batavia, in distress for want of men; took her in tow off Algoa Bay, but was obliged to cast her off, from stress of weather, with five men belonging to the *Farquharson* on board.

DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

*. The Appendix to be placed at the end of the Vol. immediately before the Index.

APPENDIX.

DESIROUS of placing on record, for future reference when necessary, a complete History of the late Discussions in India respecting the Freedom of the Press ; and, at the same time, unwilling to intrude on the space which should be appropriated to subjects more calculated to interest the general reader,—we have thought it best to occupy a few additional sheets, by way of APPENDIX, with the Official Correspondence that follows. The Documents could not be given at separate intervals, and in a broken and disjointed manner, without materially lessening their interest, and diminishing their force ; nor would it be doing justice to the question to offer a mere *abstract* of their arguments. We shall leave to the enemies of a Free Press in India the task of presenting garbled and ex-parte statements, on this subject, to the world ; and, for ourselves, adopt the more impartial plan of giving, complete, the Letters which have been written on both sides ; leaving the reader to form his own conclusions on the facts and opinions therein developed and expressed. Under the system of tenure that prevailed in India, towards the close of Lord Hastings's Administration, it was deemed unsafe to publish even these official documents, at least in that country ; and when the permission of the Indian Government was asked for this purpose, no answer was made ; as if the members of it were unwilling to grant and yet ashamed to refuse so just and reasonable a demand. It was then determined to make a compilation of the letters, and print a few copies for private distribution, until a period should arrive when it might be safe to publish them to the world. That period, it is conceived, is now arrived ; and from their publication here, the British community will see the nature of the writings which the Indian Government thought it necessary to restrain in their Eastern dominions, and estimate rightly the slender grounds of their pretended alarm.

A brief Statement of the principal Events connected with the Question of Summary Transportation without Trial, as a Punishment for Offences through the Press in India. Compiled chiefly for the elucidation of certain points referred to in the Official Correspondence, which has recently passed between the Chief Secretary to Government and the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.—Printed exclusively for the private Information of the Editor's Friends ; but neither published nor sold.—August 13, 1821.

The impossibility of multiplying manuscript copies of the recent Official Correspondence, between the Chief Secretary to Government and the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, on the subject of Discussions through the Press, so as to satisfy the wishes of friends who feel interested in the question, has led to the Editor's adopting the present method of gratifying their desire, by printing a few copies for private use only. It is to be understood, therefore, by all those into whose hands such copies may fall, that they are to be regarded in the same light with written transcripts of the originals, and as Private Papers, not to be communicated without the writer's express permission.

To elucidate the question, and explain many references that are made in the course of the Correspondence alluded to, it has been thought advisable to reprint certain Documents bearing on the Freedom of the Indian Press, and to confine the Official Letters to those in

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which *Summary Transportation without Trial* is made the threatened punishment for alleged offences through the Press. Such cases as have been brought before the King's Court, to be tried as libel by the laws of the land, cannot of course be considered to bear on the main question of the Freedom of the Press in India, since abuses of the press must necessarily be subject in every free country to its legal judicial tribunals. The only legal proceedings yet entered into on this ground, have, moreover, been before made public in the newspapers, as Reports of the Court ; and the object of the present Pamphlet is merely to show the real state of the question as far as *Summary and forcible Banishment from the Country, without Conviction or Trial*, is considered the proper punishment for any act which the Government, without the intervention of any court, may deem objectionable.

As bearing particularly on this question of *Transportation without Trial*, which, what-

ever may have been the *spirit and intent* of the Act, may be enforced under its *letter*, for *other* offences than those through the Press, or indeed without the proscribed individual having committed any offence at all,—as well as to explain the references made to this subject in the last letter of this compilation, it has been thought advisable to print also the Correspondence that passed between Mr. Buckingham and the Bombay Government, before his connexion with the Indian Press, and before his entertaining the most distant idea of being connected with it. They will show, in the strongest light, that *Arbitrary Transportation* at the mere will of the Government, (or “*Transmission*,” as a distinguished Advocate for the exercise of this extraordinary power has gently termed it,) may be legally enforced on an individual, without his having done any thing that should justly subject an Englishman to such hardship and ignominy; though its inflicting the very same loss and punishment on *Innocent and unoffending* persons, which the laws of England would adjudge to the *guilty* only, cannot be doubted.

After the Correspondence with the Government of Bombay on the question of *Transportation without Trial*, will be introduced the following Documents, illustrative of the state of public opinion at Madras, namely:—

1. Extracts from the Speeches of Sir Samuel Toller, the Company's Advocate General, the Honourable Colonel Stanhope, and Mr. Staveland, at the Meeting at Madras, convened in May 1819, for the purpose of voting an Address to Lord Hastings; the Extracts being confined to those portions that speak of his Lordship's emancipation of the Indian Press.

2. Extract from the Address of the Inhabitants of Madras, read by Major Blacker, at the Government House in Calcutta, on the 24th of July 1819.

3. Extract from the reply of Lord Hastings to the Address from the Inhabitants of Madras.

As Preliminary Documents, these have been thought sufficient to show the general sentiments of the British community at Madras, on the value and importance of a Free Press, and the explicit views of the Marquess of Hastings as cordially agreeing with their own. The sentiments of the British community of Bombay, and the views of its present distinguished Governor (the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone,) on that subject, may be gathered from the fact of his making the removal of the Censorship at that Presidency almost the first act of his Government. The sentiments of the great majority of the British community under this Presidency have always corresponded to those of their countrymen at Bombay and Madras, and remain, it is believed, unchanged; * so

that the general voice of India in praise of a Free Press, is in unison with that of the distinguished Nobleman who pronounced its high eulogium to his fellow-subjects here, and with the praise of whose magnanimity for this act, the whole of Europe has resounded wherever a Free Press was known, while our Transatlantic brethren have echoed back from their shores the praises with which England was filled, on the present Freedom of the Press in India, as compared with its Slavery in former days.

To reprint all that has been written on this subject would be to republish nearly every Number of the Calcutta Journal for the last three years; but it may serve as an indication of how strongly and steadily the current of general feeling has run in the same channel with that of the Editor and the Supporters of that Paper, to state, that standing alone as it has done—the only zealous and determined Advocate of Free Discussion, the only channel for the full, fair, and free exercise of Public Opinion, and the only instance of reducing to practice the maxims avowed by the Governor General as those by which a Free Press should be directed,—several of its most violent Opponents have, one after the other, disappeared from the field. The few that remain with any respectable circulation, have been compelled to abandon their opposition; and the two that now continue it are as low in the public estimation as they can well descend, while the circulation and the popularity of the *Calcutta Journal* has increased from its first establishment, is still increasing, and rises over every obstacle, only because of its firm adherence to these points. As it set out with the advocacy of Freedom of Opinion, so it has continued uniformly to maintain what it first professed; and neither the hope of reward, nor the fear of punishment—the prospect of gain, nor the dread of ruin—the smiles of the few, nor the neglect of the many—nothing, in short, but an honest conviction and a conscientious belief, could ever prevail on its Editor to profess any other sentiments than those which have uniformly been expressed by him, and will be uniformly maintained as long as the Liberty of the Press shall be left to us in India, and he may be spared to exercise it.

The Documents before alluded to will be given in the order in which they are enumerated, and be followed by the Article that drew forth the displeasure of the Governor General in Council for a supposed unjust insinuation on the Government of Madras, with the Correspondence arising out of this; and closed with the Article that occasioned the displeasure of the Government, as being supposed to contain insinuations of disrespect towards the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, with the

* The Proceedings, Speeches, Resolutions, &c. of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on all Public Occasions when they have met in large bodies, sufficiently evince the tone of general feeling,

which is indeed singularly strong and decided in favour of a Free Press, for a society of which at least one half is composed of persons serving the Government in various capacities.

Correspondence that arose out of this also. No comment will be appended to either, as the object of this compilation is not to make an Appeal to the Public, nor to pronounce an opinion on the merits of the case, but simply to put such of the Friends of the Editor and of the Press, as have an anxious wish to be informed on the subject, in possession of all the Documents that have a real bearing on the question of *Transportation without Trial*, as a Punishment to be inflicted on what may be deemed by the Government an improper use of the Liberty of the Press, and a violation of the proper bounds of Free Discussion; or indeed whatever else may be objectionable to their views and wishes; since the exercise of this power is not defined or limited to specific offences, but is wholly dependent on their discretion, and subservient to their mere will.

To begin with the Bombay Case, in the order of enumeration.—The present Editor of the Calcutta Journal, Mr. Buckingham, being at Bombay in the year 1815, and in command of a new ship, to which he was appointed within a few weeks after his arrival, while sitting out for a voyage to China, the subjoined Correspondence occurred between the Honourable Company's Solicitor, the Chief Secretary to Government, the Governor in Council, and himself:—

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM.

Sir,—I have received the orders of Government, to call upon you to give security to proceed to England in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood, that you have no licence or authority to remain in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Your obedient Servant,

J. H. STEPHENSON,

May 10, 1815.

Company's Solicitor.

To FRANCIS WARDEN, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,—Having been called upon by Mr. J. H. Stephenson, the Honourable Company's Solicitor, to give security for my proceeding to England in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that I am provided with no licence or authority to remain in India, I beg leave to lay before you a brief outline of the peculiar circumstances which led to my visiting this country, both with a view to account for my being unprovided with such licence, as well as to ground a hope of receiving the indulgence allowed to be exercised by the Government in granting special licences until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, as explained in the new Act of 53 Geo. 3. cap. 155. sec. 37.

In the month of April, 1813, long before the new Act was passed, I sailed from Portsmouth for the Mediterranean, in company with the *Stirling Castle*, on board of which Lord Moira

was embarked for India, and proceeded from thence to Malta with the intention of settling there; but being prevented from landing by the existence of the plague, I was compelled to proceed on to Smyrna, and soon afterwards to visit Egypt, where a mission to this country was proposed to me for the purpose of forming a commercial connexion between the most respectable British house in Alexandria and Cairo, and the mercantile establishment of Mr. John Leckie of this place.

After a considerable sacrifice of time and money, I quitted Egypt on a voyage to Bombay, under the immediate patronage of Colonel Missett, the British Resident, and Mr. Peter Lee, the British Consul there, by both of whom I was furnished with letters of introduction and recommendation, it being unknown to them as well as to myself at that time what were likely to be the restrictive clauses in the new Charter, which had not then reached that country; and the general anticipation being that former obstructions as to visiting India would be removed, and greater facilities granted by it to the industry and honourable views of such of his Majesty's subjects as might be disposed to engage in the trade of the East, particularly through channels like that of the Red Sea, which, if not occupied by British subjects, would in times of peace inevitably fall into the hands of foreign merchants.

On my arrival here, my first endeavours were to ascertain what were the necessary steps to be taken to avoid the slightest suspicion of my intentions being clandestine, when I accordingly reported myself personally to Mr. Goodwin, the Superintendent of Police, and by him was taken to the Right Honourable the Governor, to whom I disclosed with frankness the train of circumstances which led to my voyage, and the object it had in view.

It has unfortunately happened that from the great length of my passage down the Red Sea, my arrival here was at a moment when some general commercial changes as well as alterations in the private views of Mr. Leckie, to whom I came particularly addressed, had induced him to abandon his first intentions, so that I remained here almost without any positively determined object, until under these circumstances an offer has been made to me on certain conditions, by Mohammed Ali Khan, the agent of the Imam of Muscat, of the command of one of his vessels, destined for the China trade, a station for which I am qualified by nearly seven years' experience, as chief officer and commander of different British ships to America, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean.

As then, Sir, a long train of expenditure, losses, and disappointments, have rendered me incapable of returning to England immediately without absolute ruin to all my prospects, and without involving also the want and suffering of a dependent family; since, too, I have neither deserted the service of

his Majesty, nor of the Honourable Company, nor have the remotest intention of interfering with their exclusive privileges, nor belong at all to the description of persons against which the restrictive clauses of the Act seem chiefly to be directed, nor have manifested the most distant wish to evade the orders of Government; I have to beg that you will solicit for me the indulgence of a special licence to remain in India, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, according to the power vested in the local governments by the 37th section of the Act before alluded to, in order to enable me to accept the employment thus offered to me in the service of the Imam of Muscat, whose maritime commands cannot, perhaps, be more advantageously disposed of for the interests of Great Britain than by being placed in the hands of her own subjects, rather than those of France or other foreign powers.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your obedient servant,
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, May 12, 1815.

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM.

Public Department.

Sir,—In reply to your letter dated the 12th instant, I am directed to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council cannot, consistently with a due attention to the instructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, accede to your application to be permitted to remain in India until their pleasure shall be known. I have the honour to be, &c.,
F. WARDEN, Chief Sec. to Gov.

Bombay, May 17, 1815.

To the Right Hon. Sir EVAN NEPEAN, Bart. President and Governor in Council, Bombay.

Right Honourable Sir,—I have had the honour to receive, in a letter from the public Secretary, dated the 17th instant, information that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council could not, consistently with a due attention to the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors, accede to my application to be permitted to remain in India until their pleasure should be known.

When I addressed the Government through its public Secretary, in my letter of the 12th instant, in answer to the Honourable Company's Solicitor's demand of a security for my returning to England, and stated the grounds on which I ventured to hope for the indulgence of my being suffered to remain here until the pleasure of the Court of Directors upon my case should be known, I was induced to believe that such indulgence, from the nature of the circumstances under which it was solicited, would not have been denied to me.

On a reference to the new Charter, the first time of my seeing which has been since my arrival in this country, I am more and more confirmed in my hopes that your Right Honourable Board will yet, on reconsidering my case,

conceive it to be one of those which were in the contemplation of the British Legislature, when the provisional clauses of its last Act were framed.—You will pardon me, therefore, Right Honourable Sir, if, induced by the anxiety natural to my situation, I take the liberty of bringing before you an extract from it, in the words of the Act itself.

“ Provided nevertheless, that any Governor General, or Governor, of the said Presidencies, for extraordinary reasons, to be entered upon the Minutes of Council, may authorize by special licence, the residence of any subject of his Majesty in any place or places under the government of such Presidency, until the pleasure of the said Court of Directors shall be known in their behalf; and that such special licence shall be deemed and taken to be of the same force and effect as a licence of and from the said Court of Directors, until notice of the pleasure of the said Court to the contrary shall have been given to such person, by delivery thereof to such person, or by leaving the same at his last place of abode, or by publication thereof in the Gazette of the Presidency by which such special licence shall have been granted: provided that a copy of such licence, and of the reasons for granting the same, accompanied with an application for a licence from the said Court of Directors, shall be transmitted to the said Court of Directors forthwith after the granting thereof.” 53 Geo. 3. cap. 153. sec. 37.

Had it not been in the contemplation of the British Parliament that cases might arise in which the individual being found in India without a licence might be blameless, and worthy of receiving a special one from the local governments, until the reasons for his being so unprovided and a statement of his case could be known to the Honourable Court of Directors at home, no such clause as the one just quoted could have been necessary. I have ventured to presume that my own is a case of that description, and I am not without a hope that your Honourable Board may still be induced to regard it in that light.

Having quitted England long before the new Act for the regulation of Indian affairs had passed, and without having, at that time, the remotest intention of visiting India, my departure from England without such licence is perfectly accounted for. At the same time, such facilities are granted by the New Charter for all unobjectionable persons obtaining licences, that it can scarcely be doubted but that an application for that purpose would easily procure one, as will be seen by a reference to the thirty-third section of the said Charter.

My original determination to visit this country was not even formed until I was already midway between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions, and was then brought about by a series of losses and disappointments which compelled me to seek for some immediate employment; and undertaken for the accomplishment

of a particular object, without a view to fixed residence, and in the contemplation of a temporary stay only for that purpose.

That object has, however, been defeated, by the length of my voyage, and consequent lateness of my arrival; a voyage, in the course of which, besides the sufferings and sacrifices that I have sustained on the way, the small portion of what remained from my ruinous losses, all arising from a plague which no human prudence could foresee, no human skill avert, has been altogether expended.

But for the generous assistance of Colonel Missett, the British Resident in Egypt, my voyage from that country to Bombay could not have been undertaken; and I am unwilling to suppose that such a man, so long holding a public situation connected with the Company's service, and who has acquitted himself of its duties with so much credit to himself, and satisfaction to his Honourable Employers, would have patronized me in an undertaking which he believed to be at all improper, or likely to interfere in the remotest way with the Hon. Company's interests.

Finding myself disappointed in the particular object for which I visited this country, and on which I rested all my future hopes of independence, I naturally looked around me for such means of procuring an honourable subsistence as might offer themselves to the industry and qualifications of any honest man. Experienced in my own profession, I sought no other favour than the power of exercising it for the maintenance of myself and my family, for whom I have been two years labouring in vain. The testimonies which I was enabled to produce of my capacity, and the number of my recommendatory letters, procured for me, and fortunately too as I then thought, the offer of the command of a new ship in the China trade, belonging to the Imam of Muscat, a service for which a partial knowledge of the Arabic language, acquired during my stay in Egypt and Arabia, had still more particularly qualified me.

The rejection, on the part of Government, of my application for permission to hold the command of this ship, belonging to the independent prince of a country (Arabia) to which British subjects can go without any licence whatsoever (being out of the Company's limits), will, if persisted in, oblige me to abandon the only hope that remains of recovering the serious losses which I have incurred by unforeseen and inevitable calamities, of placing me in a situation to meet the claims existing against me as a husband and a father, and of enabling me again to fill my station as a useful and honourable member of society.

It is not for me, Right Honourable Sir, to offer an opinion on the nature of the private instructions of the Honourable Company, on which the refusal to accede to my request is grounded; but surely it cannot be denied that it is a case of peculiar, I would almost say, incredible hardship, after having travelled through

countries universally deemed barbarous and savage, and meeting in them kindness, hospitality, and liberal treatment, to find on my treading on what I looked forward to as an almost native shore, and mixing again with my countrymen, all my hopes of protection and encouragement on that account entirely destroyed.

Through all my travels hitherto, the circumstance of my being an Englishman has obtained for me facilities, honours, and distinctions; until, on my arrival here, where it would have been expected that such a privilege would have operated still more powerfully in my favour, I regret to find that the very circumstance of my being an Englishman, is the heaviest charge which can be laid to my account. Had I been a Frenchman, an American, or even a Turk, seeking refuge among foreigners and strangers, I should have been unmolested in my labours and pursuits, and permitted to remain in any part of British India; but, simply because I am a British subject, a title which on all other occasions is the best and proudest claim to indulgence and favour, I am rendered liable to penalties, to hardships, and even ruin, for daring to be found in British territories, and that too, without my being considered guilty of any crime, without even the imputation of a fault.

It is well known that Arab ships throughout the Eastern seas, have been commanded both by Frenchmen and Americans, who have, in such situations, acquired a knowledge of the local navigation, which has fitted them for the boldest enterprises in privateers, and enabled them to do extensive injury to our commerce thereby. Indeed, from the ignorance of the native captains, no Arab ship is sent upon a voyage of any difficulty without an European commander; and it must be evident, on national and politically commercial grounds, how important it is to secure these commands in the hands of British rather than of foreign mariners, for the double purpose of increasing the respectability and influence of the British character with all the Native Powers of the East, and of preventing the subjects of nations always likely, sooner or later, to become our enemies, from holding stations which will often enable them to counteract us, and give them opportunities of acquiring such information as may be of the highest importance to the prosecution of their designs.

I have reached this country through toils and dangers, fatigue and expenditure, no small portion of which has been incurred and suffered in the prosecution of researches, honourable, I hope, to the undertaker of them; beneficial, I would fain believe, to mankind; and likely to be of service perhaps to my country; circumstances which, of themselves, are in every other nation admitted as claims to some indulgent considerations on the individual's behalf.

I have found a station suited to my capacity and my wishes, one which I hope I am qualified to fill with credit to myself, satisfaction to my employers, and advantage to British interests;

and in that station I am desirous of honestly employing my industry and my skill. It cannot be, surely, that because I am unfortunate, when I am selected as worthy of an employment in which these misfortunes may be ameliorated, and when I am desirous of avoiding all offence either to private interests or to public laws, by industriously earning a subsistence, that I should be thought to deserve to suffer all the loss of time, and painful mortification of a charter-party voyage, after which I should be placed on shore in England to return to my family after two years toils and absence, with disappointed hopes, with broken spirits, and with empty hands? I still trust, that the Justice, if not the liberality of the Government will deliver me from such a calamity.

In a situation of such inexpressible anxiety, and threatening such ruin to all my prospects, I shall be excused by the very nature of the dilemma to which I now find myself reduced, if I claim some merit from my share in the prosecution of those plans for extending our knowledge of foreign lands, which have been considered as forming one of the peculiar glories of the present reign. When I had what I deemed the good fortune to extend my journey above the cataracts of the Nile, in a tract hitherto but little visited and imperfectly described, I did imagine, when affording my contribution towards African discovery, (an object which had been encouraged with such eagerness and at such expense by the most eminent of our statesmen, and particularly by the distinguished nobleman who now presides over the British empire in India,) that I had perhaps established some slight claims to the countenance of my countrymen in Asia.

Had there been the slightest existing cause for the exertion of the power of transporting me to England, from the discovery of any thing dishonourable or improper in my conduct or my views, or could I believe that my removal from hence would be of the remotest benefit to mankind or to my country, I should have submitted without a murmur to the laws that banished me; but, conscious as I am that my views are as laudable as my conduct is irreproachable, and that my removal would plunge innocent and deserving beings into almost irretrievable misery, without benefitting a single individual, I am still willing to believe, from the known liberality of the Government here, that it will yet see reason to refrain from carrying so harsh, and, to me, so ruinous a measure into execution.

Permit me then again, Right Honourable Sir, to throw myself on your notice, entreating you yet to consider whether my case be not one of those for which the British Parliament has made provision by the thirty-seventh section of its Act, in enabling the local governments to exercise their discretion thereon; and whether my present removal to England can be of the slightest private or public benefit; since, as my character is unobjectionable, and my purposes lawful, my claim may be expected there to be

heard and granted at last, according to the provisions made for that purpose in the thirty-third section of the Act already referred to.

In the mean time, permit me to state, that I am not only willing, but extremely desirous that the circumstances of my case on which I ground my hopes of indulgence, should be laid before the Honourable Court of Directors for their opinion and pleasure thereon; and that I shall be prepared to accompany a representation of it, with such references to the most respectable merchants in London, as shall prove to them the truth of my statement, and establish the purity of my character and reputation; under all which considerations, I cannot but continue to indulge a hope that one of the great objects of the New Charter to encourage the labours of upright and honourable British subjects in India, will not be defeated, by refusing me the power to exercise my own industry for the maintenance of myself and my family, and that your Honourable Board will yet see reason to permit my continuance in a Command, from which both private and public benefits might accrue, without the probability of its being productive of a single evil.

In the event of my being permitted to remain in India until an application can be made on my behalf at home for a licence from the Honourable Court, I shall of course be prepared to give the requisite securities for a compliance with their decision, in quitting the limits of their territories immediately on my receiving their orders so to do.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. R. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, May 26, 1815.

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM.

Judicial Department.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 26th instant, and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council can see no better grounds for permitting you to remain in India until an application can be made for a licence from the Honourable Court of Directors, than in favour of any other individual who may think fit to come to this Presidency without the permission of the Honourable Court, and that the Governor in Council cannot, therefore, rescind the orders which have been issued for ensuring your return to England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. WARDEN, Chief Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, June 1, 1815.

To FRANCIS WARDEN, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter, dated the 1st instant, containing the rejection of my application for a special licence from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, and continuing the former orders of the Government for my removal.

Submitting, therefore, to such decision on

my case, I beg leave to state my intention of quitting India as speedily as possible.

Disappointed as I have been in my hopes of accomplishing the secondary object of my entering into the country maritime service, I am desirous of returning to Egypt by way of the Red Sea and Suez, from whence I came, for the purpose of closing my concerns in that country.

As every moment's delay will now be of material consequence to my own affairs, as well as inimical to the wish of the Government for my speedy departure; and as no opportunities can offer direct from hence to the Red Sea, until the return of the fair monsoon, or for several months hence, while from Bengal vessels are constantly departing, I have to beg that you will solicit for me the permission of the Honourable Board to seize the first opportunity of going round to Bengal, for the purpose of prosecuting my voyage from thence to Egypt without delay.

To remove all possible doubt from the minds of the Government as to my intention of wishing to evade its decision, I am desirous that the reasons of my visiting Bengal should be stated on the face of my passport for that purpose, and am prepared to offer all the security that can be required, from respectable persons here, for my reporting myself to the proper officers on my arrival in Bengal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, June 6, 1815.

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM.

Judicial Department.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 6th instant, and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, being under the necessity of enforcing the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, for your return to England, cannot allow you the permission you have solicited to proceed to Egypt by way of Bengal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. WARDEN, Chief Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, June 12, 1815.

The decision of the Bombay Government being now final, and leaving no hope of its being set aside, preparations were made for my going to England as Master of the *Wellesley*, a new 71 gun ship just built at Bombay, that birth being offered, and gladly accepted to avoid the inconveniences of a charter-party passage. Just as this arrangement was settled, a cruiser was suddenly ordered to prepare for a voyage to Mocha with Government despatches, and this offering another opportunity for addressing the Government for permission to go by that way direct to Egypt, personal application was made to the Chief Secretary, (whose kindness throughout the whole of this painful and harassing period was beyond all praise,) and the following notes passed on that occasion.

To Sir EVAN NEPEAN, Bart.

My dear Sir Evan,—As the Prince of Wales is proceeding to Mocha, I conclude there can be no objection to Mr. Buckingham being allowed to return to Egypt. He has concerns to settle there, and is desirous of returning hence, as you have not allowed him to go via Bengal.

Yours, faithfully,

F. WARDEN.

Bombay, June 10, 1815.

Sir EVAN NEPEAN'S REPLY.

Dear Warden,—I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham's returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route.

But I have an objection to the allowing him to go to Bengal, or to any other part of India; having determined to discourage all attempts which may be made by persons to settle in India without the licence of the Company.

To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection. On the contrary, he appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man, and I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's licence, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea.

Yours, &c.

E. NEPEAN.

This voyage being inevitable, was performed accordingly, and was attended with the breaking up of all the prospects opened to the banished individual, from his projected voyage to China, and ultimate connexions with India, as well as a considerable loss of time and money, and the exposure to all the risks and sufferings which followed in its train.

In the year 1817, Mr. Buckingham returned, however, to Bombay; and the favourable opinion of Sir Evan Nepean having been affixed to the correspondence sent home to the Court of Directors, added to a consideration of the hardship of the case itself, and the influence of some friends in England, procured for him a licence to remain in India; which, being forwarded to Bombay, removed all former obstacles, and he accordingly succeeded to the command of the same ship from which he was displaced, the owner having pledged his re-appointment if ever he should return, and in the interval employed her under another commander in three highly lucrative voyages to Canton, the profits of which, but for his banishment under the statute, would, at that peculiarly favourable period for trade, have laid the foundation of an ample fortune.

In the year 1818, the ship came round to Bengal, and being about to be employed on a projected voyage to Zanzibar, for the purpose of embarking slaves under the cover of the Arab flag, the command was resigned, and the duties of a seaman relinquished for those of an Editor, which were undertaken with diffidence and reluctance, as being wholly new, and exer-

cised for a short period of probation on two Papers of the Presidency, then in other hands.

Mr. Buckingham's efforts in those papers being generally approved, they were purchased, with their copyright and materials, and the present Calcutta Journal established in their stead, under his sole management and direction. As no communication with Government had been deemed necessary in establishing this paper, no rules or regulations were transmitted officially to the Editor, regarding the particular topics to be treated of in a public manner; the general impression being that the press was free, and subject to no restraints but those of the law of England as at home. Accordingly the utmost desirable latitude of discussion was indulged in by all parties; the most violent opposition was shown by all the papers of the Presidency to the Calcutta Journal; and its Editor, as a new candidate for public favour, was abused and traduced with a coarseness of personality, and a total disregard of truth, proportioned to the progress which he made in the public estimation; the bitterness of their animosity being increased by their considering that his gain could only be promoted by their loss. As, however, all parties were allowed the freest exercise of their respective animadversions, no idea remained of the press being otherwise than free, and it was conceived that a court of law was to be henceforth the only tribunal for the judgment of its offences.

That this was an erroneous conclusion, was, however, soon shown, by the receipt of the following letter from Government:—

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM, Editor of the
Calcutta Journal.

Sir, *Judicial Department.*

1.—The attention of Government having been drawn to certain paragraphs, published in the Calcutta Journal, of Wednesday, the 26th ult. I am directed by his Excellency, the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, to communicate to you the following remarks regarding them.

2.—The paragraphs in question are as follows:—

“*Madras.*—We have received a letter from Madras of the 10th instant, written on deep black-edged mourning post, of considerable breadth, and apparently made for the occasion, communicating, as a piece of melancholy and afflicting intelligence, the fact of Mr Elliott's being confirmed in the government of that Presidency for three years longer!!

“It is regarded at Madras as a public calamity, and we fear that it will be viewed in no other light throughout India generally. An anecdote is mentioned in the same letter, regarding the exercise of the censorship of the press, which is worthy of being recorded, as a fact, illustrative of the callousity to which the human heart may arrive; and it may be useful, humiliating as it is to the pride of our species, to show what men, by giving loose to the prin-

ciples of despotism over their fellows, may at length arrive at.

“It will be in the recollection of our readers, that a very beautiful and pathetic letter, from the late lamented Princess Charlotte to her mother, written just previous to her death, was printed in the Calcutta Journal about a month ago. This was much admired at Madras, as it had been here; and the editors of the public prints there, very laudably desiring to add every possible interest to their columns, had inserted this letter, but it was struck out by the pen of the Censor, (whom the public of course exonerate, since it is known to all by whom it is necessarily directed) and the only reason that could be assigned for its suppression, was, that it placed the character of the Princess Charlotte, and her attachment to her mother, in too amiable a light, and tended to criminate, by inference, those who were necessary to their unnatural separation, of which party the friends of the Director of the Censor of the press unfortunately were!!”

3.—The Governor General in Council observes, that this publication is a wanton attack upon the Governor of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, in which his continuance in office is represented as a public calamity, and his conduct in administration asserted to be governed by despotie principles, and influenced by unworthy motives.

4.—The Governor General in Council refrains from enlarging upon the injurious effect, which publications of such a nature are calculated to produce in the due administration of the affairs of this country. It is sufficient to inform you, that he considers the paragraphs above quoted to be highly offensive and objectionable in themselves, and to amount to a violation of the obvious spirit of the instructions communicated to the Editors of newspapers, at the period when this Government was pleased to permit the publication of newspapers, without subjecting them to the previous revisions of the officers of Government.

5.—The Governor General in Council regrets to observe, that this is not the only instance in which the Calcutta Journal has contained publications at variance with the spirit of the instructions above referred to. On the present occasion, the Governor General in Council does not propose to exercise the powers vested in him by law; but I am directed to acquaint you, that by any repetition of a similar offence, you will be considered to have forfeited all claim to the countenance and protection of this Government, and will subject yourself to be proceeded against under the 36th section of the 53d Geo. 3. cap. 155.

I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, June 18, 1819.

The following is the Circular of Government, addressed to all the editors of newspapers in Bengal, now first officially brought to the notice

of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, as a guide, for the regulation of the press:—

(CIRCULAR.)

To the Editor of the ———.

Sir,—His Excellency the Governor General in Council having been pleased to revise the existing regulations regarding the control exercised by the Government over the newspapers, I am directed to communicate to you, for your information and guidance, the following Resolutions, passed by his Lordship in Council.

The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:—

1st. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the Local Administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

2d. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

3d. The republication, from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

4th. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society.

Relying on the prudence and discretion of the editors, for their careful observance of these Rules, the Governor General in Council is pleased to dispense with their submitting their papers to an officer of Government previous to publication. The editors will however be held personally accountable for whatever they may publish in contravention of the Rules now communicated, or which may be otherwise at variance with the general principles of British law, as established in this country, and will be proceeded against in such manner as the Governor General in Council may deem applicable to the nature of the offence, for any deviation from them.

The editors are further required to lodge in the Chief Secretary's Office one copy of every newspaper, periodical or extra, published by them respectively.

I am, &c.

J. ADAM, Chief Sec. to Gov.

Council Chamber, Aug. 12, 1818.

After much consultation with the best informed of all parties, and yielding to certain considerations, urged by many among them with great force, accompanied by facts and arguments, which a respect and delicacy towards others preclude the more explicit mention of in this place, the following reply was drawn up

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and sent in by the Editor, which, however satisfied he then was, as to the article adverted to being such as might be published of any man in power in England, regarding whom such opinions were sincerely and perhaps justly entertained, he had the less reluctance in doing, from his having acted under the erroneous impression that then almost universally prevailed regarding the freedom of the Indian press. The following was the reply adverted to:—

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, expressing the displeasure of the Governor General in Council, at the publication of certain paragraphs in the Calcutta Journal, of the 26th ultimo, reflecting on the character of Mr. Elliott in his public capacity as Governor of Madras.

I shall not presume to intrude on the notice of his Lordship in Council, any observations tending to the extenuation of my conduct in this or in any previous instance, as departing from the spirit of the instructions issued to the editors of the public journals in India, at the period they were exempted from the necessity of previously submitting their publications to the revision of the Secretary to Government.

I shall rather confine myself to observing, that I sincerely regret my having given cause to his Lordship in Council to express his displeasure, and the more so, as there is not an individual among the numerous subjects under his benign Government, who is more sensible than myself of the unprecedented liberality which has marked his Lordship's administration in general, and the immense obligation which all the friends of the press owe to the measure of the revised Regulations in particular.

The very marked indulgence which his Lordship in Council is pleased to exercise towards me, in remitting on this occasion the exercise of the powers vested in him by law, will operate as an additional incentive to my future observance of the spirit of the instructions issued before the commencement of the Calcutta Journal, to the editors of the public prints of India, in August 1818, of which I am now fully informed, and which I shall henceforth make my guide.

I am, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, June 22, 1819.

Notwithstanding this intimation to the Calcutta Journal, it is worthy of observation, that nearly all the other papers of the Presidency continued to violate daily, with impunity, some one or other of the prohibitions of the Circular given above. Discussions on the measures of the Indian Government were published here from original sources, and republished from the papers at home, and in none more fre-

quently than in the Gazette of the Government itself, which being, "published by authority," might be regarded as a safe example to follow. That paper was equally remarkable also for its containing at the same time, weekly breaches of the 2d and 3d Regulations, often in the same page; for after the publication of missionary accounts, showing that measures were in active operation for introducing among the natives, as far as practicable, "a change in their religious opinions," it was common to see a column or two filled with "private scandal, and personal remarks, tending to create dissensions in society." These, it is true, were almost wholly directed against the character of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal; but as no edict had yet passed to place him beyond the pale of the law, it could not, in the eyes of an impartial government, have been the less a breach of their regulations, whether directed against the humblest individual in society, or against the first Member of Council; though doubts may reasonably be entertained, whether such a privileged personage could be abused by half a dozen papers, each daily endeavouring to outrun the other in this department of their labours, and the Editors remain unmolested. Be this as it may, their daily breach of each and all of these regulations, strengthened the general impression that they were enacted for cases of extreme urgency only, and that for all ordinary purposes of free and impartial discussion, they were a dead letter.

The press was considered free; and Lord Hastings was regarded as its liberator. This impression was deep and general; and all India felt and acknowledged the value of such a boon, because they saw it practically exercised. This conviction led to the marked stress laid on this act of his Lordship's administration, by the British inhabitants of Madras, at which Presidency the press still continued subject to a censorship; and in the meeting, convened at that place in May 1819, for the purpose of voting an Address of Congratulation to the Governor General, more was said in praise of this act, than of any other that distinguished his Lordship's brilliant administration.

The following are portions of the speeches made on that occasion at Madras, which were read, admired, and cordially assented to throughout India, because they were believed to be founded in truth, and because the press was deemed in every respect free, and subject only to the restraints of British law.

Extract from the Speech of Sir Samuel Toller, Advocate General at Madras.*

The wisest political arrangements have been made for the public safety, and to prevent the recurrence of those dreadful scenes. The Go-

* For the whole of the proceedings of this animated and brilliant meeting, the eloquent speeches, and the enthusiastic cheers of the assembly, the reader is referred to the Calcutta Journal, of June 17, 1819.

vernor General, in his Answer to the Address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, has, with a manly frankness, developed the motives of his policy, and has appealed to the public mind for its rectitude; and I am persuaded that he has not appealed in vain. A government, when conducted with wisdom and patriotism, has nothing to conceal. It is involved in no mysteries; the clearer and the stronger the light in which its principles and proceedings are presented to the public eye, the more it will be applauded. (Hear, hear.)

Extract from the Speech of the Honourable Colonel Stanhope.

It was my intention to have entered cursorily on the policy of the late war, but this subject has been handled in so masterly a manner by Sir Samuel Toller, that I do not now consider it necessary to dilate on it. Had I done so, I should have endeavoured to have proved that the dangers of extended rule, of being lost in expansion, or rather in corruption,—evils dreadful to contemplate, had been diminished by the late war. This contest had enabled us to consolidate our power, to strengthen the heart of our empire, and to shorten, by straightening our line of frontier. It had made us sound at home, and had given us power to repel invasion. In place of robbery, extortion, and oppression, order had been established. order, the source of justice, freedom, and all that is great in government. In a word, it had enabled us to shake off a vicious, and to assume an honest control. Now good government, however extended, constitutes strength, not danger, not decline. Whereas, had government, however indirectly and sily exercised, leads on to ruin, perhaps to the parent, perhaps to the dependent state, possibly to the injury of both. By ruin, I mean not loss of wealth and dominion, but loss of character, and British pre-eminence. Hence, I conclude, that the greater the extent of an empire, the more scrupulously should it be governed.

I have thrown out this hint by the way, and shall now proceed to the discussion of a subject of paramount importance, and which has not been touched upon. I allude to the suppression of the censorship of the press at Calcutta. This generous act of power should, I think, be referred to in your Address. The establishment of a free press in Asia is, in my estimation, the most magnanimous act of the Marquess of Hastings's administration, and is that which will come most home to the bosoms of high-minded men. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, you well know what large powers are vested in a Governor General, and how few men there are who have strength of soul to control their passions under so vast and tempting a liberty. We are told, indeed, that prosperity is the great corrupter of the human heart; and history confirms the apothegm. Her instructive page, however, nay, even our own times, furnishes us with some few exceptions

to this degrading rule. He surely is a noble exception to it, who, returned from triumph, in the pride and zenith of power, does away with the censorship of the press, and makes that press a censor on his own government. (Great applause.)

Permit me now to say a few words on the nature of a free press. If, as we are told, the understanding be the noblest faculty of the soul, it is wise, it is our duty, to cultivate and improve it. This can only be done by consulting our own and other men's thoughts. Now, since these thoughts are chiefly communicated by means of language or writing, the usefulest privilege of man is to speak and to write freely. The right of speech is a great law of nature, which is the law of nations when applied to states, and no human law should contradict it. Like speech, the press too is but another means of giving currency to our thoughts; and like it, analogously reasoning, is the common right of all. "God gives us reason and freedom to choose; why then should human governments effect a rigorous contrary to his divine ordinances?"

The great objection made to the liberty of the press, is its licentiousness, or the facility afforded of abusing it. The same objection may be made to speech, or to religion, to free-will, to locomotion, or to any other of our liberties. But offences and crimes are subject to the scrutiny of judges, and to public opinion, which is the common law of society; and every breach of duty followed by a suitable punishment. There are who contend, that Government is brought into disrepute by a free press. Aye, bad government is, because truth pierces it to the heart; but a mild and just government fears not even slander. (Applause.) It courts truth, for truth is strong, and generally prevails over falsehood in a free encounter. Nay, I hold, that opinions though erroneous, when well canvassed and digested, tend to the ultimate advancement of truth. Montesquieu drives the argument further. "In a free nation," says he, "it is very often a matter of indifference, whether individuals reason well or ill; it is sufficient that they do reason; from hence springs that liberty which is a security from the effects of these reasonings."

A free press is said to be a general calumniator. No character then, however pure, exalted, or sacred, can escape its slanders. This is a heavy charge. A public calumniator! Is it not rather a public vindicator? What manly character is there that would not rather face an open attack than have his conduct tainted by insidious whispers? (Hear, hear.) Or who is he so low minded, and of so dastardly a spirit, that would not prefer even the certainty of being calumniated, to the bare chance of injuring his country's liberties?—(hear, hear)—a country distinguished and exalted above the famous common-wealths of antiquity, by a free press, and which owed her knowledge and her power, her freedom, civil and religious, mainly to that all-powerful engine.

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Staveley, Barrister at Law.

I was not fortunate enough to hear the speech of my learned friend. To all that has fallen from my honourable friend, who has just sat down, I give my full assent; and add my voice to his, in commendation of that freedom, than which, in my opinion, a greater blessing cannot be bestowed upon our Eastern empire. And, Sir, I know no law, no reason, no policy, why it should not be enjoyed to its fullest extent. (Hear.) I say, Sir, I know no law. There is none upon your statute-book, which restrains the liberty of the Indian press; I speak in the hearing of those who will correct me if I am wrong. I know no regulation; and they are present who can set me right, if I am in error. That there is no reason in such restraint, my honourable friend who has preceded me, has shown you fully; that there is no policy in it, I will prove to you before I finish. (Hear, hear.)

Of what nature is your empire here, and how is it maintained? Ask our Legislators of both Houses, who have made you laws to govern it. Ask your Directors; ask the public meetings of your Proprietors; ask your statesmen who have written, and poured forth their eloquence in its praise; and one and all, in the same words, will answer you, "Our empire in the East, is an empire of opinion; it is not, and never can be, an empire of force." (Hear, hear.) An empire of opinion, and that opinion not free! A kingdom erected upon thought, and men not free to think! It is an absurdity in language, as well as fact, which needs but to be stated, to carry its own refutation with it. It, indeed, you will admit, that your reign is a reign of force; that your dominion is a dominion by compulsion; I can have no hesitation to admit you some excuse for the enslavement of the mind and the restriction of thought: but if, as you desire, you would maintain your rule upon the proofs of your superior genius, and your excellence above all other nations, and over all, above those you govern, if you desire to reign within the hearts of your subjects, and govern by their affections, you must free their thought from restriction, and the expression of it from restraint. For, what improves intellect but the collision of mind? and what reconciles the mind to its rulers, but the proof that its rulers are occupied for its good? and how shall this be known, if the great avenues of knowledge are closed up? (Hear, hear.) And who are the people over whom you rule? Ages before our days of greatness, they were rich in historians, philosophers, and poets. Coeval with the days of a scarcely more refined antiquity in Europe, they had advanced as far as they, in the march of intellect and culture of mind. It is true, that their refinements, their strange abstract speculation, their redundant mythology, obscured their sounder and more profitable learning: but, still they were a people as far, if not further advanced in science and the arts of peace, than they were in those of war. (Hear.)

In those days there was no restraint upon their inquiries; all was soon before them from research and disquisition; and they had no limit but that of the powers of their own mind. Their Mohammedan conquerors came, and with them the persecutions for religion; but except that subject of religion, all others remained open as before; and to Mohammedans there was no deference. The rights of the Musselman sovereigns, their duties, their privileges, and their power over their people, are discussed as freely and as fairly in the books of their learned men, as the rights of ours are in our ancient commentaries upon our laws.

Look through the Institutes of Timour and Akbar, and is there one trace in them, one vestige of restraint? Their pages teem with encouragements to learning, with incitement of their subjects, to enlarge their minds, and amplify their knowledge; while, from their histories we learn, that while every act and speech of the monarch and his princes were recorded, to form a history of his reign; his foibles, his follies, and his weaknesses, were open to the satire of the poet and the wit of the household fool. (Hear.) Their colleges were crowded with men, who found advantage in the devotion of themselves to learning; and in their schools there seems to have been no restraint, which does not at this hour exist in full force in our own land. (Hear.)

I scruple not therefore to affirm, that the regions over which we rule, down to the arrival of the Europeans in the East, enjoyed a freedom as extensive as any part of Europe, before the invention of the press; for on the only means of circulating knowledge without type, on *written* books, there was no restriction. (Hear, hear.)

The art of printing has been eulogized as the greatest blessing which has ever been bestowed upon mankind; and we have been the introducers of this blessing to the East. But, Sir, while you confer a blessing on your people, is it wisdom to clog that blessing with a curse? (Hear, hear.) A free and unfettered press is indeed a blessing to mankind; but a fettered press, in the hands of a despotic monarch, as my honourable friend has told us truly, may become one of the greatest scourges with which the hand of power can be armed; one of the most dreadful engines of torture with which it can rack the mind. (Applause.)

And what are the arguments which they would oppose, to persuade us that it is unwise; "that our power would be endangered?" Sir, that argument was used against throwing open our trade; but hath that measure at all weakened us? Endangered? and by whom? But is nothing else still more endangered by restriction? Regicide France has tried, and in her Emperor we may read the fate of such control. He restrained the press, and interdicted it from all political discussion; he suppressed all truth, and bid it lie and flatter; daily, at his bidding, it vomited forth his slanders and false

hoods, measureless—and at what price did he buy the privilege to do all this? The morals of his people formed no portion of his care; religion formed no part of his scheme of government; he knew that the press, dammed up, must burst out somewhere; so he abandoned morality to profligates, and religion to the care of atheism. (Hear, hear, hear.)

And are we prepared to purchase restriction at such a price? It is not so: that I have been taught at home. The morality of our fathers was as carefully fenced round as their freedom; and their religion was dearer to them than both. And it is our serious business here, in a foreign land, to maintain ~~the~~ ^{our} country's character for the one, and exhibit the parity of the other, exceeding that of any other people of the earth. (Applause.)

"And to whom would you throw open your press?" To the public. "Pooh! there is no public!" Is there no public!? Who are you that hear me? Whose are the ears that listen thus? Whose are the eyes that are lighted up with pleasure? Whose are the hearts that beat in unison with mine?—Is there no public? Who hath won your empire? Who had raised your glory? Who hath established your dominion? Who hath eternalized your name? (Hear, hear, and great applause.) Sons of free men, descended from free forefathers, born in a free land, members of that free public, by whose voice our masters are, and will, and must be judged; from whom they have received their charters, for whose good they exist, upon whose breath they live, co-proprietors with them of all they are and have. And how, and when, and where, and wherefore, have we forfeited that freedom, and those rights? It cannot be our coming forth to serve our country in a foreign land that hath robbed us of those rights, and filched, in secret, that for which we prided us above all people of the earth. Oh! Sir, our country is not thus ungrateful nor inhuman to her sons. (Great applause.) Is there no public? Who hath administered your laws? Who hath dealt justice forth among so many millions? Who hath collected your revenue? Who hath carried on your commerce? Who hath consolidated your power, and put it almost beyond the reach of time and accident? Who, but the brothers of those men whose arm hath won it? Who, but the sons of the same forefathers? Who, but the members of the same British public? And can their filling these high offices, can their advancement to these high dignities, deprive their minds of energy, and their spirits of integrity? Because they are thought worthy to rule, where princes have ruled before, have they but that privilege, to which all slaves are free? the loss of which our great master, human nature, has described as the most abject state to which humiliation can descend—the power at will to utter or withhold their thought! (Applause.)

Is there no public? Who, when faction ran her tilt at him, and eloquence and genius, day

after day, poured forth upon him the deluge of their indignation at his supposed misrule; when the father of Indian statesmen stood before his country for acquittal or condemnation; what cheered his mind amid his trials, and enabled him to bear their taunts and insults? What, but the consciousness that he had done his duty; what, but the consoling voice of that Indian public whose existence has been denied? (Hear.) Sir, there is a public, that hath judged, and will judge; that hath condemned, and will condemn; that hath honoured, and will honour; that hath been feared, and will be feared; and none but he who fears it, will shrink from its investigation. Yes, Sir, there is a public; and he who first coined the phrase, all traitorous as it is, knew it and felt it to his inmost core, and mourned the truth of that which he had dared to deny. (Great applause.)

If you will have men upright, honest, and single in their dealings; full of those qualities which bind man to man in full and unreserved confidence; give them this freedom of discussion, and let the public be the judges of their acts. He whose motive is good, whose character is single, and his conduct open, needs not fear the strictest scrutiny; and for him who fears this free discussion, you cannot have a surer medicine to take away such fears in future. (Applause.)

Before I proceed, however, let me entreat that I may not be misunderstood, or imagined to do that which I should regret exceedingly to have imputed to me: I mean not to give offence to any, nor to arraign the conduct of any living individual. Secure in the consciousness of my own motives, and following its dictates, in what my own heart tells me is right, I feel it my duty here publicly to deliver these opinions. I believe all men to act from as pure motives as myself, in all things, till I prove the contrary: and, believing that their conduct springs from their opinions—mine is a contest of mind with mind, of opinion with opinion, reason against reason; and, let the contest stand but thus, stripped of all its circumstances, my opinion against his, and I will win the world to back me. (Great applause.)

Entertaining such opinions as these, you will not, Sir, wonder at my great admiration of that man, whose administration is an illustration of all this; and who has given so great a boon to India as a free and unfettered press.

Extract from the Address of the British Inhabitants of Madras to the Marquess of Hastings, read by Major Blacker, in the Government House at Calcutta, on the 21th of July, 1819.

The most accomplished statesmen, while they provide for the defence and security of the realm, neglect not to cherish the arts of peace. To cultivate the province of the human mind, to call forth its latent powers, and direct its energies to the improvement of society; to give

a character and colour to the morals, intelligence, and spirit of the age; has justly been considered essential to the welfare of the political system. On agriculture, on arts, and commerce, liberal knowledge exerts a powerful and permanent influence: it adds to the resources of a people while it increases their happiness, and is intimately connected with the vital interests of mankind. Your Lordship's attention to this important branch of legislature has not escaped our notice; and the numerous institutions formed for the instruction of the native population, are illustrious monuments of British generosity, consecrated by the wisdom of your Lordship to the prosperity of the empire.

While contemplating this important subject, it must have occurred, that to the attainment of truth, freedom of inquiry was essentially necessary; that public opinion was the strongest support of just government; and that liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the executive. Such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind; an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments, evinced by the whole tenour of your Lordship's administration.

Extract from the Speech of Lord Hastings, in Reply to this Address.

You have observed my exertions to diffuse instruction through the extensive region with which we had become thus suddenly intimate. I cannot take credit for more than the having followed the impulse communicated by every British voice around me. Yes! we all similarly confessed the sacred obligation towards a bounteous Providence, of striving to impart to the immense population under our protection that improvement of intellect which we felt to be our own most valuable and dignified possession.

One topic remains. My removal of restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is Opinion.

Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment: on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force.

That government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument

that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed. And let the triumph of our beloved country, in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.

These speeches at the Meeting of the British inhabitants at Madras, the sentiments expressed in their address, and the reply of his Lordship to the same, convinced all who heard or read them, and who believed in their sincerity, that the freedom of the Indian press was full and complete, that all restrictions but those of the law were removed, and that the freedom of discussion was now established on the firmest basis that the warmest friends of Liberty could desire.

Shortly after the publication in the Calcutta Journal of all the proceedings arising out of the Madras Meeting, which were not permitted to be published by the Censor of the Press at Madras, certain interruptions were occasioned to the passage of that paper through the Madras territories, which are subsequently detailed at length, and in consequence of such interruptions the following notice was issued to the subscribers under that Presidency.

Notice to Madras Subscribers, published in the Calcutta Journal of Friday, Jan. 11, 1820.

Our Madras friends are already aware of the measures which have been taken to impede the circulation of this Journal through their Presidency, and will have already formed, no doubt, a correct opinion as to the motives in which these measures originated.

As, however, we find our desire to extend its circulation through their territories rise in proportion to the weight and authority that has been opposed to it, we have determined to make any sacrifice rather than suffer our friends in that quarter to be deprived of an opportunity of seeing, now and then, discussions on topics which they are not likely to find touched on in other Indian prints.

The Journal will, therefore, be supplied as usual at twenty rupees per month, at those stations which it may reach without having to pass through the hands of a postmaster, who may levy a tax on it by order of the Madras Government; and such as pass through Ganjam on their way, where the additional impost of Madras postage must be paid, will be supplied at ten rupees per month, the price at which it is delivered to subscribers in Calcutta, by which means we shall suffer an actual loss of so much of the postage as is paid by us for the free passage of the paper as far as Ganjam, and be paying about fifteen rupees per month for what we shall receive back ten,—making the overplus a premium to the subscribers for their patronage of free discussion, which we hope to see made subservient to the great end of public good, for which alone it was granted to us.

The measures of the Madras Government in refusing to let the paper pass from beyond Ganjam, though marked "Full Paid" at the post-office here, and placed on the same footing as post-paid letters, which go free to their destination without any impediment, have already occasioned us a considerable loss, in refunding the postage exacted from our subscribers in that Presidency, which had been already acknowledged to be "Full Paid" here, though this measure has brought us an increase of numbers from that quarter. The sacrifice we now propose will be, it is true, an addition to such pecuniary loss; but it will at least be a voluntary one; and we trust that the dissemination of sound principles in politics, and free inquiry on all topics of great public interest, will meet no check by this means; but that the triumph of liberality over its opposite quality will be full and complete, whatever obstacles may be opposed to it, or in whatever quarter such opposition may originate.

On the day subsequent to this Notice, the following Letter was received from the Chief Secretary to Government:—

To Mr. BUCKINGHAM, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir, General Department.

1.—The tenour of certain observations contained in the Calcutta Journal of yesterday's date, under the head of a Notice "To Subscribers under the Madras Presidency," has appeared to his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to be so highly improper as to call for immediate notice from this Government.

2.—The observations alluded to are clearly intended to convey the impression that the Government of Fort St. George had taken measures to impede the circulation of the Calcutta Journal, which measures were unjust in themselves, and originated in improper motives.

3.—The measures of the Madras Government to which you allude, appear to be those adopted for the purpose of levying the usual postage to which the Calcutta Journal, as well as other newspapers, are subjected within the territories immediately subordinate to that Presidency.

4.—Under the arrangement sanctioned by Government on the 27th of August last, the Calcutta Journal was allowed to circulate to all stations to which the Post-office Regulations of this Presidency extended, free of nominal postage, and you were distinctly apprized by Mr. Secretary Lushington's Letter of the 21st of November, that the engagements into which you had entered with the Post-office at this Presidency, did not apply beyond the limits in question; and that this Government could not interfere with respect to any charges on the transmission of your papers beyond those limits.

5.—Your remarks on the proceedings of the Government of Fort St. George are obviously in violation of the spirit of those rules to which

your particular attention, as the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, has been before called; and the unfounded insinuations conveyed in those remarks greatly aggravate the impropriety of your conduct on this occasion.

6.—The Governor General in Council has perceived with regret the little impression made on you by the indulgence you have already experienced; and I am directed to warn you of the certain consequence of your again incurring the displeasure of Government. In the present instance, his Lordship in Council contents himself with requiring, that a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of your conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations inserted in your paper of yesterday, with regard to the conduct of that Government, be published in the *Calcutta Journal*.

7.—You are further required to transmit the draft of such acknowledgment and apology to the Chief Secretary's Office, within the period of three days from the receipt of this letter.

8.—If it should be considered sufficiently satisfactory, it will be returned to you for publication; but if not, such further communication will be made to you on the subject as the Governor General in Council may be pleased to direct. I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, Jan. 12, 1840.

The reply to this Letter necessarily occupied some time; but on the 18th of January the following Letter was delivered in:—

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,

1.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, communicating to me the displeasure of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, at the tenour of certain observations contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the preceding day, under the head of a Notice to Subscribers under the Madras Presidency; and commanding me to transmit to your office within the period of three days from the receipt of the order, a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of my conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations contained in that Notice, in order to its being subsequently published in the *Calcutta Journal*.

2.—In reply to this communication, I beg first to express to you my sincere and deep regret, that any act of mine should appear to his Excellency so highly improper as to call for immediate notice from this Government, and still more so that such an act should have arisen from the exercise of my labours as director of a public press, inasmuch as I can safely and solemnly aver that no man can feel more grateful to his Excellency for the indulgent liberality which he has always shown to the exercise of

those privileges given to us by his removal of the restrictions which formerly bound it, than myself; and that no man would feel more sorrow at any undue infringement on that liberality, or any real abuse of the powers thus vested in the editors of public journals, than I should do.

3.—I have too firm a reliance on his Lordship's impartiality, and too great a confidence in his justice, not to hope, however, that he will condescend to hear what I have to offer in explanation of my conduct, however tedious the detail into which it may lead me, and I shall await the issue of his Excellency's decision thereon with that obedience to his authority, which all men ought cheerfully to pay to a power so equitably exercised.

4.—On the 18th of June last I had the honour to receive from you a letter of the same date, communicating to me the sentiments of the Governor General in Council, on certain paragraphs published in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 26th May, 1819, respecting the reported continuance of Mr. Elliott in the Government of Madras. These paragraphs were stated to be not only highly objectionable in themselves, but also in violation of the obvious spirit of the instructions communicated to the editors of newspapers in August, 1818, when the censorship of the press was abolished. Your letter of this date further went to say, that any repetition of a similar offence, in violation of these instructions of August, 1818, would subject me to be proceeded against according to law.

5.—In my reply to this letter, I expressed my regret at having incurred the displeasure of his Excellency the Governor General, by the violation of the existing regulations, and promised to make them in future the guide of my conduct, in the direction of the newspaper under my charge. As this profession was made in sincerity of heart, so was it rigidly and faithfully adhered to as long as I conceived those regulations to be in force, although I saw around me every day a constant violation of those very instructions in the *Gazette* of the Government itself, in which were republished from the English papers—1. "Animadversions on the conduct of the Court of Directors and other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India;" 2. "Discussions on the religious opinions and observances of the natives of India, originating in this country, as well as reports of the measures taken in England for the dissemination of Christianity among the subjects of our Indian empire;" and 3. "Personal remarks on individuals, not only tending to, but actually exciting great dissension in society;" which include all the points expressly prohibited by the instructions of August, 1818, and which were repeated week after week without interruption, and without notice from the superior authorities.

6.—On the 24th of July, 1819, the Governor General received in public audience an address from the inhabitants of Madras, in which

among other acts of his benign government, those inhabitants congratulated his Lordship on the wisdom of his policy, which had been founded on the maxim, "that to the attainment of truth, freedom of inquiry was essentially necessary; that public opinion was the strongest support of just government; and that liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the executive." They added (adverting to his Lordship's removal of the restrictions from the Indian press) that "such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind; and an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments evinced by the whole tenour of his Lordship's administration."

7.—In the reply of the Governor General to this address, his Excellency avowed to the world the motives by which he had been actuated in the removal of those restrictions from the press. 1st. From his habit of regarding freedom of publication as a natural right of his fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned; 2d. From seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, which he had been induced to break; and, 3d. From a positive and well-weighed policy, which had taught him that if our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. "Further," his Lordship added, "it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of strength by its exposure to public comment: on the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force."

8.—As this was an act emanating from the highest authority of the land, and was given to the world as an open and solemn avowal of the motives by which his Lordship was actuated in his removal of the restrictions from the Indian press; as it publicly approved of the exercise of scrutiny and comment on the conduct of Indian administration, and avowed that such comment could only tend to strengthen and add force to a government, the motives of whose actions were pure; it appeared to me that to withhold such comment was either to doubt the purity of those actions which emanated from the supreme authority, or tacitly to question the sincerity of the sentiments thus openly and solemnly pronounced.

9.—I conceived accordingly that the regulations or restrictions of August, 1818, were as formally and effectually abrogated by this step, as one law becomes repealed by the creation of another, whose provisions and enactments are at variance with the spirit of the former. I conceived, as his Excellency had received the congratulations of the inhabitants of Madras, on his removal of the restrictions which bound the Indian press, and explained to them the motives which had induced them to make that press free, that such restrictions were actually removed,

and that the press was really free. My reason taught me that the validity of a rule prohibiting the expression of any opinions on the acts of Government, and a solemn approval of the exercise of public scrutiny and comment on such actions, were incompatible with each other, and could not simultaneously exist; and while I regarded the authority which had pronounced such scrutiny useful and salutary, as the highest from which any act could emanate; while I valued and revered the character of the illustrious individual who had pronounced it, for sincerity and integrity; and while I entertained the belief that a recent act or law, differing in spirit from an older one, necessarily abrogated it, I could not regard the instructions of August, 1818, as any longer binding or in force.

10.—I accordingly published the remarks of others, and also frequently added my own, on the measures of Government in all its departments, civil, military, and marine; the result of which was to extend the admiration of its policy to every corner of the British empire in India; and never was the maxim, which the Governor General had pronounced, of "a government which had nothing to disguise, wielding the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule, and carrying with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed," more fully evinced than in the general sense and feeling of the community of India on those parts of his Lordship's administration, thus made the subject of that public scrutiny which he had so magnanimously invited.

11.—Every thing tended to confirm me in my opinion that I had rightly interpreted the wishes and sentiments of the Governor General on this important subject, and scarcely a day passed without my breaking the letter of these regulations, which I conceived to have no longer an existence. I contended openly and honestly that the press was free, and when the restrictions of August, 1818, were pointed out by the editors of some other papers of the Presidency, I opposed to them the more recent and equally high authority of the manifesto of July, 1819. I gave publicity to the opinion of one of the first lawyers of the settlement, that the restrictions were illegal; I repeated the sentiments of Englishmen from the very heart of the interior of India, and the sentiments of public writers in England, that Lord Hastings had, by his emancipation of the press, conferred a boon on his fellow-subjects here, which surpassed in value all that had before been granted to them by any ruler in whose hands their destinies had hitherto been placed: and as all this stood uncontradicted, I conceived for myself, in common apparently with Mr. Ferguson and many others, that the press of India was subject only to those laws which regulate it in England, and that it was amenable only to the local authority, inasmuch as that was the executive of the British laws in India.

12.—In the exercise of this freedom, I ventured to call in question the policy and the liberality of the Court of Directors, in some of its former, and still more of its recent acts, as applied to the immediate administration of Lord Hastings himself. I hesitated not to speak as Englishmen would do at home, on all the passing events of the times, from whatever source they emanated, with that freedom which had only truth for its limits, and the honest intention of public good for its end. The conduct of the Bombay Government, or of its public officers, on occasion of its first expedition to the Persian Gulf; the defects of the equipment of its second and now pending armament; the publication of the entire report of the meeting at Madras, convened to consider of the address to Lord Hastings, which was not suffered to be published at that Presidency, but which was reprinted afterwards by the Government Gazette here; and, in short, topics that would be too numerous and too tedious for me to detail here, but which must be in the recollection of all persons by whom the Calcutta Journal has been read, were all touched on with freedom; and it was impossible for me, while these constantly passed unnoticed by the Government, not to be confirmed in my opinion and belief, that the sentiments of the Governor General, as expressed in his reply to the address of the inhabitants of Madras, were not merely abstract doctrines or general truths, pronounced without a specific object, but were the principles by which his Lordship's conduct was actuated, and the grounds on which he founded a system of liberty of discussion and freedom of publication, which he originally intended to be reduced to practice, and of which he had consequently permitted the free exercise as consonant with these sentiments, and as meeting his avowed approbation.

13.—I regret, however, to learn, by the tenour of your letter of the 12th instant, that I have mistaken the extent of the indulgence and freedom which His Excellency meant to allow to the Indian press. I did conceive, when the Governor General pronounced "that the triumph of our beloved country over tyrant-ridden France spoke the force and value of that spirit, to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments," that his Lordship had extended to us the privilege of the same honest expression of our sentiments in India. If, however, I have been in error in drawing this inference, my regret is considerably heightened by the recollection that I have contributed so zealously, and so immunitely to the risk of my fortune, health, and reputation, as I have done, to lead others into the error into which I have myself fallen.

14.—From your letter of the 12th instant, I must conceive the full existence of those restrictions of 1818, which I had believed to have been abrogated, as that letter makes it the basis of my offence, that my "remarks on the Government of Fort St. George are obviously in

violation of the spirit of those rules to which my particular situation had before been called." And because of this violation of a law, which I had the strongest reason to believe annulled, you peremptorily command me within the short space of three days, to make a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of my conduct, by retracting opinions that I honestly conceived and honestly expressed; to make a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations expressed by me against its conduct, without my being convinced of the injustice or falsehood of such opinions, and without my entertaining a sense of having acted wrong; and further, to have this couched in terms that shall express what you may approve, rather than what my own heart and conscience would dictate, by commanding me to transmit to your office within three days a draft of such retraction and apology for your review and approval, previous to its publication, on pain of forfeiting all the protection of this Government, and being proceeded against in such manner as may be deemed fit.

15.—It is impossible for me to express to you, Sir, how I feel humbled by such a demand, in the rank which I deemed myself to have held among my fellow-citizens in India, as owing to the Government of this portion of the British empire the warm and loyal attachment of an Englishman, but as being also protected, in my rights and property, in return for that allegiance, by the permanent justice and equity of the British laws, to which alone I conceived myself responsible for crime, and at whose tribunal I should bow to the decision of my judges, with that feeling which ought to characterize a subject of a free, but just and equitable government. This, however, is not a topic for me to indulge in; and when I proceed to an explanation of the immediate cause of the remarks published in the Calcutta Journal, which have occasioned your present demand of a retraction and apology, I have only to beg that you will entrust the patient attention of his Lordship in Council to what I have to offer on that head. I regret the length of the detail into which it may lead me, but when the ends of justice are to be promoted, I confidently rely on his Lordship's indulgence and impartiality for a hearing.

16.—On the 27th of August, 1819, his Lordship in Council was pleased to sanction an arrangement for my payment into the Post-office of this Presidency a monthly sum, in consideration of which the Calcutta Journal was to be guaranteed to pass free to all the stations to which the Post-office regulations of this Presidency extended; the amount of which sum was to be computed according to the actual postage due on the Numbers of the Calcutta Journal that had been despatched from the General Post-office here within the same month, namely, August, 1819. Mr. Hall, the late Postmaster General, was instructed to

carry this arrangement into effect; and in the first interview which I had with him on this subject, he himself gave me the option of two modes of forming the computation of the monthly sum to be paid. One of these was to have the postage calculated from Calcutta to certain limits, where the Post-offices of the other Presidencies commenced, and to have the papers marked "Paid" to those limits only, leaving the postage beyond them to be paid by the persons to whom they were addressed: the other mode was to have the computation made according to the amount of the whole postage due on the papers from Calcutta to their separate ultimate destinations, and, on payment of this sum to have them stamped "Full Post Paid," which would insure their free passage, without further impost, all the way.

17.—As the great object that I wished to accomplish was an equalization of price, and a uniformity of system for the transmission of the Journal all over India, I preferred the latter mode, though to me by far the most expensive. I distinctly asked, however, whether the Post-office regulations of this Presidency, which was marked in the contract as the limit of my privilege, did extend to the receiving postage for letters to any part of India, and guaranteeing them free and without charge to wherever they might be addressed; and Mr. Hall satisfied me that they did, by showing me the Post-office registers, in which letters and papers were entered for places under the respective Governments of Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon, the postage of which being paid here, guaranteed their free passage all the way to whatever places they might be addressed; and these same registers proved also that a reciprocity of system existed under those Governments with regard to the transmission of letters to places under this Presidency, as every dawk brought letters from Ceylon, Madras, and Bombay, the postage of which was paid at those respective places, and they reached the Post-office here, marked "Post Paid," without having borne any additional impost at any intermediate station, or without being subject to any additional charge on their delivery here. It was clear, therefore, to us both, that as far as receipt of postage on the papers, and their free transmission to their ultimate addresses was concerned, the Post-office regulations of this Presidency extended all over the British Possessions in India, either by law, or by custom and mutual convenience: this, at least, was the practice, and it seemed so clear, at least to the Postmaster General and to myself, that we did not deem a reference to the Government necessary, but fixed the computation of the monthly sum on this principle, and executed the bond for the amount conjointly in this belief and impression.

18.—The full postage on the papers was then actually paid by me, in this contract, and they were marked, as all letters and papers so paid are marked, with the Post-office stamp "Full Post Paid," and despatched accordingly. At

first, for a period of about a month, as nearly as I can collect from the letters of different correspondents under the Madras Presidency, they were allowed to pass free to Madras, but the postage from Madras to stations beyond it under that Presidency was charged to the persons to whom they were addressed. Even in this, however, there was a distinct acknowledgment of the principle and practice, that the mark of "Full Post Paid" should guarantee any letter or paper to its ultimate destination; for in a letter of Mr. Sherson, the Postmaster General at Madras, addressed to John Babington, Esq. Collector at Calicut, dated December 6th, 1819, attested copies of which I have been furnished with, the charge of postage from Madras to places beyond it is thus explained:—Mr. Sherson says, "In reply to your letter of the 25th ultimo, I beg to state that the Calcutta Journals from the 1st of September last, although marked on the envelop 'Full Post Paid,' are inserted in the lists which accompany the mails from Calcutta, 'Post Paid to Madras only,' consequently the additional postage from Madras to their destination was charged, agreeably to the regulations, until the 25th of October last."

19.—Here then was a distinct acknowledgment, that, but for the manner of registry in a list, of which of course I could know nothing, the papers would have gone all the way free, on the same authority as they reached Madras free, namely, that they were marked "Full Post Paid." Through whose mistake this entry was made in the Post-office list, as differing from the stamp on the envelop, and thus subjecting my subscribers to such loss as this distinction created, I did not inquire; but having learnt that this was the case from private letters, long before the copy of Mr. Sherson's correspondence reached me, I had applied to Mr. Hall to represent the irregularity of such a step, as charging postage on the Calcutta Journals within the Madras territory, when I had already paid the full postage on them here. Mr. Hall saw and confessed the injustice of this charge, and immediately despatched a letter to Mr. Sherson, saying that the full postage had been paid on all the Calcutta Journals sent from hence, and adding, that the regulations of the Post-office of this Presidency empowered him to guarantee for this equivalent their free passage all the way.

20.—This letter reached the Postmaster General at Madras on the 25th of October, the date fixed in his letter to Mr. Babington, up to which period the postage from Madras to Calicut had been paid; and in the same letter he says, "But in consequence of a recent communication received from the Postmaster General at Calcutta, the charging of inland postage on the Calcutta Journals transmitted from this office (at Madras) to out-stations, ceased on the 26th of October." This was a still more distinct acknowledgment of the principle that the Post-office regulations of this Presidency did extend to all places under the British Government in India, as far as the receipt of money

and free transmission of letters or papers were concerned; and it was thought so by the Government of Madras as well as by the Postmasters of that Presidency, since this practice of suffering it to go free, because marked "full post paid," continued with the consent of the Madras Government for a period of a month, at the end of which, on the 26th of November, an impost was ordered to be put on it, not from Madras to the stations beyond it, in consequence of any difference between the Post-office lists and the stamps on the covers, as before, but from Ganjam to Madras, and onward, although the full postage continued to be paid monthly by me here, and the same Post-office stamp-duty was affixed as usual.

21.—At the same time that these charges were made on the transmission of the Calcutta Journal, other papers and letters, marked exactly in the same way, were suffered to go free, both from Calcutta to Madras, and from stations under that Presidency to Calcutta. It was impossible for me to regard this apparently partial application of a rule to my papers, which did not apply to other covers going in the same way, otherwise than as a marked distinction; and as I had the strongest reasons to know that the Calcutta Journal had become particularly obnoxious to that Government, from my publication of the report of the Madras Meeting to address Lord Hastings; of courts martial by which officers arrested on certain charges had been honourably acquitted; and many other documents which had not been allowed publication at Madras: while private letters, which I could not be permitted to cite in evidence, confirmed me in this opinion, I could not otherwise account for the application of an impediment to the passage of the Calcutta Journal through the Madras territories, which was not applied to any other description of correspondence transmitted by the same dawk.

22.—On my application to Mr. Hall, the late Postmaster General, to understand distinctly how these apparent inconsistencies were to be explained, he stated to me, that Mr. Secretary Lushington had communicated to him, that he had misconceived the intentions of the Government, which were, that the papers should go free to Ganjam only, and be paid for by me thus far. As I had no wish to oppose the authority of Government, and no reason to dispute its intentions, I readily assented to this (to me) new interpretation of the contract, as far as it applied to the future transmission of the Journal; and the Government, in its justice, as readily granted to me a proportionate deduction of the sum that had been entered in the monthly computation for postage to all places beyond it, while the papers were to be marked in future "free to Ganjam only." But as this could take no retrospective effect, I became subjected to a heavy loss, in being obliged to refund to my subscribers all the sums

they had paid for postage beyond Ganjam, as I had guaranteed the free passage of the Journal to them for a certain sum; besides which, many of the papers were refused to be taken in by the persons to whom they were addressed, in consequence of this additional charge of postage, so that they were returned to me bearing double postage, from Madras and elsewhere, by which I was compelled to pay the postage on them three distinct times; first, in the estimate of the contract; secondly, in the passage from Ganjam to their original destination; and thirdly, the whole of the way from thence back again to Calcutta, without my being able to demand any thing from the subscribers who had declined taking it in, and without the paper being of any value to me when returned.

23.—All this was, unquestionably, an aggravation of evils to which I alone was subject, and, as it appeared to me, without just cause; for although the last and most decided interpretation of the Government had fixed that the paper should go free to Ganjam only, and in future be so marked, yet the Madras Government or Postmasters, who would be justified in exacting a postage on it beyond Ganjam when marked free only to that place, were not to be justified, as it appeared to me, in making this exaction when it was marked "full post paid," and when other covers, bearing the same mark, were not subject to the same rule. To add to these evils, the application of the rule as it now stands, namely, the payment of a postage beyond Ganjam, has already lost me many, and will probably occasion the loss of many more subscribers to the paper beyond that place, and thus subject me to a still further monthly loss, during all the time that the contract may continue in force; as, whether I despatch my usual number of papers, or only one to a station under that Presidency, the full amount of the monthly contract, including the postage from here to Ganjam, must be paid by me. The loss has perhaps already equalled 5,000 rupees; but the far greater evil is, its breaking up and entirely destroying a system of uniformity, from which I had counted on certain permanent results, in extending the circulation of the paper all over India, and in being thus enabled to obtain a remuneration, at some future time, for the risk and expense incurred to effect that object, the hope of which, if the Government still continues to give the contract its present interpretation, is entirely destroyed.

24.—I am aware that governments cannot enter into the feelings of individuals, or take their private sufferings into account in their decisions on their public rights and wrongs; but when it is considered, that, by an unaccountably varying application of a rule, from a certain branch of the Madras Government towards myself, all the hopes that I had founded on what I conceived, and had good grounds for believing, to be a just interpretation of my contract with the Government here, (namely, the

extension of its authority to guarantee the free postage of letters or papers paid far here, all over India,) are overturned in that quarter, I shall, I hope, be forgiven for having felt very sensibly, however indiscreet I might have been in giving publicity to the expression of those feelings.

25.—In communicating these changes, and the steps that had been taken by the Madras Government, to demand from my subscribers the postage on the Journal from Ganjam, as well as the arrangements made by me to render it less inconvenient to them, by taking on my own hands all the present and a still greater future loss, I simply stated that measures had been taken by the Madras Government to impede its circulation, (by which I meant the levying the postage on it while marked "full post paid,") and added my belief that they would no doubt have formed a correct opinion as to the motives in which these measures had originated, leaving it entirely to their own construction. Neither in the statement of this fact, nor in the expression which follows it, can I therefore see any thing that I could honestly express a sense of impropriety in having used.

26.—In stating that my desire to extend the circulation of the paper rose in proportion to the obstacles opposed to it, I only gave utterance to a feeling that has actuated me from the first hour of my public labours up to the present and in saying that discussions were to be met with in this paper, on topics that were seldom touched on in the Indian prints, I mentioned a fact so notorious, that it would be the grossest violation of truth to deny it.

27.—The next paragraph of my Notice to subscribers under the Madras Presidency, which speaks of the sacrifice I had determined to make, and calls the postage from Ganjam to Madras, a tax levied by order of the Madras Government, contains nothing which, in my estimation, could offend, without a great misconstruction of its meaning. Of my own sacrifices, of course, I may at all times be permitted either to speak or be silent; but when I spoke of a tax, I meant simply the postage, and in saying it was levied by order of the Madras Government, I meant that it was actually charged on the Calcutta Journals, by some branch of that Government, whether subordinate or otherwise, it was impossible for me to say, although the full postage on those papers had already been paid here. This is also a fact, which, as I could substantiate, it would be a dereliction of my duty to deny.

28.—In saying that I was willing to incur a further voluntary sacrifice, or to give the paper gratis to the subscribers under the Madras Presidency, for their patronage of free discussion, I acted only in conformity with the principles by which I have been constantly guided in my public labours; and in saying I hoped to see that free discussion made subservient to the great end of public good, for which alone it was granted to us, I think I can have said

nothing which this Government could ever wish me to retract.

29.—The next paragraph in this Notice states that the measures of the Madras Government, (by which I wish to be distinctly understood as meaning that branch of it under whose cognizance this act came,) in refusing to let the paper pass free beyond Ganjam, though marked full paid here, had already occasioned me a considerable loss. This I could, if necessary, prove.

30.—The close of the Notice says, "We trust that the dissemination of sound principles in politics, and free inquiry on all topics of great public interest, will meet no check by this means, but that the triumph of liberality over its opposite quality will be full and complete, whatever obstacles may be opposed to it, or in whatever quarter such opposition may originate."

31.—In this I am free to declare, upon my honour, that by "these means," I meant simply the check which the circulation of my paper had suffered by the levy of the additional postage, and I was vain enough to consider that sound principles and free inquiry were disseminated and encouraged by the circulation of that paper, which I could hardly be expected to express my contrition for having said. By "the triumph of liberality over its opposite quality," I meant the use of these terms as applied to principles as well as actions. I conceived Lord Hastings's removal of the restrictions from the press, to evince liberal principles; and I hoped that this would triumph over its opposite at Madras, as it had done recently at Bombay. I considered the consent of this Government here, to an arrangement granting me the free circulation of my paper for a given sum, to be a liberal act, and I hoped that this would supersede an opposite practice at Madras, as it does in Bengal and Bombay now. When I added a hope that this triumph would be full and complete, in whatever quarter an opposition to it might originate, I meant no more than the words literally import, as I supposed that such opposition might as well arise in a subordinate as in a supreme authority, and and in a medium one as easily as in any other. In all this, therefore, I have advanced nothing that I did not honestly believe, and which does not still appear to me unobjectionable.

32.—Thus far, however, I have been free to confess, that no language of mine can sufficiently express either the depth or sincerity of my regret, first, that any act of mine, more particularly one which could be thought an abuse of the indulgence that his Excellency the Governor General has extended towards the Indian press, should have incurred his displeasure; secondly, that so many misconceptions should have arisen with regard to the regulation of the postage between this place and Madras, and that any thing which I should have said on that subject should have given offence to the Government here; and, lastly, that I have not possessed time, either calmly to review, soften, correct, or alter, any thing that I have

written; but must send it up immediately to Government, with all its faults, fresh from the warm feelings which have dictated what my hand has hastily traced. I may be permitted also to add, that those feelings have been considerably irritated and wounded, by my learning, that short as the period is that has elapsed since the transmission of your letter to me, the news of the pointed displeasure of the Government having been officially notified to me, together with all the circumstances of the style and tone so painful to the feelings of even so humble an individual as myself, has been made generally known, and industriously circulated throughout Calcutta; and, that, in addition to the injury which the report of my disgrace and anticipated ruin is of itself calculated to attach to my character and fortune, the aggravated misrepresentations respecting my offence and your manner of noticing it, by those who are my enemies from mere difference of opinion, on public grounds only, have already produced an effect, from which I may not easily recover.

33.—In conclusion, I beg you will say for me to his Excellency in Council, that if it is his pleasure to command me to relinquish my charge, abandon my occupations, and sacrifice with my present property, all my future hopes, long and ardently as I have toiled through misfortune and suffering to attain the footing I now hold, I shall yield implicitly to his authority. If it be his pleasure further to command me to leave the country, I have not the means, nor indeed could I wish to possess them, of resistance. If, however, his Lordship should deny me this alternative, and still insist on my expressing a sense of contrition for an act that I cannot honestly avow to be wrong, or my retracting opinions which I sincerely believed to have been correct when I uttered them, and which I still entertain, or on my publicly apologizing for the performance of an act, which, when committed, I held to be my bounden duty, I feel that I cannot promise a compliance.

34.—For the past, I am willing to express this open and public regret at my discovering myself to be in error, in inferring the cessation of the Restrictions of August 1818, which I confess freely, that I, in common with every other editor, even those who contended for their being still in force, have violated, (on my own part, however, from believing that they were virtually abrogated and no longer binding,) and still deeper regret at having done any thing under the influence of such error which could have been capable of misconstruction, or have given to his Lordship in Council, or any other member of the Indian Government, unnecessary pain.

35.—For the future, if I am permitted to exercise my present avocations, I desire only to know, distinctly and clearly, what are the topics on which I am not to touch; and understanding this to be the will of the Government, in the form of a law or official regulation, I shall regard it as I have been accustomed to regard

the laws of my country, as paramount to all authority, as subject to question only for the purpose of revial and amendment, but as commanding obedience as long as it is in conformity to the constitutional powers vested in any legislative body, and as long as the application of the penalties for infringing it is uniform and impartial. I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 18, 1840.

It having been intimated, subsequent to the delivery of this long letter, that it would be agreeable to the Government to be furnished with a shorter one, for the purpose of being forwarded to Madras, which should be confined to the mere question of the interruption experienced in the post-office department of that Presidency, and not touch on the liberty of the press, or the considerations arising out of it in this particular instance, the following short letter was sent in for that purpose, on the 25th.

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,—Conceiving that the letter which I had the honour to forward you yesterday, and which was intended principally as an explanation to the Supreme Government, of the remarks contained in the "Notice to Madras Subscribers," in the Calcutta Journal of the 11th inst., which had incurred their displeasure, might be too voluminous and too tedious in its details to forward to the Government of Fort St. George, I have taken the liberty to hand you this more brief explanation, confining myself wholly to that portion of the notice which might be supposed to attract the immediate attention of the Government of Madras.

From attested copies of an official correspondence between Mr. Sherron, the Postmaster General at Madras, and Mr. John Babington, Collector at Calcutt, who had applied for information on the subject of the postage of the Calcutta Journal from Madras to his station, I learn, first, that from the 1st of September, to the 25th of October, the Calcutta Journal was allowed to go free from Calcutta to Madras, being marked "full post paid," without being subject to any postage from Ganjam to that Presidency; secondly, that from the 26th of October, to the 26th of November, the Calcutta Journal was allowed to go free all over the territories subject to the Government of Fort St. George, without any charge of postage whatever, either beyond Ganjam, Madras, or elsewhere, being still marked "full post paid;" and, lastly, that from after the 26th of November, the passage of the Calcutta Journal through the Madras territories was made subject to a postage from Ganjam onwards, though still marked "full post paid" as before, and without any variation in the terms of my contract with the Supreme Government here; or, in short, any other alteration which could seemingly warrant a deviation from the established prac-

tice that had been applied to my own paper for a period of two months, and is still applied to other covers all over India, namely, the suffering them to pass free to their destination, when the postage is paid into the office in which they are first deposited, and when marked "full post paid" by the stamp of the post-office from which they are first despatched.

In consequence of these changes from a system acknowledged and acted upon for a certain period by all the Postmasters in the Madras territory, I have been subjected to a very heavy actual loss, in the following manner:—first, by the payment of the contract sum here, which included the full postage of my papers to their ultimate places of address; secondly, by being called on to refund to my subscribers the sums they had paid for postage from Geyam to their Stations, amounting in many cases to much more than the charge for the paper itself, thereby occasioning me to pay a large balance to my subscribers, instead of receiving money from them; thirdly, by the return of all the papers so charged with extra postage, from those who declined taking them in on that account, subjecting me to the additional postage on them all the way back also; and, lastly, by the entire destruction of a system of uniform price all over India, from which I was beginning to be remunerated from the great risk and expense at which I had been, to effect this arrangement on the faith of the Government here, and the interpretation of its contract with me by the late Postmaster General of this Presidency, which this new levy of postage has entirely destroyed, by having lost me many, and threatening the loss of all the remainder of my subscribers throughout the whole of the southern provinces of India. The actual loss from all these causes has been already about 5,000 rupees, and the prospective loss of what might reasonably have been expected from that quarter, where the paper was every day gaining new subscribers, may, without exaggeration, be thought equal to 20,000 rupees per annum.

In communicating these changes, and advertising to the losses that I had sustained thereby, I deemed it my duty to make known to my subscribers in the Madras territories, that such changes had been occasioned by the Madras Government; but I indicated this only inasmuch as I considered the details of its subordinate branches subject to its authority, as I naturally supposed that of the post-office to be. In using these terms, therefore, I meant to be distinctly understood as speaking of that particular branch of it under whose immediate cognizance this act came. My object in stating this was, in order to exonerate myself from the charge of a breach of faith, as I had publicly pledged myself to guarantee the supply of the paper at twenty rupees per month, all charges included; and, on the faith of the Postmaster General's agreement with me here, and his receipt of the actual postage on them from my hands, had as publicly stated for a period of

three months at the head of every paper published, that the Calcutta Journal would pass free of postage throughout all the British territories in India, which this demand of a postage in the Madras territories alone prevented my fulfilling.

I beg to repeat here the expression of my regret at the many apparent misconceptions in the Post-office Departments of both these Presidencies, which has occasioned me such serious and irreparable loss, and which rendered a public explanation of them necessary; as well as a still greater regret that any thing I should have said on this subject, should have given pain to his Excellency the Governor General in Council, or to any branch of the Honourable Company's Government in India, my principal object in the "Notice to Subscribers under the Madras Presidency," having been to apprise them of the arrangements which I had made to counteract an evil from which we had both experienced very serious loss and inconvenience. I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

*Office of the Calcutta Journal,
Jan. 20, 1820.*

On the 30th of January, the following was received by me, in answer to the explanations offered on the preceding affair:—

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

General Department.

Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you, one dated the 16th, received on the 18th, ditto on the 22d, received on the 25th instant.

2.—His Lordship in Council does not consider it to be necessary to enter into any detailed examination of the remarks which you have submitted to Government; but, with reference to the observations contained in paragraphs 9 to 19, of your letter of the 16th inst. inclusive,* he directs me to state, that many of the supposed grounds of grievance adverted to in those paragraphs appear to rest on no solid foundation.

3.—The conveyance of the Calcutta Journal free of nominal postage as far as Madras, was indeed contemplated in the calculations which formed the basis of your contract with Mr. Hall, in sanctioning that course of proceeding, however, Mr. Hall did not sufficiently attend to the spirit of the instructions issued for his guidance.

4.—The Governor General in Council is aware, that letters and packets have been, and are occasionally conveyed to Madras (free of further demand) on the payment at the post-office under this Presidency of the full postage to that place,

* Some alterations appear to have been made in the order of the paragraphs of this letter, perhaps by the omission of some of the earlier ones, but the paragraphs here referred to, are evidently from 16 to 23 inclusive, being all those that relate to the postage only.

and, that, in like manner, letters and packets on which full postage has been paid at the post-offices under the Madras Presidency have been and are occasionally conveyed to Calcutta, without any further demand for postage being made at this place.

5.—The general rule however, was to charge the postage on letters and packets destined to Madras as far as Ganjam only, and the knowledge of this circumstance should have restricted Mr. Hall from admitting into a formal contract any provision by which the post-office revenues of another Presidency were liable to be materially affected.

6.—On the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo, addressed to the Acting Postmaster General, complaining of the pecuniary loss to which you were subjected under the intimation communicated to you in Mr. Secretary Lushington's letter of the 26th November last, measures were immediately adopted by this Government to amend the terms of the engagement, and the following orders, founded on your own application, were issued to the Acting Postmaster General, on the 17th ultimo.—

“The engagement concluded with Mr. Buckingham having been framed at the General Post-office under a misconstruction of the orders of Government, I am directed to desire that that portion of the agreement which included the despatch of his paper to the stations under the authority of the Governments of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Ceylon, may be rescinded, and that a new arrangement, limiting the contract to the stations to which the Post-office regulations of this Presidency only extend, may be taken from that gentleman.—A proportionate deduction will, of course, be made from the estimate on which the engagement was originally founded.”

7.—The Governor General in Council concludes, that a retrospective effect has been given to this arrangement, so as to include the whole period during which the postage payable for the conveyance of your Journals from Ganjam to Madras, was levied at the latter place.

8.—So far, therefore, the injury which you had sustained from the misconstruction by Mr. Hall, of the orders of this Government, was duly remedied, and with regard to the collection of postage on the Calcutta Journal destined to stations beyond Madras, and subordinate to that Presidency, it appears to the Governor General in Council that you have no just cause whatever of complaint.

9.—It is understood that full postage has never been received at the Post-office here for the free conveyance of letters or packages to stations beyond Madras, subordinate to that Presidency, and that in the like manner full postage is not receivable at Madras, for the conveyance of letters and packets to stations beyond Calcutta, subordinate to this Presidency. The rates of postage from Presidency to Presidency are known; but the Post-office here, and vice versa, has no means of ascertaining

what should be charged to detached stations within the territories of other Presidencies.

10.—The amount of the postage leviable on packets despatched to subordinate stations under the Presidency of Madras, does not appear to have been adverted to in the estimates forming the basis of the calculation on which your contract was framed; nor did any usage exist by which the Post-office here would have been justified in receiving full postage for packets destined to stations beyond Madras. It is obvious also, if the regular postage ordinarily payable on packets destined to stations subordinate to that Presidency, had not been levied on the Calcutta Journals, the Post-office there would have been subjected to a loss of revenue, which it was the evident duty of the Madras Government to prevent, and for which no equivalent had been provided in the calculations forming the basis of the contract entered into with you at this Presidency.

11.—But even if the circumstances alleged in your letters, and the inferences drawn from them were admitted to their full extent, they would furnish no justification for the publication of the remarks contained in the Calcutta Journal of the 11th instant.

12.—Those remarks would still be in obvious violation of the spirit of the rules issued in August 1818, for the guidance of the editors of newspapers, which rules, as you must be well aware, have not been rescinded or modified.

13.—That your attention to those rules has not been more strictly enforced, may be a subject of just blame to the officer whose duty it more especially was to bring to the notice of Government any flagrant violation of those rules, but, with every allowance which can be made in your favour, from a consideration whether of these circumstances, or of the misconstruction which the late Postmaster General was led to put on the orders of Government, or of the disappointment which you may have experienced, and of the consequent irritation of feeling towards the supposed authors of that disappointment, his Lordship in Council thinks it is indispensably requisite that a public acknowledgment should be made, in the manner pointed out in my letter of the 12th instant. It is not his Lordship's desire that the acknowledgment should be worded in the terms which he would have judged necessary previously to the consideration of your letters, but he expects from you an early expression in the Calcutta Journal, of your regret at having published observations so carelessly worded as to bear the appearance of disrespectful animadversion on the Government of Madras. His Lordship in Council is led to infer, that you had no real intention of offering such disrespect, from the perusal of an article in your paper of the 15th instant, recently brought to his notice, and that persuasion has principally influenced the tenour of the present communication. The date of that publication, which was anterior to my first letter, proves the sincerity of the

explanation given in your second letter to me.

14.—It is with regret that his Lordship in Council has felt it necessary on public grounds, to take any official notice of the observation in question.

15.—The rules framed for the guidance of the editors of newspapers, when they were relieved from the necessity of submitting their papers to the revision of an officer of Government, were in themselves so reasonable and so obviously suitable to the circumstances of this Government, and to the state of society here, as to warrant the expectation of their general spirit being observed, even if they had not been officially prescribed.

16.—Independently of other injurious consequences to which an injudicious or perverted use of the discretion vested in the editors of newspapers may lead, it has a manifest tendency to raise a question as to the expediency of the liberal measures sanctioned by Government with regard to the press, and to lead to the revival of those restrictions, which common prudence on the part of the editors, would render altogether unnecessary.

I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, Jan. 27, 1820.

On the 11th of February, 1820, the wishes of the Governor General in Council, as to the explanation being made public, were thus complied with, by the following—

Notice to Subscribers under the Madras Presidency.

It gives us sincere pleasure to be able to announce to our subscribers under the Madras Presidency, that the measures we have taken to counteract the evil apprehended from the late interruption of the free postage of the Journal through their territories, have hitherto been attended with a success beyond our most sanguine expectations, and promise us more satisfactory results than even the continuance of that system itself would for a long period at least, have commanded.

The Notice to Subscribers under the Madras Presidency, published in this Journal on the 11th ultimo, having drawn from the Chief Secretary a letter,* stating the displeasure of the Government, at the terms in which it was couched, and requiring within three days from its receipt, a distinct acknowledgement of the impropriety of the Editor's conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations conceived to be contained in that Notice, a draft of which apology was previously to be submitted to the revision of the Chief Secretary, the Editor, in reply to this demand, laid before the Government a statement of facts, explana-

tory of the Notice which thus excited displeasure.†

In answer to this statement, the Editor received a second letter,‡ in which, after going through the details of the explanations offered, it was admitted by the Government, that the Postmaster General of this Presidency had been in error in his construction of their intentions with regard to the terms of postage, which error led to a similar misconception on the part of the Postmaster General at Madras, and to all those evils of which the Editor had complained.

In conclusion, the Chief Secretary announced the expectation, on the part of the Government, that this explanation should be made public; adding, however, that his Lordship in Council did not think it necessary that it should be worded in the terms which would have been required previous to the consideration of the facts stated in the Editor's letter of the 10th ultimo, and of the explanatory remarks voluntarily offered in the Journal of the 14th ultimo,§ which had not been previously brought to his Lordship's notice.

It was further intimated that, while waiving the acknowledgment and apology first required, the Government expected an expression of the Editor's regret at having worded the original Notice so carelessly as to bear the appearance of disrespectful animadversion on the Governor in Council at Madras.

With this expressed expectation of the Government,—in perfect unison as it is with the statement voluntarily given in the explanatory remarks of the 14th ultimo, before any correspondence on this subject had commenced,—we can have no reluctance in complying accordingly, since our sentiments as there expressed have undergone no change.

We may add here, in confirmation of what we have advanced in the first paragraph of this Notice, that by despatching the Calcutta Journal three times a week, to stations under the Madras Presidency, at a charge of ten rupees per month, postage to Ganjam included, its price will be less at many of these stations than it was under the system of free transmission at twenty rupees per month, and, that, in consequence of this favourable operation of the change in question, we have already recovered all our old subscribers, and obtained many new ones from such stations, while by transmitting those on which the postage would fall heavily, at distant stations, through Nagpoor, Hyderabad, and Bombay, in which last Presidency no postage is charged on them, we hope to add to our numbers also from those quar-

+ Delivered on the 18th ultimo.

‡ Dated on the 27th ultimo.

§ Given, in order to repel the ungenerous misconstruction and unjust aspersions passed on the language and conduct of the Editor of this Journal, in the Government Gazette of the 13th ultimo, before the letter of the Chief Secretary had been received.

* Dated on the 12th ultimo.

ters; so that out of all the evil, of which our friends had feared the issue, and at which our enemies so loudly but prematurely rejoiced, will arise more good than even the uninterrupted continuance of the former system would, for a long period at least, have commanded.

Thus terminated the affair, as it related to this question; and transmission according to the statute, or transportation without trial, it was hoped would be no more thought of. A long period passed, without any thing being noticed as objectionable, and the first article that appeared to be so in the eyes of the Government, was a letter signed "Emulus." This was proceeded against in the Supreme Court as a libel; but subsequently withdrawn on considerations urged and admitted in the correspondence already published in the *Calcutta Journal* of Jan. 18, in which month all the proceedings on this case will be found, and are therefore unnecessary to be repeated here.

This act, however, of resorting to the tribunal of the law for protection from libel, which the King himself is compelled to do at home, and to which, therefore, no British subject however exalted, can deem it derogatory from his dignity to apply, again cherished the hope that the law was to be the only restraint on the Indian press, in practice, whatever Regulation might remain in the records of the Council unrepelled.

Another six months passed, when the following letter from a correspondent, drew down the displeasure of Government. It might not probably have attracted their attention, but that it was made a matter of express complaint by the Bishop of Calcutta, whose dignity, or whose office, it was thought not sufficiently to respect. The letter is as follows:—

DUTIES OF CHAPLAINS.

To the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.

Sir,—I shall be obliged by any of your correspondents clearing up the following, for the benefit of your numerous subscribers at one of the largest military stations in India. I am, &c.

A CHURCHMAN, AND THE FRIEND OF A LADY ON HER DEATH-BED.

Western Provinces, June 10, 1821.

Can a Military Chaplain, fixed at a station where two king's regiments are posted, besides numerous other corps and departments, which might occupy two clergymen generally, and whose duties therefore, when alone, require his constant presence, absent himself from the station without leave from the commanding officer?

At this sickly season, his presence with the dying in hospital, and to inter the dead, sometimes six or eight per diem, is urgently required, and cannot decently be dispensed with, independent of the impropriety of also interrupting the proper observance of the Sabbath for two

or three Sundays successively, where so large a body of Christians are residing.

It is asserted (but I conceive erroneously) that the Chaplains have received orders from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, not to make themselves amenable to any military, or other local authorities; and, therefore, when a young couple at an out-post prefer going to the expense of making the clergyman travel 250 miles to go and marry them, he is at perfect liberty to accept the invitation, and to leave 3000 other Christians, his own parishioners, to bury each other, and postpone all other Christian ordinances until his tour is completed, which, in this instance, occupies, I understand, more than three Sabbaths.

In consequence of one of these ill-timed matrimonial requisitions in December last, the performance of divine service, and other religious observances of the season, were entirely overlooked at Christmas, which passed by for some Sundays in succession, and Christmas-day included, wholly unobserved.

It would appear, therefore, to be highly expedient, that no Military Chaplain should have the option of quitting the duties of his station, from any misplaced power vested in him by the Lord Bishop, unless he can also obtain the express written permission of the local authorities on the spot to do so, and provided, in all such cases, the season is healthy, and no one dangerously ill, and that he shall uniformly return to the station before the Sunday following, that divine service may never be omitted in consequence of such requisition.

On the 15th of July, the following letter was received from the Chief Secretary to Government.—

To Mr J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.

General Department.

Sir,—The letter which was inserted in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 10th instant, under the signature of "A Churchman, and the Friend of a Lady on her Death-bed," appearing to contain insinuations extremely disrespectful to the public character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Most Noble the Governor in Council has directed me to call upon you to state, for the information of Government, the name, designation, and residence of the individual by whom that letter was communicated to you for publication. I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, July 11, 1821.

On the 17th, the following reply to this letter was given in:—

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to state that the author of the letter therein named,

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being unknown to me, I am unable to furnish the information you require. At the same time I beg respectfully to submit for the consideration of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, that I published the letter in question, under a conviction that a temperate and moderate discussion of the inconveniences likely to arise from a want of local control, in certain points, over Military Chaplains, might be productive of public benefit, without infringing on the respect due to the public character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, July 16, 1821.

On the 21st, the following letter was received from the Chief Secretary to Government :—

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Sir,—1.—Your answer of the 16th instant, to the letter which you received from me, respecting a complaint made to Government by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, has been laid before his Excellency in Council, and I am directed to communicate to you the light in which your explanation is viewed.

2.—It was to have been hoped, that when your attention was called to the nature of the publication in question, you would have felt regret at not having perceived its tendency, and that you would have expressed concern at having unwarily given circulation to a statement, which advanced the invidious supposition, that the Bishop might have allowed to the Chaplains a latitude for deserting their clerical duties, and disregarding the claims of humanity.

3.—Instead of manifesting any such sentiment, you defend your procedure, by professing that you “published the letter under the conviction, that a temperate and modest discussion of the inconveniences likely to arise from a want of local control, in certain points, over Military Chaplains, might be productive of public benefit.”

4.—It is a gross prostitution of terms to represent as a temperate and modest discussion an anonymous erimination of an individual, involving at the same time an insinuated charge, not the less offensive for being hypothetical y put, that his superior might have countenanced the delinquency

5.—On mere presumption, if not with intentional disguise of a known fact, the statement would give it to be understood, that the misconduct alluded to was unchecked, whereas serious notice of the transgression was instantly taken. Therefore, there is not only a groundless imputation on the Bishop, but the culpable inattention of Government is falsely implied.

6.—Had the object of the writer of the letter been to remedy an inconvenience, his addressing himself to the proper department was the ready and legitimate course for procuring an immediate correction of the evil. An accuser's concealment of his name has an obvious mean-

ness in it, which ought to throw doubt upon the motives of his representation; when to that circumstance was added the peculiarity of the signature, “A Friend to a Lady on her Death-Bed,” adopted visibly to suggest to the minds of the public some brutal slight, the malignity of the disposition was unquestionable.

7.—With these particulars before your eyes, and in contempt of former warnings, you did not hesitate to insert in your Journal, such a statement from a person of whom you declare yourself to be utterly ignorant, and of whose veracity you consequently could form no opinion. Your defence for so doing is not rested on the merits of the special case. But as your argument must embrace all publications of a corresponding nature, you insist on your right of making your Journal the channel for that species of indirect attack upon character in all instances of a parallel nature.

8.—When certain irksome restraints, which had long existed upon the press in Bengal, were withdrawn, the prospect was indulged that the diffusion of various information, with the able comments which it would call forth, might be extremely useful to all classes of our countrymen in public employment. A paper conducted with temper and ability, on the principles professed by you, at the outset of your undertaking, was eminently calculated to forward this view. The just expectations of Government have not been answered. Whatsoever advantages have been attained, they have been overbalanced by the mischief of acrimonious discussions, spread through the medium of your Journal. Complaint upon complaint is constantly harassing Government, regarding the impeachment which your loose publications cause to be inferred against individuals. As far as could be reconciled with duty, Government has endeavoured to shut its eyes on what it wished to consider thoughtless aberrations, though perfectly sensible of the practical objection which attends these irregular appeals to the public. Even if the matter submitted be correct, the public can afford no relief, while a communication to the constituted authorities would effect sure redress; yet the idleness of recurrence to a wrong quarter is not all that is reprehensible, for that recurrence is to furnish the dishonest conclusion of sloth or indifference in those bound to watch over such points of the general interest. Still the Government wished to overlook minor editorial macerules. The subject has a different complexion when you, Sir, stand forth to vindicate the principle of such appeals, whatsoever slander upon individuals they may involve, and when you maintain the privilege of lending yourself to be the instrument of any unknown calumniator. Government will not tolerate so mischievous an abuse. It would be with undissembled regret that the Governor General in Council should find himself constrained to exercise the chastening power vested in him; nevertheless, he will not shrink from its exertion, where he may be con-

scientiously satisfied that the preservation of decency and the comfort of society, require it to be applied. I am thence, Sir, instructed to give you this intimation: Should Government observe that you persevere in acting on the principle which you have now asserted, there will be no previous discussion of any case in which you may be judged to have violated those laws of moral candour and essential justice, which are equally binding on all descriptions of the community. You will at once be apprized that your licence to reside in India is annulled, and you will be required to furnish security for your quitting the country by the earliest convenient opportunity. I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, July 17, 1821.

After allowing a few days to pass by, for the more calm consideration of the subject, the following letter was written, and being kept for several days on hand, for the purpose of reconsideration and revision, it was on the 21 of August delivered in to Government.

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,

1.—I should have acknowledged at an earlier period the receipt of your public letter, which you did me the honour to address to me on the 17th instant; but, without intending to depart from the respect due to the sentiments of Government, I have waited until the first impression of extreme pain, which their displeasure has created, had in some degree subsided, before I ventured on the task of disavowing, at least, in the most earnest manner the highly reprehensible and almost criminal motives which your letter imputes to me, though I might fail in the attempt to convince you that such charges are undeserved.

2.—I cannot but perceive from the whole tenour of your letter, that the most unfavourable impressions have been excited against me, on the ground of my being supposed to maintain the privilege of lending myself as the instrument of any unknown calumniator. Such a right or privilege, I must beg of you to assure the Governor General in Council, I most strongly disown and disavow; and I must add, with every respect, that it was with the utmost surprise and pain that I found such an idea strained from the short letter I addressed to you on the 16th. Feeling, however, as I now do, the difficulties by which I am surrounded, I am induced to take the only opportunity which may ever be allowed me, to lay before the Government my defence against these heavy and general accusations. My respect for that Government has been too frequently testified to render any repetition of its avowal necessary at the present moment. I venture to hope, however, that it will not be deemed a departure from that respect, for me to put in my defence before that high tribunal, any more than a de-

fendant would be considered wanting in respect or humility, by temperately supporting his plea before the Judges of the Supreme Court; and though my appeal may seem tedious, yet I shall rely on the well-known justice of the Government for a patient attention to what I may have to urge on my behalf.

3.—As your first letter spoke of the publication of the 10th as *appearing* to convey insinuations of disrespect towards the Lord Bishop, I hoped that such an appearance would be effectually removed by disavowing such intention. The writer indeed expressly states that he believed the rumour of the Lord Bishop's rendering chaplains independent of local control to have been erroneous; and how ever the letter might have been intended to convey a censure on the chaplain alluded to, I was then of opinion, and after the most careful re-perusal of the letter still continue to believe, that the writer meant no disrespect whatever to the character or authority of the Lord Bishop, by alluding to a rumour which he deemed erroneous, chiefly because he thought the power said to have been given by his Lordship to chaplains, would be misplaced, and therefore not likely to be granted by him. I may be pardoned, I hope, for adding, that a disrespect towards the Lord Bishop is not the natural or obvious inference from the publication in question; for not one of those watchful censors on my conduct, who are always ready to assail me, for any error or unguarded step through the press, and to magnify my faults, have attributed to it such a meaning. Had I indeed been made acquainted by your first letter with the fact of the Lord Bishop having actually complained of the publication in question, as conveying to his mind a want of proper respect for his public character, my reply to it would certainly have contained an expression of regret at having given pain to his Lordship, and an endeavour also to convince you that such an impression was not warranted by the tenour of the publication, nor meant to be conveyed by me, who have certainly never yet had any reason to be wanting in respect either to his Lordship's public or private character. I may, on an occasion like this, state as an illustration of my sincerity in this profession, and in defence also of the much-abused Calcutta Journal, that in it, and I believe in it only, will be found a full reply to some very severe and illiberal remarks on the college which his Lordship has lately founded here, and which remarks being published in the Asiatic Journal by the Honourable Company's book-sellers, had a very wide circulation among persons connected with India, both here and at home. But as your letter spoke only of the publication *appearing* to contain insinuations of disrespect, I thought it would be sufficient to explain my *real* motives in publishing it, as having no such tendency; and it was not so much to defend my doing so, as to explain the views with which I was actuated, and to endeavour to remove the unfavourable impression

which it appeared to me had been hastily drawn, that my first reply was written.

4.—It is with much pain that I perceive what I considered to be a temperate and modest discussion of a question of expediency, viewed in so harsh and unfavourable a light by the Government, and that the very language in which that is expressed is objected to as “a gross prostitution of terms.” As, however, the fact of the chaplain’s absence from his duties, and of his absence without necessity, is admitted, the publication could not be considered an *unfounded* crimination of an individual. And so far was it from involving an insinuated charge of a superior having *countenanced* the delinquency, that the very rumour of its being with the Bishop’s permission that the chaplain absented himself, was expressly stated to be erroneous in the writer’s belief; while the expediency of some control, the only question agitated, appears to be acquiesced in by the Lord Bishop and the Government, thereby confirming the propriety of the suggestion which the writer made. The transgression being admitted to have been such as to have called forth the serious and instant notice of the Bishop, is at once a proof of its being founded on something more than mere *presumption*, and being highly reprehensible. But there is no part of the publication, in which I can perceive the most distant allusion to any supposed inattention or indifference to the delinquency, either on the part of the Lord Bishop or of the Government. Though published here on the 10th of July, it was written by its author on the 10th of June, at which time probably the notice of his superior had not been drawn to the transgression, though his displeasure at it has been subsequently conveyed. Of this, however, until communicated in your letter to me, I was certainly ignorant, and the writer was no doubt equally so. His sole object appeared to me to be a hope of remedying the future recurrence of the evil of which he complained, which he might conceive would be most effectually done by drawing to it the attention of the proper authorities, in discussing the question of its expediency through the medium of a public journal. The utmost inference, which I conceive could with justice be drawn from such a discussion against the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, would be this: that even if his Lordship were believed to have urged the removal of an old and salutary restraint, which left the military chaplains in some degree under the control of the local authorities, (which, however, the writer thought erroneously reported,) still it would only follow that it had not been foreseen by his Lordship that in practice serious injury and distress to individuals *might* arise from the want of this check, and that such distress had in fact *actually* arisen therefrom. But this is only stating, that in estimating the result of a certain regulation, his Lordship, with all his benevolent disposition, and all his foresight, is not infal-

lible; an opinion which I presume might be safely expressed of *any* individual, however exalted his rank or station, and of any government, however pure and excellent, without at all conveying insinuations of disrespect towards the high character of either.

5.—With regard to what is said of the inference arising from the signature attached to the publication, I regret that I am obliged still to dissent respectfully from the conclusions you have drawn. To my mind, and to the minds of many other persons who read it, the signature conveyed an impression that the writer stated himself to be “A Churchman,” expressly to prevent the reader entertaining any idea of his meaning a disrespect either to religion or to religious authority, by his questioning the expediency of a certain measure emanating from that source. His adding that he was “The Friend of a Lady on her Death-Bed,” was interpreted by me and others in the same favourable manner, as at once a pledge for the purity of the motive, and the accuracy of the statement; as no man placed in that tender yet awful relationship to another, could be supposed to be imbued with malignity of disposition, nor indeed with any other feelings than those of extreme grief. Under the affliction with which the writer may have watched the last moments of a beloved and expiring friend, he might well be supposed to regret deeply the neglect which had led to her being deprived of those consolations that the religious mind values so highly; and so far from any malignity of disposition urging him to address me, I have no doubt but that his attention was wholly occupied by a concern for the fate of the lady in question, and a desire to secure to others those consolations of which she had been unhappily deprived. My keeping this communication a whole month in my possession before it was published, is a sufficient proof of my not having any particular propensity to gratify by giving it to the world; and my having announced it for publication ten days before its appearance in the Journal of the 10th, may be thought a further corroboration of my not deeming it in the slightest degree objectionable. As it did not convey any specific fact, applying distinctly to time, place, or person, in such a way as to aliv an imputation on any individual, unless indeed the facts were true, I did not demand the author’s name; and his motives for its concealment are easily conceived, when, as in the present instance, where the facts are apparently admitted to be accurate, and the object of the writer’s censure is said to have been re-proved for his transgression, yet the person who first brings the subject to notice is exposed to blame.

6.—The concluding portion of your letter, involving the whole question of the footing on which the Indian press is to remain, has given me, and will give, I am sure, all the friends of its freedom, considerable pain; because it apparently reduces the freedom of opinion to a

more perilous, inasmuch as it is a more uncertain, state than it was under the existence of the censorship. It might be thought irrelevant, perhaps, for me to refer to your former correspondence with me on this subject; but as great stress is laid on my having acted in contempt of repeated warnings, I may be permitted, I hope, briefly to advert to these. The first complaint urged against me was for intemperate observations on the Governor of Madras, as being in violation of the rules issued to editors when the censorship of the press was removed. My attention having been thus for the first time called to these regulations, which were issued before I arrived in Bengal, and were never communicated to me officially, I readily promised a compliance with them; and up to the period of Lord Hastings's reply to the address from Madras, I may safely say that I made them my principal guide. The liberal views taken of the nature and importance of the Indian press, by his Lordship on that occasion, induced me, with many others, to believe the restrictions of 1818 were abrogated and removed, and to consider the press here as subject only to the restraints of law as at home. In consequence of this error of judgment, I was induced to express myself more freely than I should otherwise have done on the conduct of the Madras Government, in interrupting the free passage of my paper through its territories, though guaranteed by the Postmaster General here; but the explanations which I then had the honour to address through you to the Governor General in Council, were sufficient to induce his Lordship to waive the apology at first demanded of me. As my alleged offence, however, on that occasion, was not noticed as a breach of law, but of the restrictions still in force on the press, the impression left by this proceeding was, that the Indian press was henceforth to be subject to the joint control of the law of libel, in itself sufficiently severe, and the specific regulations in question, which supplied certain prohibitions that the law of libel was supposed inadequate to embrace; this joint control was supposed to be the utmost extent of the power intended to be exercised over the Indian press, and any publication that was neither contrary to the laws of England, nor to any of the restrictions on the Indian press prescribed to supply their deficiencies, it was fair to presume would pass unnoticed. The very act of my being proceeded against in the Supreme Court, by a criminal information, in the month of January last, confirmed me in my opinion that the law was to be, however, the chief guardian against any future abuses of the press; and the conversation which is stated to have passed in Parliament between Mr. Lambton and Mr. Bathurst, on the freedom of the press in India, convinced me that the views entertained by the Board of Control and Government at home corresponded to those professed and acted upon here. My surprise and regret was therefore extreme, on learning, that for a publication which I con-

scientiously believed to be neither contrary to the laws, nor in violation of the regulations issued to supply their deficiencies, I was again accused of having given such grave and serious offence to the Government as to induce them to convey through you the strongest expressions of their displeasure. I must now, I fear, consider your letter of the 17th as establishing a new criterion, in lieu of the former more safe, because more clearly defined guides for publication.

7.—In this letter, it is stated, that when certain irksome restraints, which had long existed upon the Indian press in Bengal, were withdrawn, the prospect was indulged, that the diffusion of various information, with the able comments which it would call forth, would be extremely useful to all classes of our countrymen in public employment. The utmost latitude of discussion on subjects of literature and science, or even of English and foreign politics, could have effected nothing, however, towards fulfilling this desirable end. The only subjects of discussion, from the free exercise of which men in public employment in India might hope to be informed and assisted in the correct discharge of their public duties, must be those relating to the civil, military, and judicial administration of this country. In no other sense, indeed, can the freedom of the press be more desirable than the censorship for which it was substituted as an improvement, except that the former admits of the beneficial exercise of that public scrutiny, to the control of which, his Lordship has so truly stated, it is salutary for Government to look, even when its motives of action are most pure. The letter on the Duties of Chaplains, and the proposal of the question as to the expediency of their being subject to local control, appeared to me to be exactly one of those cases contemplated by the Government, from the comments on which public men might be benefited; a case in which the facts were well-founded, but which, from a reluctance even in the aggrieved party to incur the odium of standing forth as a complainant, the Government might not, for a long while at least, if ever, hear of through the formal channels of authority; while from its being brought to their immediate notice through the press, the remedy might be promptly and effectually applied, without any one individual being rendered obnoxious to the friends of the censured party as an informer.

8.—Your letter admits that a paper conducted with temper and ability, on the principles professed by me at the outset of my undertaking, was eminently calculated to forward the views entertained by the Government when the censorship was removed. It is with regret, however, that I observe you add, the just expectations of Government have not been answered. If the *ability* and *temper* with which my labours have been conducted, it does not become me to venture an opinion; but to show that they have been generally approved by the high-

est classes of my countrymen in India, (for the large price and heavy postage of a daily paper necessarily confines its circulation to the upper ranks of society,) I may mention the simple fact of my paper having gradually increased its circulation from the commencement of its establishment, and of its having maintained steadily, for two years and upwards, a higher character and a greater demand, under every disadvantage of price, and every opposition that could be brought against it, than any paper in India; while its receipts, from the regular subscription alone, of more than 10,000 rupees per month, are greater than were ever before realized from the same source in this country. Such an indication of the utility and general estimation of my labours is not appealed to from ostentation, but to show, by the simplest and best means in my power, what the community at large think of the temper and ability with which they are conducted, and that in their view of them I have not departed from the professions with which I first set out. With regard to the principles by which they have been regulated, I may be permitted, I hope, to speak with more confidence, and to assert, without presumption or disrespect, my firm conviction, that these at least have never been departed from; and that if those professed by me at the outset were, in the opinion of Government, eminently calculated to forward their views, those professed by me and acted on at the present moment must be equally so, if their views continue the same, for my principles have never changed. I appeal, with all humility, but still fearless of the result, in confirmation of this opinion, to all who have watched the progress of my Journal, from its commencement up to the present hour, whether the only difference of character between the volumes of it, (of which fifteen are now before the world,) for 1818, 19, 20, and 21, is not, that they have become more and more cautious, guarded, and select, and at the same time more rich, various, and respectable, in the discussions of which it has been almost the only medium on topics connected with the interests of this country. And while I remember with satisfaction that, from the first number to the last, the Government of India has never been spoken of by me but in those terms of just and honest praise which I was ever ready in all sincerity of heart to bestow on it,—it is equally a subject of congratulation to me to find, that from year to year the character of the paper rises with the increasing range and improving quality of the correspondence submitted by it to the world:—in this walk it has no rival.

9.—Whether any and what advantages have arisen from such discussions, I am not qualified to pronounce: neither can I determine on the exact proportion which the mischief said to be occasioned by them bears to the good; but I hope and believe that whatever acrimonious discussions may have agitated the community, a very small portion of them can justly be laid to my charge. In any such discussions,

in which I have been a party, my innocence or guilt depends on whether I maintained the right or the wrong side of the question in dispute. Until these are specified, therefore, I cannot tell what share of them is to be fairly attributed to me; but I hope I may say with a safe conscience, that in the dissensions which have agitated the society here, I have been more frequently the defender than the accuser, and have been far more sinned against than sinning. But if the Government sincerely approves of comments on the acts of its public servants (and no other species of comment could be useful to men in public employment), difference of opinion, and even warm discussions, will necessarily arise. Our Senate at home furnishes a striking example that this may exist, however, even in verbal controversy, so much more liable to warmth and intemperance than written, and especially anonymous, discussions, without invading the rights or disturbing the happiness of private life, or without the necessary existence of private enmities between those who hold and openly maintain very opposite opinions on political and public affairs. In this country, it might be presumed, as in all others, the indolent may be roused to activity, the indifferent quickened in zeal, and the partially informed be made acquainted with much useful knowledge through the medium of a free and active press. But the indolent, and the careless, and the indifferent, and the uninformed, cannot become otherwise but by a great and painful effort to shake off habits which long indulgence has rendered agreeable to them to retain. The State may be benefited by such changes, and the individuals themselves become ultimately more useful and more honourable men. But for some time, at least, they will be angry at the vigilance and watchfulness of those who exercise a scrutiny over their public duties, and still more angry with the press, that, by its very publicity, accelerates their reluctant reformation;—and as the conductor of that press is the only person known to them as the medium of such inconvenience as they are made to feel, in passing from a state of ease to the more active discharge of their public duties, they will regard him, though unjustly, as the cause of all the little vexations they experience in such a change, while they will be joined in their denunciation against the press by all who sympathize with them in the hardship of being obliged to attend with more than ordinary exactness to the faithful discharge of their functions. The labours of a public writer, who attempts to direct his efforts to the higher duties of a free press, are thus sufficiently discouraged by the abundant return of evil for good, which he is sure to receive from the angry and disappointed feelings of those to whom his animadversions, or those of his correspondents, may apply. These persons affect to regard every inquiry or remark connected with their functions as a grave im-

peachment of their public and private characters. They would put down every thing like free discussion, if it were in their power; and I apprehend it is by persons of this description chiefly that Government is harassed by complaint upon complaint against the Calcutta Journal. But if there be just and serious grounds for complaint, is not the channel for redress open? If the State or any of its high officers be libelled, the tribunal before which I was once summoned as the publisher of a letter that gave offence to the Government, is fully adequate to inflict its penalties. If individuals are injured and aggrieved, that same tribunal gives to them every just ground of hope for redress. Those, therefore, who harass Government with complaints, can only do so because they doubt whether the ground of their complaint is sufficient to obtain them redress at law;—yet the same reason, if duly adverted to, would render them undeserving the attention of a just government, who must perceive the ungenerous advantage which such persons seek, when they ask from the Government particular immunities in their own behalf, to which the object of their complaint can lay no claim, and when they call down upon me the censure of the ruling power, instead of meeting me on equal terms before the common tribunal of our country, or explaining or repelling the statements of which they complain through the medium of the press. I may be allowed to add that, in appealing to the Public, they may be sure of a fair, if not a partial hearing, by addressing themselves to those Editors who would gladly expose the slightest error I could commit.

10.—I regret to learn from you that the Government apparently founds its objection to any appeals to the Public, on the incapacity of the Public to afford redress;—but if this were the chief objection, it existed with equal force in 1818, when the censorship was taken off for the avowed purpose of admitting such appeals; and was then, indeed, perhaps stronger than now, when an increasing community of Englishmen, bringing with them all their feelings fresh from home, is giving a more decided tone to public sentiment, and more value to public opinion, and assimilating it more and more to that of England. Such appeals, however, from which the Government justly hoped their servants would derive considerable benefit, cannot, I hope, be seriously thought to furnish the dishonest conclusion of sloth or indifference to those bound to watch over the general interest. On the contrary, they are generally made first through the press, for the express purpose of drawing the attention of men in authority to subjects that had not been brought before their notice; and among the many hundreds of letters published in the Calcutta Journal, on subjects connected with the Government of India, though I remember with pleasure many that praised its vigilance, its watchfulness, and its solicitude, for the welfare

and happiness of every class of the immense population committed to its charge, I cannot recall to my recollection any that warranted the conclusion of sloth or indifference, which is here made to follow every appeal to the public substituted for a direct communication to the Constituted Authorities.

11.—It is made deep and serious matter of accusation against me, that I stand forth to vindicate the principle of such appeals, whatsoever slander upon individuals they may involve, and that I maintain the privilege of lending myself to be the instrument of any unknown calumniator. I cannot merely repeat such language, addressed from a powerful Government to an individual like myself, without considerable pain, even at this distance of time; after the first impressions of my surprise at such an accusation had subsided. In the short letter which I had the honour to address you, in reply to your demand of the author's name, I simply explained the hope of public benefit as actuating me in the publication of his letter; I neither meant to assert nor stand forth to vindicate any principle whatever, still less the odious and abandoned defiance of all principle, which I am here supposed capable of evincing. It is painful to me to use stronger expressions of dissent than may be deemed becoming; but in the present instance, without intending the slightest disrespect to the opinions or authority of Government, I must say, if they were the last words I had to write, that I owe it to the regard which, in common with every honest man, I entertain for my reputation; I owe it to my children, to whom probably I may have nothing but that reputation to leave; I owe it to the many distinguished supporters of my principles in the Three Presidencies of India, from whose approbation I derive my all;—to enter my most solemn protest against an accusation, the nature of which is such as every feeling of my heart utterly condemns and abhors. If I have been more forward than others to vindicate the principle of appeals to the public through the medium of the press, it is because I estimate more highly so magnificent and invaluable a gift as its freedom; and if it be not again taken from us, or so fettered and curtailed, as to differ in nothing but in risk from the censorship of former days, I believe that the administration of India, under his Lordship's rule, will never be spoken of by posterity without their eulogium on this great act, as characterizing at once a government that had nothing to conceal, and consequently nothing to fear, for if knowledge is power, integrity and justice are the pillars of strength.

12.—That his Excellency the Governor General in Council is vested with the exercise of a chastening power, by virtue of which he may deport any man to England from hence, without condescending to assign a reason for such an act, it is not for me to dispute; but of this I am perfectly assured, that it would be indeed with "undiminished regret" that the Governor Ge-

neral would be prevailed on to exercise a right that violates the very essence and spirit of British legislation; a right, the principle of which if once admitted, would justify the transportation of an individual while suing even the Government itself for his legal right in a court of law, or the removal of a man against whom no charge could be brought, but whose banishment might ruin him and his family for ever. That state exigencies might possibly arise to render this as justifiable as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act at home, may readily be imagined; but the mere propounding of the question, "Whether a chaplain ought to be subject or not to the exercise of local control," could hardly be deemed so to endanger the state as to furnish the exigency required; nor could I imagine that so unconstitutional a power would ever be exercised by the Government, until the Supreme Court had been found inadequate to meet the delinquency of the offending individual with a sufficient punishment. The preservation of decency, and the comfort of society, one would hope, could never demand such a remedy. These are indeed terms, respecting the exact import of which no two individuals will entirely agree. I am unwilling myself to offend or disturb either; but in the sincere and zealous discharge of my duty, and in endeavouring to fulfil the just expectations of Government, by the encouragement of such comments on public questions as shall benefit those in public employment, it will be difficult always to avoid it. Every such comment will probably disturb the comfort of the individual to whose duties it is applied; and this would be in proportion to their truth, and to his consciousness of their application, the two strongest reasons for their use, and the surest pledges of their utility, as effecting a beneficial change; while the upright and faithful servant of Government would remain undisturbed. It is not, surely, for being thus instrumental in promoting the public good, at an occasional sacrifice of private comfort, that Government would visit me with its extreme displeasure. If, on the other hand, offences against decency, and aspersions on individual character, public or private, be deemed within the peculiar province of Government to watch over and avenge, I may safely say, that there is not an individual in India who would have larger claims on its interference and protection, as an unjustly calumniated person, than myself; but I would not insult its dignity, nor so far evince my want of confidence in the tribunal open to all, as to ask the Government to extend the shield of its protecting and avenging power to me.

13.—The close of your letter, which apprizes me that I shall be ordered to quit the country, if I persevere in acting on the principles avowed in my first short reply to you, is indeed most painful for me to advert to; but I trust I shall not be thought wanting in respect to the Government, if I doubt in the present instance whether they have clearly apprehended my

meaning. My reply did not professedly avow any principles, but went simply to explain the views with which I published the communication in question. But if it be said to involve a principle, the only one that can be possibly inferred from it, is the belief that when a discussion is temperate and modest, and when it is likely to be productive of public benefit, without infringing on the respect due to men in public authority, it may be safely indulged in. This, I humbly submit, is the very extent of admission that can be drawn from my reply; and as such a principle is not only unobjectionable in a legal view, but is in a strict conformity with the regulations that superseded the censorship, and with the motives ascribed by you to the Government in removing this last, I cannot comprehend why my perseverance in it should subject me to banishment and ruin. If there is to be no previous discussion of any case in which I may be supposed to violate the laws of moral candour and essential justice, it will be in vain for me to hope to escape. The standard of those laws may vary so much in different minds, that what is done with conscious innocence by one person, may be thought to transgress the proper bounds by others, especially by those whose feelings are irritated; and upon their angry complaints, the persons in whose hands the administration lies, may apply their own standard to the case, and, without previous discussion, without examination, without a hearing, and without a defence, sentence to banishment and ruin, one who has offended no prescribed rule, who was conscious of no crime, but who could yet neither defend nor even assert his innocence.

14.—I may be forgiven here, I hope, for a momentary digression, to show wherein I have already suffered grievous and irreparable injury from this infliction of punishment without crime. In the year 1813, on the very day that Lord Moira left Portsmouth for India, I left that port for the Mediterranean. A series of disappointments, and loss of a fortune acquired in those countries, occasioned my going to Egypt, and from thence to Bombay. I had there the good fortune to be appointed to the command of one of the largest China ships of the port; from which, however, I was suddenly removed, without even an alleged fault, by an order of the Government, requiring me to furnish securities for my immediate embarkation for England, because I was not provided with the Honourable Company's licence to settle in India. It was in vain that I stated the reason of my not having such licence to be, because I had no idea when I left England of ever visiting India; it was in vain that I explained my having even then no intention to settle there, but after performing my voyage to China, and opening there a channel of intercourse, as well as in Bombay, for a trade with Egypt, should return to that country where all my affairs lay; it was in vain that I solicited the common favour of a special licence to remain even in Bombay, (relinquishing a

voyage that promised the highest advantages,) until the pleasure of the Honourable Court could be known; or to visit Bengal to lay my case before the Supreme Government, securities being offered for my appearance whenever called for. Each and every request was refused, and it was peremptorily determined, that I should be sent to England; a measure as ruinous to all my prospects, as if I had been transported to Botany Bay, since all my ultimate views and affairs were in Egypt. It was at length, however, granted me as an especial favour, to return from whence I came, though there was such an entire absence of all offence on my part, that the Governor, Sir Evan Nepean, in a note, of which I was furnished with an official copy, expressed himself in these terms on my case: "I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route. To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection, and shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's licence, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interest, in opening the trade of the Red Sea." I was thus subjected to the loss of nearly two years in time, the entire defeat of very brilliant prospects, and the positive loss of several thousand pounds; when, so far from any fault being imputed to me, I had public testimony to my character being unobjectionable, and my pursuits being deemed honourable and beneficial to the community. This testimony, and the view taken of the hardship of my case by the Court of Directors at home, obtained for me, however, what I understood to be the special favour of a licence being sent to me in India, without my personal appearance with securities before the Court.

15.—Since my return to India, a second time, with this licence, I have endeavoured to repair my losses as well as zeal and industry in an honest pursuit would admit, first at sea, in the command of the ship to which I was originally appointed, and which was reserved for my return, and subsequently in my present occupation on shore, upon the faith and understanding of my being subject to the same laws and regulations as those which are binding on my fellow-countrymen of all classes in India. I have studied to understand, and endeavoured to obey them, in order to avoid all cause of just offence; though the very nature of my present avocations presents daily risk of offending the pride, or the prejudices, or the self love of many,—a risk from which almost all other professions are exempt, and to which my own is more and more subject in proportion to the conscientious discharge of its painful and arduous, but I hope useful and honourable duties. In the belief that as long as I obeyed the laws, I should not be deprived of the means of pursuing my avocations undisturbed, I have embarked the whole of my fortune and my hopes in my present undertaking; I have pledged my credit also

for extensive arrangements in England connected with the permanence of my concern; and moreover, I have sent to England for my family, from whom I have now been painfully and unwillingly separated for a period of more than eight years,—never having before been sufficiently fixed in any one spot to admit of their joining me, and from successive losses and disappointments never having before possessed the means of defraying the charge of their removal from home. The prospect opened for me here by the very extensive and unshaken support given to my humble labours, the secure footing on which the Indian press seemed to rest, and the improving value of the Calcutta Journal in every respect, as it appeared to those most competent to form an unbiased judgment in the case, all seemed to warrant such arrangements as those into which I have entered. But these are all placed in jeopardy, and threatened with interruption, if not entire destruction, by the tenour of the letter which the Government instructed you to address to me on the 17th instant.

16.—In reverting to the main points of this long letter, which I have in vain endeavoured to shorten, I beg you will assure the Governor General in Council, that in publishing the communication which appeared in the Journal of the 10th instant, I had not the most distant idea that any thing it contained, could be even construed into a want of respect for the public character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; that in the short reply which I had the honour to address to your first demand of the author's name, I meant not to advocate any right whatever, nor to vindicate any principle; though I humbly conceive the principle, if any, there implied, namely, that when discussions are temperate and modest, and may be productive of public benefit without infringing on the respect due to men in public authority, they may be safely indulged, will be deemed by his Lordship unobjectionable; and that your last communication of the 17th instant, has given me considerable pain, at finding I had unintentionally given such grave and serious offence to a Government that I have every desire to honour, respect, and obey. I beg also that you will further assure his Lordship in Council, that if the laws of my country are to be my future guide, I shall bow to the decisions of its tribunal with all due respect; if the written and defined restrictions issued on the removal of the censorship, be made my rule of action, I will endeavour as faithfully to adhere to them; even if the censorship be restored, I shall still acquiesce in the common submission exacted from all, by a power, which, whether legally or illegally exercised, no individual like myself could hope successfully to resist. But, if so severe a punishment as banishment and ruin is to be inflicted on a supposed violation of the laws of moral candour and essential justice, of which I know not where to look for any definite standard, I fear that my best determinations

will be of no avail. My path will be so beset with dangers, that I know of no way in which I can escape the risk of such supposed violations, when those who are at once to be both judges of the law and the fact, may at the same moment make the accusation, pronounce the sentence,—and carry it into execution,—except by relinquishing entirely an occupation thus environed with perils from which no human prudence could ensure an escape.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, July 27, 1821.

FINAL REPLY.

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

General Department.

Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency the most noble the Governor General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, and to inform you, that the letter in question has produced no change in the sentiments and resolutions of Government, already communicated to you on the 17th ultimo.

I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, Aug. 10, 1821.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

From the period at which the foregoing correspondence closed, (August, 1821,) up to the period at which the following correspondence transpired, (September, 1822,) it was generally believed that the idea of transportation without trial for offences through the press was abandoned, as wholly inconsistent with all the solemn professions that had been made of giving to India the boon of free discussion. This idea was strengthened by the fact, that in two cases which occurred during this interval, instead of recourse being had to the remedy of banishment without trial, for an alleged abuse of the liberty of the press, the Editor was regularly indicted before a Grand Jury in November, 1821, and acquitted by a Petit Jury in January, 1822, of the charge of an alleged libel on the Secretaries to Government; and a criminal information was also filed against him on the motion of the Advocate General, as the law officer of Government, for alleged libels arising out of a discussion on the former case; which information has never been brought forward for trial, but was silently abandoned to its fate. Under all those circumstances, transmission, or transportation without trial, was no longer apprehended, and offences through the press were understood to be subject only to a trial by jury, in the same manner as offences of any other description which were contrary to law. The following correspondence will show, however, that this hope was indulged in vain, and that the liberty of the press neither did nor could exist in India while such a power

as is here assumed could be held in terror over those whose fortunes were placed in momentary jeopardy, by being embarked in so precarious an undertaking.

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir,

General Department.

1.—The attention of the Governor General in Council has been called to a discussion in the Calcutta Journal of the 31st ultimo, respecting the power of Government to forbid the further continuance within the British territories in India of any European not being a warranted servant of the Honourable Company.

2.—With a suppression of facts, most mischievous, as tending to betray others into penal error, you have put out of view the circumstance that the residence alluded to, if it be without a licence, is criminal by the law of England; while, if the residence be sanctioned by licence, it is upon the special recorded condition, not simply of obedience to what the local government may see cause to enjoin, but to the holding a conduct which that government shall deem to merit its countenance and protection; a breach of which condition forfeits the indulgence, and renders it liable to extinction.

3.—This provision, which the legislature of your country has thought proper to enact, (53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sect. 36,) you have daringly endeavoured to discredit and nullify, by asserting that "transmission for offences through the press is a power wholly unknown to the law;" that "no regulation exists in the statute book for restraining the press in India;" and that "the more the monstrous doctrine of transmission is examined, the more it must excite the abhorrence of all just minds."

4.—No comment is requisite on the gross ingenueness of describing as a tyrannous authority, that power, the legality and justice of which you had acknowledged by your voluntary acceptance of a leave, granted on terms involving your express recognition to that effect. Neither is it necessary to particularize the many minor indecencies in the paper observed upon, since you have brought the matter to one decisive point.

5.—Whether the act of the British Legislature, or the opinion of an individual shall be predominant, is now at issue. It is thence imperative on the duty of the local government, to put the subject at rest. The long-tried forbearance of the Governor General will fully prove the extreme reluctance with which he adopts a measure of harshness; and even now, his Excellency in Council is pleased to give you the advantage of one more warning. You are now finally apprized, if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here, or shall treat with disregard any official injunction, past or future, from Government, whether communicated in terms of command, or in the gentler

language of intimation, your licence will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India.

I am, Sir, &c.

C. LUSHINGTON, Act. Chief Sec. to Gov.
Council Chamber, Sept 5, 1822.

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To C. LUSHINGTON, Esq. Acting Chief
Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I should have acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, at an earlier period; but that I have been confined for the last seven days to my bed by illness. I now seize, however, the earliest moment of a temporary release from that confinement, to reply to its contents.

I regret that the attention of the Governor General in Council should have been drawn to *one portion only* of a long protracted discussion between myself and the editor of another paper, without apparently having been made acquainted with the origin of that dispute, or presented with the various articles that had been written on both sides of the question at issue, before the article of the 31st ultimo, which closed the discussion, appeared. Had this not been the case, it is difficult to conceive that his Excellency in Council should consider the disputed point to be “whether the Government had the power to forbid the further continuance within the British territories in India of any European, not being a covenanted servant of the Honourable Company.” This power was never doubted, much less denied, and the only question between my opponent and myself respecting the exercise of such a power (which both acknowledged to be legally given) was, whether like all other legally delegated power, it was intended to be exercised under a responsibility for its use or abuse; or whether like illegal and absolute power, it was to be subject to no responsibility whatever. My opponent contended that it had no limit but the mere will and pleasure of the high individual exercising it. I maintained, on the contrary, that the power itself originating in a lawful source, was necessarily to be confined within lawful limits; and that irresponsible power was no where to be found acknowledged in the laws or constitution of England.

Had his Lordship in Council been made acquainted with the rise and progress of this discussion, so as to have seen the spirit and intention of the part I have borne in it from its commencement to its close, I should have reposed my case on his judgment for any decision he might have thought fit; but this appearing to me *not* to be the case, I confide in his Lordship's sense of justice to yield me a patient hearing, while I recapitulate, which I shall do as briefly as possible, the heads of the discussion in question, to show that so far from setting the authority of the legislature at defiance, my whole aim and end has been to

rescue that supreme power from the contempt with which others appeared to me to treat it.

In the *John Bull* of the 21st of August some sneers were thrown out against a free press, which the editor of that paper endeavours by every possible means to bring into discredit sometimes by attempts to represent it as dangerous, and at others to make it appear ridiculous; and it appearing to me, that, independent of the error of such a course, which deserved to be exposed, it betrayed a great want of judgment in any Indian paper, professing admiration for the character and principles of the Marquess of Hastings, to attempt to degrade that which his Lordship had described, on a great public occasion, to be “the most powerful instrument that could appertain to human rule, and fraught with equal blessings to the governors and the governed,” I ventured to defend both the press and its noble eulogist from this double-edged weapon of ridicule and calumny, by publishing in my *Journal* of the next day (August 22) the following paragraph:—

“Every one must be aware that the freedom of the Indian press is a subject in which the Marquess of Hastings took a sincere, a well grounded, and a commendable interest. He gladly saw it numbered among the most useful and honourable acts of his administration; he gladly received from all quarters the eulogiums to which such an act fully and justly entitled him; and with all the frankness that belongs to a noble heart and an elevated mind, he opened the inmost recesses of his bosom to the world, to explain to them the motive by which he was actuated in bestowing on his countrymen in India this splendid and invaluable gift. Whatever may have since occurred, we are firmly persuaded, that Lord Hastings will not look back upon a single act of his long and eventful life with higher approbation than on this. It is one of those deeds which not only wear well, but improve in estimated value by the lapse of time. There is not one of his Lordship's children, who, in reviewing the bright portion of their beloved and venerated parent's history, will not fondly dwell on this act of their father's as one combining the lofty views of the philosopher and statesman, with the conscious innocence and bold integrity of the pure patriot and the honest man. There is not one of his Lordship's historians who will not dilate on this portion of his Indian life, as one leading in the end to more important results than all the orders which gained him victories in the field, or all the regulations which have obtained his sanction in the Council. We speak deliberately and advisedly, when we add that we have the strongest reasons for believing that his Lordship is at this moment as warm a friend to the freedom of the Indian press, as at the period of his first breaking its shackles; and whatever false impressions, groundless alarms, expedient concessions, or any other causes may have given rise to, in the long interval between that period

and the one at which we write, we do believe sincerely,—and if they were the last words we had to utter we would again repeat them,—we do believe, that at heart, Lord Hastings *was* sincere in all that he said and did on that great and interesting question, and that he is *now* as desirous as any individual in India, that the press should remain unfettered by any other restraint than the laws made for all, satisfied as he must be now, that the danger apprehended from it by shallower and weaker minds than his own, and the outcry raised against the exercise of a salutary and honest expression of opinion, were without the slightest rational foundation.”

Further, the editor of John Bull having gratuitously inserted in his paper of the 19th of August, an isolated passage from an English Journal, describing the conduct of the Government of India towards the press, as “displaying the caprice of a barbarian despot, who engages eagerly in a scheme of which he dares not foresee the consequences, and tires of it before it comes fairly into operation.” In reference to this unfair and offensive quotation, with a view chiefly to show that my object was to defend the press and its patrons here from imputations with which my opponent so zealously strove to stigmatize all that belonged to freedom of opinion, I added to the former paragraph the following remark:—

“If John Bull be thus allowed to handle such subjects with impunity, and to connect the name of Lord Hastings with what he holds to be either pernicious, or ridiculous, or both—it shall be our duty to rescue the name of that nobleman from a connexion it so ill deserves; and to place it in association with that which Milton eulogized, which Blackstone praised, which Pitt and Fox and Burke and Sheridan, and a hundred other names with which those of Hastings and Canning may be ranged without losing any of their lustre, have all lauded as it deserves—a free press—the great engine of nearly all the blessings that have been showered upon mankind since its first discovery, and the means to which, under Heaven, Religion, Science, Art, Knowledge, Morality, Virtue, and Happiness are more indebted for the progress they have made among nations, than to any other cause that can be named.”

On the 26th of August, the editor of John Bull published an article of some length, the chief purport of which was to show that notwithstanding all that had been said about the press in India, it never was *intended* even that it should enjoy that freedom of publication, which Lord Hastings considered to be the natural right of his countrymen, and which he said he was as much guided by a well-weighed policy, as by a sense of justice, in freeing from the shackles that formerly bound it. With the most wilful blindness to all that had been passing for the last four years in India, the editor of John Bull opened his dissertation with the following singular confes-

sion. “In the first place, then, we must begin by acknowledging candidly, that till Thursday last, when the matter was announced in the Calcutta Journal, we had not the *most remote* idea that a free press was established in India;” and then goes on to insinuate that the professions of the Governor General were of no value whatever, and that that freedom of the press for which he had so justly received the thanks and admiration of his countrymen from all quarters of India, not only did not exist now, but never had, and never was intended to have, any force or meaning whatever.

On the following day (August 27), I noticed these ungenerous, and as they appeared to me, unwarranted assertions of my opponent, by saying that I believed the *wish* of the Governor General was in unison with his professions, that the press should be held amenable to the courts of law for its offences (*that* being the process observed by his Lordship, in the majority of the cases in which he had thought proper to interfere, and in the most recent instances also); and that if this were the case, the press must be considered *free*; for all that was ever meant by me in using that term, was, free from any other restraint or control than that imposed by a court of law and a jury. On the same occasion, in reference to John Bull's insinuations of Lord Hastings's professions in reply to the Madras address having no force or meaning, I said:

“Believing the opinions of the Governor General, delivered to all the world, to be good and valid, we very naturally concluded that all that dropped from his lips was true and sincere; and that the press which he had received thanks for relieving from its shackles, was free indeed.” I added, “We believe so still; and there is no writer that can suppose otherwise, without imputing hypocrisy and wickedness to acts that sprung from the frank disclosures of a noble and benevolent heart. That writer is, however, John Bull; and he shows practically how little he regards those restrictions as in force, making a greater breach of them than has ever been done before; by declaring, in effect, that a solemn act of the Governor General, done in the face of all the world, had no meaning whatever, and should be regarded as utterly null and void! If this be the way in which John Bull thinks to excite respect for authority, he will certainly fail in his object; for such a construction (which happily will no where be received) is directly calculated to bring the highest authority of the land into contempt.

On the following day (Aug. 28), the editor of John Bull noticed the remarks made by me as given above, and after speaking of the censorship of Lord Wellesley's Government, and the restrictions of 1818 substituted in its stead, says in the most contemptuous manner:—“In answer to these arguments, the Calcutta Journal brings forward certain words said to be spoken

by the Governor General at the Government House in 1819; and after endeavouring to raise a doubt as to whether such words were ever actually spoken or not, goes on to show that even if they were, they could deserve no attention, and possess no weight whatever: for even if they professed to remove restrictions, to grant freedom of publication, and to permit public scrutiny, they professed what the Governor General could not grant; for, says he,

"That would be a monstrous doctrine in law. A resolution of the Governor General in Council, to be cancelled *ex ore*, by the Governor, whenever he should think proper." "The Governor General cannot (he continues) even if he would, make any rule for emancipating the press from restrictions; nor can he by law, repeal or suspend the restrictions already imposed upon it." "Here then (he concludes) is dissolved into thin air, the gorgeous palace of press liberty, as raised by the Lamp of Aladdin out of a few winged words in the Government House."

It appeared to me impossible that any one entertaining the least particle of regard for consistency of conduct, could interpret this in any other light than as a most deliberate charge of inconsistency and insincerity on the conduct of the Governor General, on the occasion of his Lordship's Reply to the Madras Address, to which these remarks applied. Accordingly, on the following day (Aug. 29), I published an article headed "Defence of the Marquess of Hastings against the attacks of John Bull." To this article, it will be only necessary for me to call the attention of the Governor General in Council to one or two paragraphs; first, to show what were the grounds on which I contended that the press was still practically free; and secondly, to show that so far from doubting the power of Government to send Englishmen out of the country whether they had a licence or no; I admitted it in its full force, contending only that such a power must have been given to be exercised under the same responsibility that attaches to all power, and even prerogative, under the British rule and dominion, either at home or abroad. The paragraphs alluded to are as follows:—

"Perhaps the very best illustration that we could give of this actual freedom of the press being such as we have here described it, is to ask the reader, whether at any period since the removal of the censorship, a paper has ventured to place the conduct of the Governor General in so invidious a light as this very John Bull has done; by making it appear that while Lord Hastings was receiving from every part of India, and even in England, praises the most enthusiastic, for his giving to India the freedom of the press,—while he was professing to the whole world, in his reply to the Madras Address, why he had given this 'freedom of publication' to his fellow subjects, his words were mere 'winged words,' uttered in the Government House, without any meaning whatever,

and such as no man of ordinary understanding could suppose really to imply what the words fairly purported: Is it possible that a person professing respect for the Government of the country can thus slander its Supreme Head? It is indeed 'monstrous.'

"The power of restraining the press and enforcing the observance of any restriction that the Governor General in Council thinks fit to impose, is an indirect one. There is no statute of English law, and no regulation of Indian Law, by which any editor can be punished with banishment for offenders through the press; but there is a power vested in the Governor General only, of sending to England any British subject who is found residing in India without a licence, or who came to this country without this legal warrant of entry.

"The power then of sending any man out of the country who has no licence to remain in it, though given for one purpose, may be certainly used for another; and this is the only restraint which can be used over the English press.

"A person suing the Government in Court for damages, might be easily removed, no doubt, or silenced, by the threat that if he persisted in opposing its wishes, his licence to remain in India would be withdrawn, and immediate embarkation would follow: but as the Government have too high a sense of justice to do this, why should we suppose that they would require any other channel than the law for enforcing the assent of others to their opinions in any other case? or why imagine that they would use means to compel a man to abandon his right of publication, which they would not use to compel him to abandon his right of trading? for both are in one sense actual property, legally sanctioned by a licence to remain in the country, and ought to be regulated by the same standard."

To this article, the Editor of the John Bull replied on the following day, by fastening on some of the minor points of the question in dispute, and making various quotations from official letters that had passed at different periods between the Chief Secretary to Government and myself, with a view to charge me with prevarication and inconsistency.

The article in the Calcutta Journal of the 31st of August, to which your letter of the 5th inst. particularly alludes, as the one brought to the notice of his Lordship in Council, was a reply to that of the John Bull on the preceding day; and the main object of this recapitulation has been to show,—

1st.—That the discussion did not originate with me.

2dly.—That it was not founded on a question of the power of Government to transmit without trial, but on a mere question of fact and evidence, whether the press was free or enslaved.

3dly.—That my share in it was not to deny but to uphold the authority of the laws.

4thly.—That my object was to defend the Marquess of Hastings individually from accusations

of insincerity which I thought unfounded; and the Government collectively from a charge of entertaining intentions hostile to the fair and legal exercise of a common right, which I was then as unwilling to admit.

6thly.—That the whole substance of the dispute ultimately resolved itself, not into a doubt of the power of an act of Parliament, but into a doubt of the construction given to certain clauses of that act, on which men might differ widely without losing any respect whatever for its authority.

This brings me, therefore, to the immediate subject of your letter; to the chief points of which I shall endeavour, as well as my feeble state of health will admit, to reply as briefly and as clearly as I can.

With reference to the first paragraph of your letter, as to the subject of the discussion being the power of Government to send Englishmen out of India, what I have before said will be sufficient, I hope, to satisfy the Governor General in Council, that this power was never questioned by me, and that it formed only a collateral argument in the main dispute, which was, whether the Press was free or enslaved; and if restraints were to be placed on it, what was the legal mode in which such restraints could be imposed.

With reference to the second paragraph of your letter, I beg distinctly to state, that so far from having suppressed the fact of its being unlawful for Englishmen to reside in India without licence, I have admitted and reiterated that fact, times beyond number, always making it the ground of my argument for saying that the fear of having this licence withdrawn, and being therefore sent to England as a person unauthorized to remain in India, is the most powerful as well as the only legal restraint even now exercised over the Indian press: because, although ostensibly the law does not specifically warrant transmission for offences through the press, any more than for any other class of offences, yet as it warrants it for whatever the Governor General may think good cause, be that what it may, his Excellency can exercise that power on British-born individuals, whenever he thinks proper, without assigning any reason whatever, subject however to that responsibility under which all power, even that of the courts of law, must necessarily be exercised, since irresponsible power is a doctrine wholly unknown to the laws and constitution of our country.

With reference to the third paragraph of your letter, I beg leave to say, that I have never attempted to discredit or nullify any act passed by the legislature of our country, for that would be to deny the authority of King, Lords, and Commons;—but that it appeared to me, as to many others, that the construction of an act of Parliament, containing many more clauses than one, must always admit of wide latitude of opinion. Throughout that act, no specific mention is made of any punishment peculiar to

offences through the press, which it may therefore be presumed were intended to be dealt with according to the common course of law; and neither on the Statute Book of England nor the Statute Book of India, by which I mean the printed and published regulations of Government issued and passed in the usual form, am I aware of any law for restraining the Indian press. I am of course aware that the Government may issue any order that it may see fit to Englishmen residing in India, and, among these at least, prohibit printing altogether; and that any refusal to comply with such order must be at the peril of the individual refusing, who may have his licence withdrawn, and be then sent out of the country for being without this document; but in common parlance, it is no denial of this power to say that no law exists for restricting the Indian press, because this power applies no more to the press than it does to any thing else; and if the power of placing restraints on the press be inferred, from the mere existence of a legal power to transmit, then, a power to place restraints on any other enjoyment may be equally inferred from the same source; and yet it would surely be admissible to say that there was no law on the Statute Book of India for preventing the publication of political tracts, although any one who should publish one that contained offensive matter might have his licence withdrawn, and then be transmitted for a misdemeanour as residing in India without proper authority. The laws on the Statute Book apply, however, with equal force to all classes of British subjects in India, whether British-born or otherwise, and these infringements may be punished through the regular channel of a court of law; they are in this respect essentially different from orders not so passed in the shape of regulations, though such orders may be equally binding on those over whom the power of transmission extends; and I am sure that his Excellency in Council will see clearly that this distinction is sufficient to explain the full meaning of my expression.

The fourth paragraph of your letter attributes to me what I feel conscious I do not deserve. I hope I am as incapable of "gross dissingenuousness," as I am of remaining silent under so unwarranted a reproof. I do not call it a stigma, because it could only become so by being deservedly attached to my character. I have the consolation, however, to know, that if repeated a thousand times, it will still fail to be felt by me as deserved, and obtain no credit with those to whom the frankness of my whole conduct is known. When I accepted of a licence to remain in India, which was sent to me from England, without my knowledge of what were the conditions it might impose, I was glad to find that there were express and positive conditions laid down in it, to which I could honestly subscribe, and that as long as I conformed to those conditions, the licence would be held valid, though the moment I made a

breach of any of them, I was liable to have it withdrawn. The first of these conditions stated, that I was to conform to all such *rules and regulations* as might be in force at the Presidency at which I might reside; secondly, that I should engage in no trade, bank, dealings, or transactions, *contrary to law*; thirdly, that I should be guilty of no violence, wrong, or oppression, towards the natives, or any foreign king or state within the limits of the Company's Charter; and fourthly, that I should not quit the country without paying all my just debts. Hitherto I hope and believe that I have fulfilled my portion of the conditions enjoined; and as there can be no contracts without reciprocal engagements, I have always indulged the hope that, as long as my stipulated duties were fulfilled, the stipulated protection of the Government would not be denied me. In accepting this licence, I did not certainly conceive that it involved an express recognition of the legality or justice of a power which should subject me to banishment and ruin for daring to entertain an opinion of any act of Parliament, contrary to that held by the chief authority of the state. My opinion of that meaning may be wrong: I have never asked for any other means than open argument to show that it was right; but, that the opinion entertained by Government of the power granted them by an act of Parliament may be *also* wrong, the history of our own times will furnish proof; for it is within the recollection of many residents of Calcutta, that in the case of certain duties imposed on articles of trade by an authority which the Government no doubt thought legal at the time, a reference to England showed that such duties were illegally imposed, and it was the opinion of the best lawyers in India that the Government might have been sued for the full amount of the duties so levied. The memorable case of the Despatch cutter is another striking instance of the difference of opinion that may be honestly entertained by the most upright and well-intentioned persons as to the construction of an act of Parliament; and indeed every case that is tried before a British court, if it depend on a question defined by statute law, furnishes proof upon proof of the main fact for which I am contending, namely, that without at all doubting the *validity* of any act of the Legislature, there is nothing of more frequent occurrence than the maintenance of the most opposite opinions as to the *intent* and meaning of such acts. It is scarcely a year ago since the power of the Supreme Court to file criminal informations for libel was disputed through a long and tedious day, in which the judges, barristers, and other officers of court, all differed from each other in their construction of the act of Parliament relating to this power, for no two speakers gave exactly the same view. But the learned Judges of that Court did not think it *any disrespect to their authority* to question its *legal extent*. On the contrary, they heard with as much patience and attention those who

opposed the exercise of such a power as unlawful, and never contemplated the act, as they did those who contended for its legality; and even among themselves, one of their own number, the present sole Judge on the Bench, contended against the jurisdiction which his brother Judges wished to maintain. No disrespect to the general authority of the Court was however meant by this; nor has that authority been lessened by that discussion in the slightest degree. The object of *all* was to ascertain, by *careful and patient inquiry* and the fullest and most impartial hearing of *all parties*, what the *exact limit* of authority was; and this being ascertained, obedience to it followed in the natural order of things.

The fifth paragraph of your letter, therefore, which supposes that the question is reduced to this point, whether the act of the British Legislature or the opinion of the individual shall prevail, gives, I fear, too much importance both to me and to my sentiments. The act of the British Legislature *must* prevail, whatever may be my individual opinion of its meaning. It is only the collective opinion of a court of law that could set aside any decision to which a misinterpretation of it might lead; and only the collective opinion of King, Lords, and Commons, that could increase its powers if too limited, or retrench them if too extended. In all this, my individual opinion would avail no more than the opinion of the Governor General in Council. We might each entertain and act upon very opposite ones, but in a British court, or before a British Parliament, there would be other commentators, the collective weight of whose opinions would of course decide the meaning of all doubtful points.

Of the forbearance of the Governor General I have myself spoken often and warmly; and to show that I entertain no mean opinion of what we owe to this, I must take the liberty to subjoin one more short extract from the late discussion, which has given rise to this letter. At the close of this discussion, I said,

"We hope we shall be pardoned for the unexpected length into which we have been led; but, much as we have suffered from the measures pursued at one time and another against the British press of India, we have yet a sense of deep and sincere gratitude towards the illustrious Nobleman, whom we shall always call its liberator, and who, we are persuaded, is still its friend. He is about to leave us shortly, and he can now have no suspicion even of our motives for flattering him. We know, however, that he has maintained the cause of the press in secret, with as much energy and eloquence as he has defended it in public—we know that if he has sometimes yielded to the importunity of those who 'harassed him with complaint upon complaint;' he has more frequently resisted the torrent that threatened to divert him from his noble and benevolent purpose; and we are convinced that all the liberty which the Indian press has enjoyed for the last four years,

let it be curtailed when it may, has been the gift of his magnanimity and forbearance. For this we are grateful; and he will carry with him our ardent wishes for his happiness, to whatever land his footsteps may be next directed."

I had certainly hoped that the virtue of this forbearance would have shone, brighter and brighter as the close of the Governor General's career approached; but I should be guilty of that disingenuousness of which I have been unjustly accused, if I were to conceal my regret at finding that the mere act of repeating *once more* what had been said months and years ago of transportation without trial for offences through the press,—and this too, not addressed to Government, but in the warmth of controversy with an opponent to whom *all* liberties of language and argument are permitted—should have led to a communication of his Lordship's final warning, in the terms in which you have conched it. From this, I am compelled to conclude that the press is no longer free to touch on any subject whatever that the Government may think proper to interdict; and more, that my permission to remain in India is dependent on implicit obedience to any and every official injunction, past, present, or to come, of whatever nature, kind, or description, it may be.

As to the nature or extent of that freedom of the press, about which such various and conflicting opinions have been entertained, it is now clear, that for English-born editors, who may be transmitted for maintaining abstract opinions as to its existence or total annihilation, no such freedom can be any longer supposed to exist; and as far as I am concerned by being included in that class, it is likely that his Lordship in Council will never more be troubled with dissertations upon a question now so entirely set at rest. Of the merits or demerits of the several systems of censorship, restrictions, or freedom as by law established, whatever may be my opinion, it must be unavailing to offer it now. I have before often desired to know only distinctly and unequivocally what the system intended to be maintained actually was, and expressed my readiness to conform to it; for the justice or injustice, policy or impolicy of *any* system, must rest with those who establish, and not with those who are called on merely to observe it, and who have no share in its formation. Every apparent departure that I have yet made from such conformity to the established system of the moment, has arisen from the ambiguity of the terms in which its conditions appeared to me to be involved, and from the inferences fairly warranted by the various modes of proceeding adopted against offences through the press, sometimes through the channel of official correspondence; but more frequently, and in the most important cases, through the regular channel of proceedings in the court of law. To this last appeal I have never once objected; and so far from my ever

attempting to set any act of the Legislature of my country at defiance, my never-ceasing cry and prayer has been, that the dominion of the law should be upheld and maintained, as the only dominion under which we all ought to live. Whatever is lawfully established, it will be always my duty to obey; and even under the system here laid down by the Governor General in Council, as that framed by the Legislature for the government of British India, however it may fall short of that standard of excellence which ardent minds might wish to see attained, it will be my aim to live as usefully and honourably as I can. If I fail in effecting all the good I wish, I must strive to be content with doing that which is safely practicable, and endeavour to balance the ~~advantages~~ of the present by indulging hopes for the future.

I hasten to conclude, as well as my exhausted state will admit, by simply saying, therefore, that under all these considerations, I shall conform to such official injunctions as may be issued for my guidance, as long as I retain my present occupation and pursuits; which, however, both duty and inclination will equally prompt me to relinquish, or transfer to other hands, whenever circumstances may lead me to conclude that my perseverance in them is likely to be detrimental to my own peace of mind, injurious to the welfare of the state, or incompatible with the interests and happiness of others.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, Sept. 9, 1822.

P. S. That I may not again incur the imputation of "a mischievous suppression of fact as tending to betray others into penal error," I shall rely on his Lordship's justice to permit the publication of the official correspondence in which I have been involved on the subject of the press, in order that no persons may henceforth plead ignorance as their excuse for not conforming to the wishes now so clearly and finally expressed by Government. It is not only granted to my opponent, the Indian John Bull, to publish such portions of the letters of Government to me, as may suit his purpose of bringing my writings and character into dispute:—but access is given him to all such documents sufficiently early to make them a subject of comment in his pages, almost before they reach my hands, and certainly before I have been able to reply to them. Those who remember the avowed purpose for which that paper was established, to crush and annihilate the Calcutta Journal, those who know the manner in which it has been supplied with every mark of official countenance and protection, being made indeed the channel of information formerly confined to the Government Gazette, as well as a vehicle of the most angry denunciations of myself and my opinions, in letters written for its columns, and gene-

rally believed to have been penned by some among the highest functionaries of the state; those to whom all this is notorious (and they include nearly the whole of the British community of India) will not wonder at the ungenerous exultation which the habitual contributors to that paper have already displayed at what they no doubt deem the immediate harbinger of my irrevocable ruin.* In the *John Bull* of the 9th instant, is a letter signed F. G. (which must have been written within a few days after that on which your official letter to me is dated,) communicating to the world the intelligence of my having incurred the displeasure of Government, almost as soon as I knew of that event myself, for in fact, being ill in bed when your letter of that date reached me, late in the evening of the 5th, I was only able to read it on the next day; and this ungenerous exultation at my anticipated ruin, was thus spread forth to the world by some person who could only have known the circumstance through official channels—before I had strength to rise from my bed of sickness to offer a single observation on it, either in extenuation or reply. In this letter of the *John Bull*, the initials of the Governor General are used—and it is then contemptuously asked “whether the G—G—I may not mean the Great Great Lama,” after which it goes on to insinuate that this G—G—I had written a letter to the editor of the *Journal* “which it was desirable to keep secret, as its getting abroad might defeat the speculation into which he had entered,” in terms that leave no doubt as to its aim and object being to degrade me in the esteem of the world, and by insidiously describing my property as insecure, to deter others from placing that confidence in my pecuniary credit, which it must be as much my duty as that of any other person in business, to protect from unjust suspicion, and to preserve unscathed from reproach. The property which my industry has accumulated, it will now be my aim to secure, as well as I can, from premature destruction; and the fair fame that my labours have obtained for me, it will be equally my duty to protect, to the best of my abilities, from being blasted by unjust aspersions. To accomplish the one, I shall take the most effectual measures in my power, even at the hazard of rendering it less valuable, to secure it from the jeopardy of that sudden dissolution, which may be said to threaten it every hour that it remains dependant on my individual change, and to effect the other, I only ask the common justice of being permitted to publish the correspondence and final decision of Government regarding the press, not only to satisfy the Indian public as to the

impossibility of my further continuing to maintain the sentiments I so lately held, and as I thought justly, regarding the freedom of the Indian press; but also to escape the imputation of that “gross disingenuousness” and “mischievous suppression of fact, tending to betray others into penal error,” with which I should be justly chargeable, if I concealed from others that which it is important for all men to know, who desire to conform to the wishes of those in authority, and who seek for explicit information as to what those wishes are, in order that they may more fully and effectually obey them. The Government, feeling that their decision is just, must be honoured by making it known; and the most effectual way of closing for ever all plea of excuse from those who may in future pretend to doubt their intentions, will be to place clearly and unequivocally before the world this explicit and final declaration of their expectations and command.

Trusting that no sentiment which I have expressed throughout the foregoing letter—written at broken intervals, and amid the anxiety and suffering of a bed of sickness—will be construed, either from its matter or manner, into disrespect or disobedience towards the Supreme Authority (which I am far from intending, and which I wholly disavow), I rely on the high character and impartial justice of his Excellency in Council for a due consideration of all I have ventured to offer in explanation of my conduct—and for his equally ready attention to my closing, and I hope just and reasonable, request.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

Sept. 10, 1822. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Note.—It was to have been expected, that after so plain and explicit a demand for the permission of Government to publish the Correspondence, an equally plain and explicit reply would have been given. But as if equally unwilling to grant or deny permission, no answer whatever was returned to this last letter: so that the compilation may now be said to include all the official correspondence that has passed on the subject of the press, from the celebrated period of removing the censorship in 1818, up to the final threat of banishment with out trial, if I should again venture to question the meaning of an act of Parliament, or disregard any intimation from Government, of whatever nature or description it might be. This last act of September 1822, creates the “strange eventful history” of the Indian press, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; and until the period shall arrive, when it may be safe to publish it, as a portion of Indian history, I feel it a duty that I owe to the community, to posterity, and to my own reputation, to place it thus privately on record, to serve as a memorial of the past, to those who may succeed me.

Nor. 25, 1822. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

* This most important fact has never once been denied, though pressed on the notice of the Indian Government in every possible form.—J. S. B.

FINALE.

"Last scene of all
 "That ends this strange eventful history
 "Is second childishness, and mere oblivion."
Shakespeare.

From the date of the last letter, up to the resignation of Lord Hastings, no communication was received by me from Government: so that his Lordship may be said to have left the country without any apprehensions of its safety being endangered by leaving me behind him.

Mr. John Adam, the old censor of the press, and the secretary who issued the Circular of Regulations intended to be observed when the censorship was abolished, succeeded to the temporary Governor Generalship of India, because he happened to be the senior member of council: but not at all on account of his superior qualifications or ability to fulfil its important duties. It was currently rumoured and generally believed, that, a few days after his accession to office, Mr. Adam sent for the Advocate General, Mr. Spankie, to learn of him whether he might not legally and safely annul my licence, whenever he judged it proper to do so. It is also notorious that Mrs. Lushington, Mrs. M'Clinckock, and other persons who enjoy the distinction of Mr. Adam's peculiar favour and affection, prophesied, with a confidence which could have arisen only from a certainty of the event, "that Mr. Buckingham's stay in India would now be very short, since Mr. Adam had come into power," as if it were *predetermined* that I should be banished, whether I gave just cause or not.

Accordingly, I deemed it my duty, for the sake of my own safety, as well as with regard to the security of others, to avoid all breach of even the regulations that superseded the censorship, illegal and absurd as these are, until the arrival of the permanent Governor General should place the Press on a firm basis, responsible only to the law.

During this period, the most virulent and unparalleled calumnies were daily poured forth against me, by name, in the *John Bull* Newspaper, although one of the regulations regarding the Indian Press strictly prohibits (under the penalty, as it is understood, of the Governor General's displeasure) "the publication of any personal scandal on individuals, calculated to excite dissensions in society." Neither the editor, nor any of the writers in that paper were, however, visited with any mark of displeasure from Government. On the contrary, the paper was patronized and taken in at Government House, and by the members of council, secretaries, and other functionaries of Government: and the most virulent of my calumniators were marked with the most unequivocal approbation of those in power.*

* The first and second editors of this paper, the *Indian John Bull*, had places given them

Seeing the licence given to my opponents by Government, who winked at every excess in the *John Bull*, provided its slanders were confined to *me*, I naturally considered that a little harmless raillery would be allowed me in return for the bitter and envenomed poisons of my calumniators; and if *they* might stab another to the heart without incurring the displeasure of Government, I might be allowed to laugh at the incongruous union of a Scotch Doctor of Divinity and a paste-board and a leather dealer in the same person. I was, however, mistaken. My fate was apparently too firmly determined on to allow me to escape; and if any trifling pleasantries were not seized hold of as a pretence for my banishment, they might despair of any other occasion of sending me out of the country, as the permanent Governor General might arrive before they could pass a resolution, and their opportunity of banishing me without a trial thus be lost for ever.

It was on the 8th of February, or less than a month after Mr. John Adam's accession to power, and without any previous warning or communication whatever as to his views and intentions regarding the Press, that I published in my Journal the following harmless comment, on the instalment of the Rev. Doctor James Bryce, (who had not long since given up the sub-secretaryship of a bible society from want of time to attend to its duties), as a clerk of stationery, he being at the same time more than fully occupied in editing a magazine, writing in the newspapers, and managing a committee as secretary for erecting a statue and procuring subscriptions for a picture of Lord Hastings, independently of his sacred duties as the only minister of the Scotch Church in Bengal, and his various recreations at balls and suppers, public meetings, and other gaieties and festivities, so congenial to his taste and character. The following is the article which appeared in my Journal on this occasion:—

APPENDIX EXTRAORDINARY TO THE
LAST GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good city of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an Appendix to the Government Gazette of the morning was issued in a separate form, and coming in the shape of a Gazette Extraordinary, was eagerly seized, even at that inconvenient hour, in the hope of its containing some intelligence of great public importance. Some, in whose bosoms this hope

on retiring from their labours; and the third, fourth, and sixth were all dependants on Government favour: the fifth was a gentleman who held it for a few days only, and resigned, as it is understood, because he would not do the dirty work expected of him. He was the only one out of the whole number that was not a Government servant.

had been most strongly excited, may, perhaps, have felt disappointment; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them all the remainder of the evening.

The Reverend Gentleman, named below, who we perceive by the Index of that useful publication, the Annual Directory, is a Doctor of Divinity and Moderator of the Kirk Session, and who by the favour of the higher powers, now combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has no doubt been selected for the arduous duties of his new place from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interests. Such a clerk as is here required, to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him, should be a competent judge of the several articles of pasteboard, sealing wax, inkstands, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape, and leather; and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationers'-hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the Reverend Gentleman, no doubt, possesses in a more eminent degree than any other person who could be found to do the duties of such an office: and though at first sight such information may be incompatible with a theological education, yet we know that the country abounds with surprising instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.

In Scotland, we believe, the duties of a Presbyterian Minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on the days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold, and encouraging the timid, in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian Clergyman were to do his duty in India, he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year, in the zealous and faithful discharge of those pious duties which ought more especially to engage his devout attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection indeed, who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves for many months without a pastor at all: and even when the shepherd was among them, he had abundant time to edit a controversial newspaper (long since defunct), and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses, and flatteries, that were current at that time. He has continued to display this eminently active if not holy disposition up to the present period; and according to the maxim "to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away," this Reverend Doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of Divinity or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected,

all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape, of the Honourable East India Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that no drafts are given on their Treasury for gum that won't stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal.

Whether the late discussions that have agitated both the wise and the foolish of this happy country from the Burrumpooter to the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to the confines of Tartary, have had any influence in hastening the consummation so devoutly wished, we cannot presume to determine. We do not profess to know any thing of the Occult Sciences: and being equally ignorant of all secret influences, whether of the planets of heaven or the satellites of earth, we must content ourselves, as faithful chroniclers of the age, with including in our records, the important document issued under the circumstances we have described.

(Here followed a Table of the articles of Stationery required, and the quantities of each, at the end of which was the following paragraph, as it stood in the Government Gazette, published by authority.)

"Conditions:—1st. The quality of the Stationery to be equal to the musters now open for inspection at the Stationery office.—2d. The articles required for the expenditure of every month to be delivered on or before the 28th day of the month which precedes it, and paid for by an order on the general treasury for the amount delivered.—3d. The proposals of contract to be accompanied by a written document signed by a respectable person, acknowledging himself (if the terms are accepted) to be responsible for the performance of the contractor's engagement, and engaging, in the event of deficient deliveries, to make good the value of these, together with a penalty of 50 per cent. on the amount of them.—4th. The clerk to the Committee of Stationery to be at liberty to reject any part of the Stationery which may appear objectionable to him.

By order of the Committee of Stationery,

"JAMES BRYCE, Clerk Com. Sty."

"Stationery Office, Feb. 4, 1823."

The publication of the above in my Journal of February 8th, excited a great deal of laughter and merriment among those who viewed the matter lightly; but occasioned real sorrow to the few who saw in the union commented on, a deep and severe injury inflicted on the character of the Christian Church, by the exposure of this worldly-minded and busy meddling, who affected superior purity and sanctity to its regularly established ministers, yet sought and held an office to which no clergyman of the Church of England in India would have condescended.—No one, I believe, for a moment thought that the comment would have had any other than beneficial consequences; and

it certainly never occurred to me that such a comment could have led to my summary banishment from the country. I was, however, mistaken; and had given the temporary Governor General credit for a wisdom and a prudence which circumstances have shown that he did not possess; for, on the 12th of February, four days after the publication of the article alluded to, I received the following letter, and its inclosure.

To MR. JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.

Sir,—Referring to the editorial remarks contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th (eighth) instant, page 511 (five hundred and forty-one), and to the communications officially made to you on former occasions, I am directed to apprise you that in the judgment of the Governor General in Council you have forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government.

2. I am further directed to transmit to you the enclosed Copy of an Order passed by Government on the present date, by which the licence of the Court of Directors authorizing you to proceed to the East Indies, is declared to be void from and after the 15th (fifteenth) day of April next.

3. You will be pleased to notice that if you should be found in the East Indies from and after that date, you will be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without licence or authority for that purpose, and will be sent forthwith to the United Kingdom. I am, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Fort William, 12th Feb. 1823.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas James Silk Buckingham, now and for some time past a resident of the town of Calcutta, has obtained from the Honourable the Court of Directors a certificate or licence to proceed to the East Indies, and whereas the said James Silk Buckingham has in the judgment of the Governor General in Council, forfeited his claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government, it is hereby ordered and declared that the Certificate or licence so obtained by the said James Silk Buckingham shall be void from and after the 15th (fifteenth) day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-three. By order of the Honourable the Governor General in Council.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.
Fort William 12th (Twelfth) Feb. 1823.

On the 17th, having in the interim placed my property under the protection of a Native of India, who cannot be banished without trial, and is responsible only to the law, I sent in to Government the following Reply:

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq., Chief Sec. to Gov.

Sir,—I have received your letter of the 12th instant, inclosing me the Resolution of the Go-

vernor General in Council of that date, informing me that my licence to remain in India will be void on the 15th of April next, in consequence of the remarks contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th instant, at page 541, to which an importance is attached, that could only have arisen from the Governor General mistaking a piece of mere pleasantry at the incompatibility of such opposite duties as those of a Doctor of Divinity and a Clerk of Stationery, for grave and portentous matter of treason against the State!

For the wisdom and accuracy of this decision, those who have acted on it are of course alone responsible. It is sufficient for me to advert in this place to the personal injury which I must sustain by such a punishment as the Governor General has thus chosen to direct against me as the supposed author of the obnoxious remarks in question. This injury will be deeply felt by my sudden banishment necessarily shaking the confidence of all those with whom I am associated in the joint possession of actual property, by the effect it will produce in lessening the value of that property which it thus places in jeopardy and insecurity, and by the entire destruction which such a blow will give to all my future prospects, from its suddenly interrupting the lawful exercise of an honest profession. All these evils are inflicted on me by this measure, though I am entirely innocent of any crime for which the slightest measure of punishment could be legally inflicted, or at least if I am unconsciously guilty, I desire nothing more than an open trial before the tribunal of the law, and the visitation of whatever sentence the administrators of that law may pronounce.

After the resolution of the Governor General, which you have communicated to me, I can no longer hope to exercise with any security or advantage to the public my duties as Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*; and as numerous other individuals are associated with me in the joint possession of the interests of that paper, I am also bound by a regard to their safety no longer to retain my present dangerous office, a perseverance in which might perhaps render our property as insecure as the freedom of my person is now shown to be, under a system which leaves both subject to the mercy of a power exercised at the mere will and pleasure of an individual, without the intervention of the law. I feel myself compelled therefore, under all these considerations, to avail myself of such legal and honourable means as will most effectually secure that property from further injury than it has already sustained by the measures of my sudden removal from its superintendence.

With this view I have already resigned the editorship of the *Calcutta Journal*, not nominally only but actually, into the hands of Mr. J. F. Sandys, a gentleman of Indo-British or Anglo-Indian birth, well known as a public writer and Editor of an Indian Newspaper some few years ago, to whose future manage-

ment the Calcutta Journal will be intrusted, from and after this date, and to whom you may therefore address yourself in all future cases in which you may desire a correspondence with the editor of that paper.

Retaining as I shall do my pecuniary interest in the concern in common with numerous other individuals of every rank and class in the community, who have become joint shareholders with me in that establishment, I shall rely also in conjunction with them on the protection which the law will extend to that property, to save it from further injury by trespass or spoliation; and while the real Editor of the Calcutta Journal, Mr. Sandys, will be alone responsible for the future conduct of that paper from this date, I shall lose no time in directing all my exertions in another and a higher quarter, to obtain for my countrymen in India, that freedom and independence of mind, which is not denied to the most abject individual of Indian birth; but which while the power of banishment without trial exists, no *Englishman* can hope to enjoy in the performance of his public duties, or the promulgation of his opinions, in this quarter of the British empire, however, sincerely such opinions may be entertained however lawfully they may be expressed, or however zealously they may be directed to the improvement of the country or to the attainment of public good. I am, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Calcutta, Feb. 17, 1823.

My immediate departure from India was soon resolved on, as the best step I could take, with a view to reach England as soon as possible, and there advocate a cause which no *Englishman* could do with safety in India. I accordingly printed, for the information of my Indian friends, some remarks on the recent event of my transportation without trial, including copies of the official correspondence on this subject, subjoining the following remarks, with which I shall conclude this faithful, and I fear I must add disgraceful, history of the measures taken in India to fetter all liberal discussion, and to punish with the utmost severity, and by means abhorrent to law and justice, the free and fearless advocacy of unfettered thought and expression, in which the chief dignity of man consists, and which can alone distinguish the free from the enslaved.

The remarks appended to the copies of the official letters in my address to my Indian friends, were as follows:—

"It can scarcely be necessary to add to this, except perhaps to assure the friends of rational freedom in India, that no exertion, no effort, which zeal or labour, perseverance or suffering, can effect, shall be left untried, until the great public object here adverted to be accomplished. Every Christian who desires to see his purer faith supplant the reign of idolatry, every philanthropist who pants for the spread of knowledge and the increase of human happiness,

and every Patriot who loves his country, and desires to see her sons as respected abroad as they are esteemed at home, must join in support of the cause I advocate, when I simply ask that in India, Christians may be made at least as free as idolaters, gentlemen of character and education as free as the lowest and most ignorant of the Indian population, and the resident subjects of Great Britain who have property in the country as free as the Persian, the Jew, and the Turk, who, during their temporary sojourn in the country, are subject only to the laws.

My sudden and forcible banishment from India, obliges me as suddenly to break up, at the hazard of considerable loss, my private establishment, almost before I had quite completed those arrangements of comfort, which a laborious occupation, and a family, conjointly, render doubly welcome in this oppressive and enervating climate. My public establishment will remain, however, in all respects the same. The Journal is placed under the responsible charge of the gentlemen named in my letter to the Chief Secretary, and he will be assisted by able and effective auxiliaries. If they violate the law, they must suffer the punishment due to their temerity; they are however ready to abide the sentence of the law, because to it they look for protection, and not for violence or wrong; but, fortunately, they will be beyond the reach of the odious power of transportation without trial; and if the law is strong enough to protect the British community of India from murders, from robberies, and from the worst and most heinous crimes, it must be also powerful enough to protect them from libel, whether civil or criminal, as ranking among offences of less magnitude than those of murder and spoliation at least.

That the Calcutta Journal may decline during my absence, is the opinion of many; but I have myself no such apprehensions. It owes its chief value to the freedom with which it has advocated the cause of truth, of justice, and humanity, in a land where the advocacy of these virtues was before restrained by the pen of the censor, or the fears of the writer who felt but dared not express the pure emotions of his heart. That freedom it must continue to exercise, because its present editor has nothing to dread from its honest and open practice. The next attraction of the Journal to every class, has been the variety and utility of its correspondence, on all subjects that fall within the range of newspaper discussion. That charm it will depend on its real friends to preserve to it in full freshness and vigour; for they may now write with a safety and a confidence before unknown. The present editor cannot be placed in the painful and trying situation of being compelled to choose between delivering up a correspondent to Government, or submitting to immediate transportation from the country. If he publishes any thing contrary to law, the responsibility will be on himself

alone; and correspondence from the interior, addressed under cover through any of the agency houses in town, if a direct address should be deemed unsafe, will be sure to meet with every attention, and be reposed in a confidence never I hope to be broken. The paper will now also be open to reports of cases tried in the Mofussil Courts, the proceedings of the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*, affairs of the kingdom of Oude (freely discussed in the *Native papers*, but forbidden to writers who labour under the enslaving misfortune of pure English birth,) and a variety of other useful subjects of public interest, which cannot fail to give the Journal a greater value than it ever could possess while restrained from entering on such topics by the fear of summary banishment for treading on forbidden ground. While it continues to be the vehicle of the earliest, the fullest, and the most varied and useful information, the Journal cannot fail to maintain its present pre-eminence in circulation; and as long as it enjoys that distinction, it must also be the most appropriate medium for all correspondence, and every species of intelligence which may require to be made widely known. I have done all in my power to secure these advantages, by filling every department of its management with the most able and efficient hands that time or money could procure: the rest will depend on the *public*, to whom I look with confidence for the continuation of their support until my return; since it is not the cause of party or the cause of faction that I advocate, but the cause of every Englishman in India, who must be interested in the abolition of a power by which any one may be seized at the caprice of the Governor for the time being, though he should be in office for but twenty-four hours, and forcibly banished as a felon from the country, to the utter ruin of all his fair and honourable prospects.

Attempts have been made, and will no doubt continue to be made, to represent me as setting myself up in opposition to the Government of India, and in defiance of the constituted authorities of the land; and on this ground it has been contended that all who contribute to the support of my paper, either by the purchase of shares, or by even subscribing to it, lend their aid in opposing those under whom they serve. The assumption, however, is as false, as the reasoning is untenable. I set myself up, as every honest man has a right to do, in opposition to evil doers, in opposition to wrong and injustice, whether in Governments or their subjects, in opposition to iniquitous and enslaving doctrines, whether in gazettes published by authority or in papers secretly patronized by power. I oppose no particular men, and no particular office; but I oppose principles and measures that appear to me to be injurious to the interests and happiness of mankind. I ought to have this right in at least an equal degree with others; and as long as it be permitted to others to comment freely on my public conduct, (a

right that many daily exercise, and which would never wish to deny), I ought to feel no more shame in obtaining an honest assistance by the exercise of such talents as I may possess, than any other member of the community, who strives to make an honourable provision for his declining years; by using the abilities which nature may have given him, for his private benefit and the public good. If I pervert those talents to injurious purposes, let it be shown by fact and argument, and not by mere declamation: if I inflict wrong on any man, let me be made to answer for that wrong and give him the fullest reparation; if I injure, or calumniate, or speak unjustly of the Government, let me have the common privilege, not denied to the lowest native of India, a Trial by Jury; and if I offend the laws, let my sentence be imprisonment, exile, or death; but I contend against the un-English, and I would say *inhuman* principle, of making any one man subject to instant ruin at the mere caprice and arbitrary pleasure of another, to whom he may happen to be obnoxious *only* because he expresses his abhorrence of a power which no Englishman of right feeling could look on with any other sensations than those of shame and indignation.

It is not against Lord Hastings, or Mr. Adam, or Mr. Bayley, or any of their councillors, that this abhorrence is felt or this indignation expressed; but against the *power*, and against the *system* which admits of its exercise. Mr. Adam may have thought himself right in using it towards me. I contend that it ought not to be used against *any one*, unless an urgent case of danger to the State could be made out; and even then, not without a hearing and a defence granted to the accused, instead of his being subject to a caprice which makes a Governor at once accuser, witness, judge, jury, and even executioner! Such a subjection to the arbitrary will of the best man that ever breathed is monstrous, and every Englishman in India ought to raise his voice in reprobation of it, from principle as well as self-preservation; us, without a sacrifice of all his rights as a human being, he knows not but that it may be his turn next to be bound hand and foot, and transported, at the point of the bayonet, on board any ship in the river; for, to such an extreme, do the advocates of this abominable power, contend for its existence.

Those who have supported the Journal for the last five years, have supported it, not because it opposed Government, but because it contended for what they deemed to be true and useful doctrines, and because it opposed what they deemed false and pernicious ones; had not this been its *general* character, it would long ago have been deserted and must necessarily have fallen for want of support. No man is infallible, and it would be therefore folly to suppose that I have not often been wrong, and that the correspondents of the Journal have not been equally so. But it would be an affecta-

tion of doubt to conceal my belief that I had been more frequently right, and this is all that every candid man would expect. Unmixed good is not to be found on earth. Some evils and some injuries may have been inflicted through the press; but for these, redress may always be had at law. The good, however, that has been already done, is beyond doubt or denial, great and effectual, not merely in Calcutta, but throughout the whole of the interior of India, wherever the dominion of the English rule extends; and I shall have it in my power to produce testimonies of the most undoubted kind in England, from the private secretary of Lord Hastings, but a short period before his Lordship's departure from Calcutta, to men at the other extremities of India—from Rajpootanah, Guzerat, and Travancore—"that the Calcutta Journal has already done much good, which cannot easily be undone; that it is calculated to do still more; and that its institution may be regarded as an era in the moral and political condition of India." As long as its labours are directed to the promotion of the public benefit—in which the Government, of course, are but one party, and often the wrong one)—so long it will deserve, and no doubt retain, the countenance and support of all good men, whether Company's servants or otherwise. An officer of the King does not sell himself into mental slavery and bind himself to approve of all that the King's ministers may do; neither does a servant of the East India Company barter away the free use of his reason for the pay he receives. Both in the civil and military service of this country it is a sufficient sacrifice to pass the flower of life in an enervating climate, subject to all its privations and inconveniences for the bare chance of living to enjoy a quiet old age at home: but the sacrifice would be far too great for any Englishman to make, if to this were to be added the selling of body and soul into irredeemable slavery, and the relinquishment of that noble faculty which distinguishes man from the brute. It would be an indignity in any government to ask such a resignation of the intellects of their servants into their hands, and it would be a base abandonment of their duty as men, for any servants to submit to such degradation, even if asked to do so.

On this subject I have said more than I intended; I return, therefore, to the consideration of the impression which my sudden and arbitrary banishment from India has everywhere created. I have in my possession proofs that will, I trust, avail me elsewhere, of the general feeling of indignation which pervades all quarters near at hand on this despotic act; and every post from the interior will probably bring more. It will be sufficient for the present, perhaps, to give one, as an example of the whole. The writer says:—

Dear Sir,

I cannot suppress the deep feeling of indignation with which I have just read the intelli-

gence which the Journal of this day has announced: that this feeling is general, is already evident, in the disgust and astonishment with which it has been expressed under my observation; and it will most assuredly pervade the breast of every person who has not, unlike your relentless enemies, become wholly callous to every principle of justice, and to every sense of shame. It is not in its persecution of you alone, but above all in its invasion of public rights, that this exercise of an arbitrary power appears to me to merit the execration of every true Englishman.

The dependant state of the greater part of the Indian community, may by compulsion smother the clamorous outcry with which the public would otherwise be eager to express their just detestation of this singular act of an ephemeral reign; but if we are curbed, manacled, and fettered here, there is a satisfaction in looking to our own country to avenge the wrongs that are attempted to be inflicted upon her distant sons. My subjection to the Government compels me, with reluctance, to repress all I feel on this tyrannous act; it must be pronounced with shame by all but the enlarded sycophants of power, who feel no remorse in sacrificing the holings of conscience to the will and caprice of a despot, through whose good graces and influence they expect to be enriched and exalted. But I firmly hope, that on this, as on every other occasion, the vindictive malignity of your enemies will recoil with redoubled vengeance upon themselves, and prove the more certain sign of your triumph. Your friends and supporters may regret with unfeigned sorrow, that this long threatened event should (though for a time), arrest the able, fearless, and arduous efforts, which you have personally for so long a time made, in the cause of freedom, and the restitution, in these despotic regions, of those hallowed rights which we inherit from our country, our birth, and our laws. Surely the proud spirit of England will vindicate the injuries committed in this part of the empire, and punish with severity and reprobation the persecution which you have suffered. The public at home must view with horror, the malevolence with which your pursuers have at length effected the grand object of their pursuit; while they will discover, in the fury of their opposition, nothing but a systematic indulgence of the basest passions and the most rancorous hate; the machinations of men, striving to assume a virtue when they have it not.

"I have trespassed longer than I intended upon your time. With confidence do I hope that some measure will be adopted by the independent part of the community, those who are unfettered by Government, for your indemnification, and the assertion of a cause which ought to be considered of general public interest, that an appeal may be made to Parliament for the abolition of a power which Lord Hastings was too noble and generous to exercise, and is understood to have resisted

with the most manly fortitude, against the united voices of his colleagues; but he had shared the friendship and the intercourse of those immortal spirits that live in the names of Fox, Sheridan, and Burke, and the association had imbued him too deeply with their patriotism, to suffer him to submit himself to the adoption of a measure, repugnant to our constitution, revolting to nature, and degrading to reason.

"It is only necessary, I am convinced, for a few individuals to call for the expression of public opinion on the present occasion, to gain the support of those who have remained firm to the principles of the Journal; since they constitute, without doubt, the great majority of the population of British India. If it be doubtful whether from the fear of proscription, from which some have already suffered, many persons would be found courageous enough to dare to declare their sentiments, other means may be adopted to avert the danger of publicity, that shall be calculated at the same time to secure the desired object. Determination, and zeal without abatement, are all that appear requisite, for the ultimate success of the cause, to which you have so long devoted your time and talents; and for the degradation of those who have had the temerity to compass your ruin. A hater of civil and religious persecution in every shape, an ardent though humble lover of mental and political freedom, I could not control the force of those feelings which have induced me to write to you, and in the sincerity of which I would now offer my fervent wishes for your prosperity and early return to a country which has hitherto been the successful scene of your manly and energetic efforts, for the promotion of that public spirit, which promises in due time to yield the benefits of a free and civilized Government."

* * * * *

I believe that the feelings here expressed, are almost universal, though it would be dangerous in this country for any man dependant on the Government to give them utterance in his own name. I can only say that it would be of all things most important to collect the opinions of Englishmen in India on this momentous question, and to learn from them whether they do not deem it highly desirable, that the section of the Act of Parliament empowering the sudden and forcible seizure and banishment of any Englishman who may be obnoxious to the Governor General for the time being, should be repealed, as unnecessary to the safety of the state, the peace of the community, or the happiness and interests of the country, as well as dangerous and liable to perpetual abuse. In Calcutta, such is the enslaved state of society, and the awe spread through all ranks by the reign of terror, that it will be difficult to find ten independent men to sign a petition to parliament on the subject. In the interior of India, the difficulty would

perhaps be quite as great; and yet without this, or some similar expressions of the general wishes of the community in an open manner, it would be easy for the advocates of summary banishment, few as they are, to assert that the general feeling of Englishmen in India was favourable to the existence and the exercise of the power:—than which, if it be permitted to be said without public contradiction, a greater libel on the character of the Company's service at large could not be pronounced.

I have little more to add, but the expression of my earnest hope that the public of India, who have so long and so steadily honoured my principles with their support, will not desert the cause I advocate in the hour of trial, and when beset with a host of foes. I leave behind me nearly all the hopes of independence that I now possess; but even these hopes, dear as they are to me for the sake of others rather than myself, I would willingly abandon, should the cause of intellectual freedom be maintained by others more ardently than it has been by me. I go to England, because I am driven there by force; but I pledge myself to occupy every hour of my absence that can be devoted to that purpose, with constant reference to India and Indian improvement. I may or may not return; but if I should see India again, I hope to behold it free from the odious power under which I am now banished from its shores, and if this wish is never to be realized, I shall at least breathe a freer atmosphere, and have a more unshackled press at home to devote to the purposes to which I have adverted. I am grateful to the Indian public at large for the support they have extended to me through so long and stormy a period; and I look with confidence to their continuation of that support even in my absence. The few who have indulged in secret and still masked slanders on my private character, and denunciation of my public labours, I can pity and forgive; and though I feel myself to be the innocent and injured victim of a pre-determination to punish and destroy, yet the only revenge I shall seek is to prevent the same curse falling on the heads of others. I can pity and forgive even those also who have been the authors of my probable ruin: and I can safely lay my hand upon my heart, and say I leave the shores of India in peace with all mankind.

Calcutta.] J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

February 23, 1823.

Immediately after the publication of the preceding Address to my friends and supporters in India, I made arrangements for the sale of all my private property, and the settlement of all my pecuniary affairs, which, under circumstances so hurried a nature, could not be effected without considerable loss. My next step was to take such measures as the law required, preparatory to my leaving India, so as to enable me to proceed against Mr. Adam in an English court of justice, to obtain redress for

the injury sustained by the arbitrary banishment to which he had sentenced me. With a view to render this redress as difficult of attainment as possible, and thereby to protect all Indian Governors in their misconduct, the law does not permit the prosecution of a Member of Council, in an Indian court; and before any preliminary proceedings necessary to such prosecution in England can be entered into in India, the injured party is compelled to enter into a bond, with other sureties, that he will prosecute to the issue, though subsequent circumstances may show him that the influence to which he is opposed, can only be overcome by a fortune equal to that of which he may have been unjustly deprived. I had, however, a higher object in view than mere personal redress. I wished to try the great and important question in a British court, for the sake of all my countrymen in India, and to see whether the Legislature of England would confirm what appeared to most men in that country, a monstrous abuse of authority. I accordingly presented a petition, through my legal advisers, to the Supreme Court in India, and the following is a brief report of the proceedings which took place on that occasion.—

**SUPREME COURT OF CALCUTTA,
March 1, 1823.**

The Court proceeding to civil business, Mr. Fergusson rose to move that the affidavit of J. S. Buckingham, marked with the letter A, and the Petition thereto annexed, be read and filed, and that it be ordered that Notice of the said Petition and Affidavit be served on the Honourable John Adam, Governor General in and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and that the complainant be at liberty to enter into a bond with such security as is required by the statute in such case made and provided, effectually to prosecute the complaint. The Petition is as follows:—

To the Hon. Sir FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN, Knight, and the Hon. Sir ANTHONY BULLER, Knight, Justices of the said Supreme Court.

The humble Petition of JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM, late Editor of the Calcutta Journal,

Showeth,—That your petitioner has been greatly oppressed, aggrieved, and injured, by an act done and an order passed by the Hon. John Adam, Governor General, in and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

That your petitioner hath fully stated his complaint, in respect of the premises, in the affidavit marked A, herewith annexed.

That your petitioner intends to prosecute such his complaint against the said John Adam, in some competent court in Great Britain.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Lordships will be pleased to grant to your petitioner an order of the Supreme Court of

Judicature at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, compelling the said John Adam to produce the copies of the orders or order passed by the said Governor General in Council, depriving your petitioner of his licence to reside in this country, and also all correspondence which may have passed between the said Governor General in Council, and any person or persons whomsoever touching the premises, and that the same may be authenticated and witnesses examined in this Honourable Court, upon the matter of the said complaint, and on behalf of your petitioner, touching the same, and that the depositions may be taken down in writing, according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament made and passed in that behalf in the twenty-first year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, your petitioner being ready and willing to enter into a bond and to give such security as to this Honourable Court shall seem meet to prosecute the said complaint in such competent Court as aforesaid, within the time limited by the said Act of Parliament. And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

The Affidavit stated that Mr. Buckingham the plaintiff, had come to Calcutta, with a licence or certificate from the Hon. Court of Directors, to reside in India, on the faith of which, he had, at immense labour and expense, established the Calcutta Journal, on its present footing, in which, capital was vested to the amount of about sicca rupers 200,000; and having brought out part of his family, had made very expensive preparations for his permanent residence in India, at least for the period of six or seven years, with a view to the superintendence of this extensive concern, of the greater part of which he is still proprietor. It then stated that the Honourable John Adam, the Governor General in Council, with an intent to injure him (Mr. Buckingham) had declared his licence void, and compelled him to break up his private establishment, and to quit the country, to the great risk and danger of his property, and concluded with expressing his determination to prosecute the said John Adam at law, in some competent court in Great Britain.

The Court having assented to the motion, Mr. Buckingham was bound over with competent sureties in the sum of sicca rupers 12,000, to prosecute in England.

Immediately after this proceeding, I embarked from India, having been assured by my legal advisers, that the documents and evidence alluded to in the Petition, would be immediately prepared and sent to England by the first ship that should follow me. My object in quitting India before these could be obtained, was to arrive home with as little delay as possible, in order to consult counsel in England, and make the necessary preparations for whatever measures it might be thought necessary to pursue. I arrived in London in the month of July 1823, and waited until the month of Sep-

tember without hearing from my legal advisers in Calcutta, but the question of my banishment having already become a topic of discussion in the leading Journals of this country, I thought it right to break the silence I had up to that period maintained, and accordingly addressed the following letters to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and the Board of Control, to which their respective answers are annexed. —

To the Hon. the COURT of DIRECTORS of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs, — I was unwilling to intrude myself prematurely on the notice of your Hon. Court, until sufficient time should have elapsed for all its members, collectively and individually, to become acquainted with the particulars of the alleged offence for which my licence to reside in India was annulled by Mr. Adam, the Acting Governor General, in February last. As I have reason, however, to believe that the period is now arrived when your Honourable Court is in full possession of the merits of the case, I think it proper to address you without further delay on the subject.

My ground of complaint is, that I have been made to suffer a most grievous punishment for a very slight offence, and that my banishment from India must have already produced to my affairs in that country, more than sufficient evil, compared with what might be due to the fault laid to my charge.

My request is, that your Honourable Court will take this case into your earliest consideration, and grant me a licence to return to India, there to pursue my lawful occupation as Editor of the Calcutta Journal, without being again liable to banishment from the country at the mere will and pleasure of the Governor General in Council, but guaranteed in the safety of my future residence in India, subject only to the laws as administered in the Supreme Court of Judicature, established in Bengal for the express purpose of maintaining to the British inhabitants of that Presidency, the free enjoyment of their legal rights.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM

London, Sept. 3, 1823.

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

East India House, Sept. 17, 1823.

Sir, — I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company, your letter of the 3d instant, requesting a licence to return to, and reside in India, and I am commanded to acquaint you, that the Court do not think fit to comply with your request. I am, &c.

J. DART, Secretary.

To the PRESIDENT and MEMBERS of the Board of Control.

Honourable Sirs, — In conformity with the provision made by the statute, 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sect. 33, I have the honour to transmit, for

the information of your Honourable Board, copies of an application made by me to the Court of Directors of the East India Company for permission to return to India, under the circumstances therein described, with their reply; and I have to request that your Honourable Board will exercise the powers granted to you by Parliament, in providing me with that authority to return to, and reside in India, which the Court of Directors have refused.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

London, Sept. 20, 1823.

To Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Sir, — In reply to your letter of the 20th instant, addressed to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, I am directed by the Board to acquaint you, that the application which you lately made to the Court of Directors of the East India Company for permission to proceed to India, was duly laid before them by the Court, together with the decision of the Court thereupon, in conformity with the provisions of the 33d sect. of the act 53 Geo. III. cap. 155; and that the Board have not thought fit to issue any directions thereupon.

I am, Sir, &c.

W. P. COURTENAY.

India Board, Sept. 27, 1823.

After such replies as these, no hope could be entertained of being able to procure redress from these bodies, and proceedings at law were accordingly instituted against Mr. John Adam, the Governor General of India. In a consultation with the counsel retained for this prosecution, it was found that without the documents and evidence, which were promised to be sent from India, and a bond from Mr. Adam to appear by his attorney to answer the complaint which I was bound to prosecute in England, we could not proceed. I have waited up to this period (the end of December, 1823) without hearing a single line from my legal advisers in Calcutta: and the last advices from that city, dated on the 16th of August, nearly six months after I left the country, make no mention of any effort having been made to obtain the evidence required. All this is at present inexplicable; for although my Indian solicitor is since dead, and the junior counsel was ill when the last advices came away, yet, the senior counsel in this cause was in high health and spirits. It is true, that he had been made Advocate General, under the temporary government of Mr. Adam, and in consequence of this promotion to office, was numbered among the warmest of his admirers, going at the head of a deputation to wait upon this gentleman for the purpose of soliciting him to yield to the wishes of his flatterers by sitting for his picture, to be suspended in some conspicuous public building at Calcutta! and this too, after having argued against the measure of Mr. Adam for licensing the Indian press, as if it were a tyrannical act of a most tyrannical go-

vernment, declaring it to be contrary to law and an infringement of the just rights and privileges of Englishmen! This change is unfortunately too true: but whether it can have had any effect in suspending the proceedings in India, and whether it may satisfactorily account for the total silence of the leading counsel and his colleagues in this cause, from not one of whom have I ever received a line since I quitted the country, the English reader must judge for himself.

I may mention one striking instance of the power which the Indian Government can and do exercise when it suits their purpose, which will help to form the judgment as to what they are likely to do in similar cases. When I was about to leave the country, being desirous of placing my property under the superintendence of a legal gentleman, I had an interview with one in all respects worthy of my choice, to whom I offered a salary and a residence nearly equal to 1000*l.* a year, merely to cast an eye over my concern, and to see that it was conducted in a manner which should support its former character, without being at the pains to write any thing for my paper, unless he felt disposed to do so. The offer was accepted; but afterwards made subject to an inquiry to be made among friends as to how far certain other prospects of professional emolument would be affected by such acceptance. To this contingency I readily yielded, and the result was, that an indirect intimation was given, by some of the persons then in authority, that any connexion with the Calcutta Journal would destroy this gentleman's prospects in another quarter: but that if he declined such connexion, certain good things within their power to confer might be expected by him. He frankly stated the case to me; and I as frankly excelled all that had passed, not wishing to form an obstacle to his advancement. He trusted those who inspired him with these false hopes, and relinquished the certainty of the present, for what he deemed the brighter prospect of the future. But those in whom he trusted, deceived him: they effected *their* purpose by depriving me of his assistance, and when the place to which he had been taught to look for his reward became vacant, they gave it to another!

This is one instance of the manner in which the power of men in authority in India, may be used to deter persons from doing what they would otherwise deem their duty. The following is another instance: the eloquent advocate of the liberty of the press in India, who had been my leading counsel in every case in which I have been engaged in that country, was in the habit of attending the select parties at Government-house, before he undertook my defence against the Six Secretaries, in their prosecution of me for libel: but when, in consequence of the ability of his defence, the integrity of the jury, and the goodness of my cause, I was acquitted, he was no longer considered eligible to be invited to these select parties, and was not

asked accordingly. No man ever expressed himself more ardently as a friend to a free press in India, than this distinguished lawyer, whether in public or in private; yet he signed a complimentary address to Lord Hastings, who had perpetually restrained that freedom; setting up as his excuse, to those who taxed him with this inconsistency, that he did it merely to efface his indifference to the personal neglect that had been shown him in high quarters! No man in India ever expressed himself in stronger terms of disapprobation towards Mr. Adam's measure for putting new fetters on the press, than this ornament of the Indian bar; and before I quitted Calcutta he pledged himself to use his best efforts to forward my cause, in procuring for me all the documents and evidence necessary to my successful prosecution of Mr. Adam in England. But since I left that country I have not received a line from any of my legal advisers on the subject: I have not even heard of any motion made by them in Court for this purpose. I have heard only that the leading counsel has become a servant of the Indian Government, under the very man whose measures he so famously denounced; and that he has appeared at the head of a deputation to wait upon this individual, to beg the favour of his sitting for his picture, to gratify the inhabitants of Calcutta over whom he had ruled but for a few months, and in which short space he had banished one of their fellow-citizens, and insulted all the rest by declaring them unfit to be trusted with that liberty of discussion which the humblest member of the community may command as his birthright in England. Had a needy man, to whom money was an object, acted thus, it might have been capable of solution, but the gentleman here spoken of possesses immense wealth, and is in receipt of ten times more than his habits of life require. It cannot, therefore, be love of money that has effected this change; neither can it be love of fame, for he had many years before filled the post of Advocate General, and was already at the head of his profession at the bar of India. I repeat, that it is to me inexplicable. But feeling, as I ever have done, and ever shall do, a warm and lively interest in the fate of my countrymen in India, as well as in the welfare of the natives of that neglected country, I deem it my duty to state, that the delay which has hitherto arisen in the trial of this great question, "whether a Governor General for the time being can banish whom he pleases, and for any cause that his caprice may suggest," has not been occasioned by any neglect of mine, but is wholly attributable to the changes which have taken place in India, and the neglect of those intrusted with the cause in that country to furnish me with the documents and evidence prayed for in the petition, and engaged to be procured by them. I regret this evil, as well as the necessity of explaining its cause; but having already expended a large sum in India

and England, in the prosecution of this affair on public grounds alone, (for I cannot entertain the slightest hopes of private or personal benefit from its issue,) and being willing to expend still more, as well as to devote my time and labour to its progress, I am bound, from a just regard to my own reputation, and out of gratitude to the public of India, whom I shall always regard as my friends, to show that I have done all in my power to promote their interests. If, in so doing, I have been compelled to show in what quarters they have been neglected, this contingency is unavoidable, and no one can lament it more sincerely than myself.

I may add, in conclusion, that as soon as the intelligence reached England of the late law passed in India for licensing the press, I re-

tained counsel for the purpose of appealing against it, conformably to the statute 13 Geo. III. cap. 63, sect. 36. In the prosecution of these important objects, I am unsupported and alone; but I am too deeply and sincerely interested in the happiness of the enslaved people of India, to suffer any occasion of promoting their welfare to pass unherded, though I should stand like the solitary palm-tree in the Desert, without a companion near me. They who know not the pleasure of fulfilling what the mind and heart alike pronounce to be a duty, may wonder at what they will deem hopeless and unprofitable perseverance; but all those to whom this pleasure is familiar, will know, that however the "world" may scorn such efforts, I have the satisfaction of my own reward.

London, Dec. 30, 1823

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

THE END.

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